

Chapter 10: Men of the Land and the God of Justice¹

Nowhere do Hebrew and Greek texts have more realism and charm than in their vignettes of men at work: in the city, in the fields around it, tending upland flocks, cutting timber in the mountains. (In contrast, the crown of Akkadian literature, the Epic of Gilgamesh, hardly pictures men at all, let alone men at work.) And nowhere are the texts more moving and relevant than in their commitment to justice. (In contrast, the proclamations of Ancient Near Eastern kings say much about a restoration of justice; but we never hear about the matter from the side of the people.) In this introductory chapter of Vol. II, we propose that in Israel and Hellas recognition of a god maintaining justice arose out of the experience of men on the land, though later implanted in urban society; and was transmitted back and forth between peoples, no doubt at several removals, through long-distance land transport growing out of local land transport. Of all the themes we study in this work, the idea of justice is the one most central to the novel emergence represented by the two societies.

The participants in Hebrew history mostly double as workers on the land; the similes of the Iliad provide a running counterpoint of a peaceful economy to the wastefulness of war. In neither society can a firm distinction be drawn between sedentary agriculturalists and pastoral nomads: they are interdependent, their tasks blur into each other, an Amos or Hesiod acts in both capacities. The products of the sheep-herd or goatherd are closely integrated into the agricultural economy; he is the farmer's first line of defense against predators like the boar in the vineyard (1.135); his poetry of justice affirms the land-tenure of his sedentary colleague. The man of the land, so far as a farmer, relies on the rain from the High God, seen as masculine; so far as upland herder, he is taught his song by divine figures seen as feminine—Muses and the spirit or spirits of the High God. In either capacity he relies on

¹ Extensive revision of an article "Men of the Land and the God of Justice in Greece and Israel," ZAW 95 (1983) 376-402; much is new.

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his civic base with its citadel, wall, and militia carrying iron weapons.

In part the parallels between Israel and Hellas here rest simply on independent utilization of crops long cultivated and of domesticated herds, in similar geographical settings; but in part they are historically connected through overland trade. In Chapter 4 above we saw how cargo ships carried the amphoras of the wine-trade, each with its common name. The personnel and techniques of overland trade are simple extensions of the farmer bringing his produce to the city market, and again a carrier and a container provide the key common vocabulary: the names of the donkey and its twin pannier sacks.

In this chapter we first (10.1) survey the familiar terrain of the city, fields and hills from some new points of view. We then look at the main cultivated crops (10.2) and domesticated animals (10.3); several possible items of common vocabulary will come up. The central fact will be (10.4) a crisis of land-tenure, somewhat later in Hellas than in Israel. That will lead up to the role of men on the land as being taught (10.5) a poetry of justice in response to the crisis. In both societies it is expressed in a multiform (10.6) personification of justice.

At the end we outline (10.7) the techniques of local and overland trade by which news of all these social developments could have been transmitted back and forth via Anatolia.

10.1 City, fields, hills

The wool, milk, and hides produced by the shepherds (and marginally the meat) are necessities for farmers and town-dwellers. In Palestine and Greece the pastoralism is "transhumant," moving in and out of grazing lands with the seasons. ² In Palestine it is "horizontal," moving inland with the rains in the fall. In Greece it is "vertical," moving up to the mountains in the summer:

In some places the autumn descent of the shepherds and flocks from their summer grazing in the mountains is like an invasion. Doors are locked against the invaders and there is much relief

when they have passed on.

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² For transhumance see F. Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*; tr. S. Reynolds; 2 vols.; London: Fontana/Collins, 1972, 85-102; MM Austin & P. Vidal-

Naquet, *Economic and Social History of Ancient Greece: An Introduction*; Berkeley: Univ. of California, 1977; 286 -

287; S. Georgoudi, "Quelques problèmes de la transhumance dans la Grèce ancienne," *Revue des Etudes Grecques* 87 (1974) 155-185. In Italy: Cornell 32.

3 Nancy Sandars, *The Sea Peoples: Warriors of the Ancient Mediterranean 1250-1150 BC*; London: Thames & Hudson, 1978, 22-23.

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Thus in Sophocles' *Oedipus Rex* the Corinthian messenger reminds the shepherd that year by year they both took their flocks up on Mount Kithairon "the six months from spring to the rising of Arcturus" (1137): *pos eis* and then in winter went back

to their folds.

The shepherd up there comes in direct contact with predators.

David recalls (I Sam 17,34-37) how, when he was keeping sheep for his father and a lion or bear took one of the flock, he would kill it. *Iliad* 5.136-142 describes the havoc when a

shepherd in the field encounters a lion coming "at the woolly-fleeced sheep" () and only wounds it, thereby redoubling its strength. So it is not a wholly peaceful image when Homer calls Agamemnon "shepherd of the people" (), or Cyrus is made Yahweh's shepherd (Isa 44,28), or Yahweh "the shepherd of Israel," ^& (Ps 80,2), or Esarhaddon⁴ calls himself the "true shepherd" (cf Nahum 3,18); the shepherd has the same role as the king—keeping the lion-enemy off his dependents (11.94).

At 1.339-340 we discussed names of the lion with parallel passages.

Samson (1.229) and Heracles, alike in various ways, both killed lions.

Heracles son of Zeus killed the Nemean lion (Hesiod *Theog.* 327-332) and exhibited it outside the gates of Mycenae (Apollodorus 2.5.1); perhaps it is represented in the extant Lion Gate. Benaiah (133) killed a lion in a pit on a snowy day (II Sam 23,20).⁵ Heracles trapped the Erymanthian boar in deep snow and brought it also to Mycenae (Apollodorus 2.5.4).

Further the fighter is compared with what he has killed. The Homeric heroes are often

likened to a lion or boar. Heracles is represented in art within the jaws of the lion he has

killed. So Judah is compared to a lion with three names of the beast (Gen 49,9), and after him the Davidic Messiah (Rev 5,5). Likewise gods. In the Homeric Hymn to Dionysus (4.44-7) the god is kidnapped on a ship: he makes the mast sprout as a vine,⁶ materializes a bear amidst ships and turns himself into a lion. Zeus in love can become a bull. When Hebrews are most pressed by Yahweh, they complain that "he hunts me like a lion" (Job 10,16), or further like a leopard or bear (Hos 13,8), "like a bear lying

4 ANET3 289a; rê-'-û ke-e-nu Borger 11.

5 It is tempting to make Benaiah originally "son of Yahu" rather than "Yahu has built," but (Levin) the present vocalization is inconsistent with this.

6 So on the famous Athenian black-figured cup (ab. 525 BC) signed by Exekias as potter, from Vulci, now in Munich (LIMC iii. 2.392 no. 788; 1.137).

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in wait, like a lion hiding" (Thr 3,10); his day is "as if a man fled from a lion and a bear met him" (Amos 5,19). He sends out lions on people who "do not know the law of the god of the land" (II Reg 17,26), and especially on false prophets (I Reg 13,24; 20,36); and sends bears on mocking children (II Reg 2,24). Below (11.183) I suggest that his prophets Elijah, Elisha and John Baptist take on attributes of the bear.

The farmer and shepherd presuppose an arrangement of society which (1.22-25) is a novelty over against the ancient Near East: the city-state, with its citadel on a natural acropolis, surrounded by a rain-watered countryside which looks to it as a center. Some site is called "the navel of the land" (Ezek 38,12, cf. Jud 9,37) fHKn

"H3B, LXX , Vg umbilici terrae. If non-Hebrew, Tint? could be a variant of Mount Tabor of Galilee and Atabyris of Rhodes (1.330).

Aeschylus (Eum. 166) calls Delphi the "navel of the earth."

Calypso's island was the "navel of the sea," ... Od-yssey 1.50; Pliny 3.109 calls the lake of Cutilia with its floating island Italiae utnobilicum. Cicero (Verr. 2.4.106) locates the myth of

Ceres and Proserpina at Enna of Sicily, and states that "this place, as being in the middle of the island, is called the 'navel of Sicily,'" *qui locus, quod in media est insula situs, umbilicus Siciliae nominatur*⁷ Perhaps once this symbolism was attached to a central mountain or temple, seen as the terminus of an umbilical cord joining earth to heaven.⁸

Several factors combined to foster the independence of the farmer and even more of the shepherd. Over against foreign enemies, the walled citadel and a mountain fastness are alternative refuges. The rain from the High God (1.22-24 and Chap. 11 below) made the whole terrain usable, and freed men of the land from being chained to a river controlled by central bureaucracies, as in the near-rainless valleys of Egypt and Mesopotamia. The mutual reliance of shepherds and civic artisans on each other's products put them on a level. And the forging of iron, which made abundant weapons available (1.25-26, 107, 171-2; 11.224), brought greater strength in warfare by putting the entire adult male population under arms. The honorable and inefficient pattern of individual heroes, an Achilles or Goliath, fighting with expensive bronze arms and armor, was replaced by the clash of two infantry

⁷ Cicero is followed by Milton, PL 4.268- 9 "Not that faire field / Of Enna, where Proserpin gathering flours ...

⁸ So Samuel Terrien, "The Omphalos Myth and Hebrew Religion," *Vet. Test.* 20 (1970) 315-338; see further West, EFH 149-150. Josephus *Bell. Jud.* 3.5 2 makes Jerusalem the navel of the land; and *Bab. Talm. Sanh.* 37a of the whole earth.

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phalanxes⁹ of "hoplites" (, a word unknown to Homer), 1.163-

4; Xenophon *Anab.* 6.5.27. The confrontation of two phalanxes with their heraldic shields is illustrated in the Corinthian "Chigi Vase" of ab. 650 BC found at Etruscan Veii.¹⁰

It is often assumed¹¹ that the hoplite class played a key role in overthrowing the aristocratic regimes of the Greek dark ages. In any case, both in Israel and Hellas, the fact of an entire armed citizenry, in principle each also a landowner, was an irresistible democratizing force. In Athens the citizens had a vote; the elders of Israel make David king (II Sam 5,3). Aristotle considers the heart of a state to be those men who go out to war as hoplites (Pol. 7.4.4 = 1326a23), normally at their own expense, as opposed to the artisans, ;

even in an oligarchy, if the Demos does not elect the magistrates, at least the hoplites must (Pol. 5.5.5 = 1305b33). The census of Num 1,3ff is based on men aged twenty or over (with no upper age-limit defined) "going forth to the host," JUS (1.235-6). Garlan¹² insists for the Greek world that every soldier is a citizen and vice versa, their rights and duties are not separable but form un agrégat idéologique. (Non-citizen mercenaries are a later development.) The demonstration holds equally well for Rome (11.97) and Israel.

Robert Drews has studied both the introduction and the overthrow

of chariot warfare. In an earlier book (The Coming of the Greeks) he discusses the original advantages of chariot warfare, and (p. 225) regards the "coming of the Greeks" as the takeover, no later than 1600 BC, "of a relatively large alien population by a relatively small group of [Proto-Indo-European] speakers, whose advantage lay in their chariotry." Thus in Bronze Age warfare, with only certain heroes fully armed, and that very heavily, success or failure rested on the ability to field the horses for the chariots to carry them to single combat. In a later book, Drews proposes:¹³

9 Accus, pl. "phalanxes" is a near-perfect phonetic match for nij'pip in the Song of Deborah, Jud 5,15, of uncertain meaning; elsewhere "streams, channels, divisions." It can also mean "logs" as of ebony (Herodotus 3.97, p. 1.197 above); and "spider"

(semantics unclear). The Hebrew fits with the root "split," and the Greek with Old English bolea "gangway" etc., but there may be mutual contamination.

10 DA Amyx, Corinthian Vase-Painting of the Archaic Period; Berkeley: Univ. of California, 1988; p. 32 no. 3.

11 See J. Salmon, "Political Hoplites?," JHS 97 (1977) 84-101.

12 Yves Garlan, La guerre dans l'antiquité; Paris: F. Nathan, 1972, 63. 13 Drews, Bronze Age 104.

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The thesis of the present study is that the Catastrophe [of ca. 1200 BC] came about when men in "barbarian" lands awoke to a truth that had been

with them for some time: the chariot-based forces on which the Great

Kingdoms relied could be overwhelmed by swarming infantry, the infantrymen being equipped with javelins, long swords, and a few essential pieces of defensive armor.

With iron or steel weapons and massed infantry, chariots became a thing of the past, until the invention of cavalry forces (11.97) brought the horse back. But the prestige of old times was so great that aristocracies in both countries prided themselves on their ability to raise horses. 14

The Homeric aristocrats favored proper names and honorific epithets designating them as owners of horses; both sides in the Iliad have a hero "Blackhorse" and the Trojans (Iliad 20.401) a "Horse-tamer." And so in Median, Aspakanah of the Old Persian inscriptions¹⁵ is "Delighting in horses," of Herodotus 3.70 (same man, Darius' bow-bearer). This can pass over to a class designation, as where the "wealthy" () of Chalcis were called "horse-raisers," Herodotus 5.77.2. The kings of Syracuse often won the four-horse races because they controlled the rich plains of Sicily. It was tactless of the author of the Prometheus, if it was really put on at Syracuse, to speak of horses as "the darling of super-rich pride" (Aeschylus PV 466):

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Miltiades was of a "quadriga-rearing house," Herodotus 6.35.

Latin equus is an exact cognate of Sanskrit àçvah and other parallel forms, but neither the initial h nor the vowel -i- of is easily explained, so that it may have come as a loanword rather than by direct inheritance.¹⁶ The "q" in Linear i-qo marks some intermediate stage. In Ugaritic ssiv and Egyptian ssm.t, the initial sibilant corresponds well enough (Levin) to the Greek h-, while the rest corresponds to the Sanskrit. The w of Ugaritic is continued in the y of Old Aramaic ȳTOO (KAI 222A22). Then Hebrew 010 shows a further simplification.

In any case, as the animal and its functions are international, so must the name be.

14 Then the names continued without indicating actual possession. "The name survived among Christians because of the Hellenistic Jewish disciples who had picked up this Macedonian royal name—probably at first as an expression of loyalty to one of the successors of Alexander" (Levin).

15 Kent 140, where aspa is Median for Old Persian asa "horse."

16 The horse-names (Hesiod Tbeog. 281) and fhiSaaoc (Iliad 16.152) may rest on

Hieroglyphic Luvian asuwa- "horse" : Szemerényi, Glotta 49 (1977) 9.

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To Mago of Carthage, a 16th century veterinary text assigns a treatment for dysuria of horses, apparently from some lost source:

assert autem, cum urinae difficultate torqueatur equus, si priorum pedum ex infimis unguitibus delimitata scobis in hemina uini per nares infundatur, cieri urinam.

He claims, when a horse suffers with difficulty in passing urine, if a powder scraped from the ends of the hooves of its front feet in a half-sextarius of wine is poured through its nostrils, urine will flow.

Although the remedy has become more homeopathic, identical with the Ugaritic hippiatric text KTU 1.85.9-11

wklyhru.wlytn.ssw.mss.st.qlql.w.st. 'rgz.ydk.ahdh.wysq.b.aph

the form is

Or if a horse does not defecate or urinate, the sap of a si-measure of the qulqlianu-tree/plant and a si-measure of the 'rgz- tree/plant should be pulverized together, and it (the remedy) should (then) be poured into his nose. 18

It seems plain that Ugaritic veterinary medicine was continued in Phoenicia and Carthage, recorded by

Mago, in the Renaissance!

and somehow resurfaced

In Israel an exceptional warhorse is allowed a human word "Aha"

(Job 39,25); Xanthos in Iliad 19.407 is more articulate. It seems very Iranian that

the kings of Judah should dedicate horses to the Sun, II Reg 23,11 tf'atSJ'1?... •"D-IO, as the Scythians sacrificed them, Herodotus Annually in Rome the October

19

1.216 equus

was sacrificed to Mars in the Campus Martius.

20

Likewise the gods are horsemen. Yahweh "rides on a swift cloud" as Zeus in Home Isaiah 19:1 r regularly is the "Cloud-

17 Veterinariae medicinae libri duo, ed. Ruellius, 1530, p. 37 [not seen by me]; my sources are AM Honeyman, "Varia Punica," AJP 68 (1947) 77-82; Loren R. Mack-Fisher, "From Ugarit to Gades: Mediterranean Veterinary Medicine," Maarav 5-6 (Spring 1990) 207-220.

18 Translation by Chaim Cohen & Daniel Sivan, The Ugaritic Hippiatric Texts: A Critical Edition; American Oriental Series 9; New Haven, 1983.

19 Since (11.60) we propose that the words for "sun" are related, "horses to the Sun" forms an international phrase; but the words are so old and changed that it hardly traveled as such.

20 Festus p. 190L.: October equus appellator, qui in campo Martio mense Octobri immolatur quotannis Marti with much further detail. He goes on to attest that the Lacedaemonians on mount Taygetus "sacrifice a horse to the winds" (equum uentis immolant), and the Rhodians "annually throw the quadrigas dedicated to the Sun into the sea" (quotannis quadrigas Soli consecratas in mare iaciunt) .

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gatherer;" ; Baal is "rider of the clouds," Ug. rkb rpt.21 Zeus' double Poseidon drives his horses over the sea, as described in detail Iliad 13.23-31; more briefly Euripides Androm. 1011-1012 "And you of the Sea who drive a chariot of gray mares over the salt sea,"
İTTTTOIS

So in a uniquely mythological passage, Habakkuk 3,15 (cf. 3,8) "Thou didst drive thy horses over the sea," ^po-io U*2 37· Roman mosaics of Neptune driving his chariot of four hippocamps across the sea may then go back to a Near Eastern prototype. Etruscans knew Neptunus in the form Nethyns·,22 and Bernal23 suggests that Neptunus/Nethyns has his name with a change

of sex from the Egyptian goddess nb.th.t "Mistress of the House, known to Plutarch as Nephthys, deity of the waters.

In the next chapter (11.3) I discuss the role of the High God, Yahweh or Zeus or Jupiter, in providing rain and snow—above all on the mountains, from whose valleys or caves water flows down even in the dry summer. The servants of Ben-Hadad king of Aram (Syria) explained their defeat by the Israelites, "their gods are gods of the mountains" (I Reg 20,23, cf. 20,28 and 11.242): D.Tn'1TM nn n

where the versions with dramatic correctness have plurals: Vg dii montium sunt dii eorum; Luther Ihre Götter sind Berggötter. That is where the snow and rain come from and where the free men live, even though poor, who were originally responsible for the conquest of the lowlands. Montani semper liberi.²⁶ Mountains are named for their snow, as Mont Blanc, or the White Mountains of New Hampshire; so Lebanon (1.210), cf. Heb. 13*7 "white" and Arabic لَبَن laban(un) "soured milk, yogurt." With Latin albus see probably Alpes (Caesar BG 3.1); Albion Pliny 4.102 (from the white chalk cliffs of Dover).

Hermon is the "Mount of Snow," ^ Uta; 27 other snow-names are Sierra Nevada; "Himalaya" Strabo 15.1.29;

Strabo 11.12.4; 11.14.2. Then , being a generic

21 KTU 1.4.III.11.

22 Etruscan mirror, now in the Vatican; LIMC vii.1.481, Nethuns 9. 23 Bernal ii.97-98.

24 Erman-Grapow ii.233.

25 Plutarch, de Iside et Osiride 38 (= Mor. 366C).

26 The motto of West Virginia; no earlier attestation easily found. 27 Targum Onq. Deuteronomy 3:9.

10.2 Cultivated plants

9

mountain-name, may mean "white" in some non-Greek IE language, and its adjective "snowy" would be redundant.

Not merely do the mountains shelter gods, they may be gods. The treaty of

Mursili II and Duppi-Teshub (1330 BC; see 1.284 treaty 09) in its god-list has "Mount Lablana, Mount Sariyana" (Lebanon; Sirion = Hermon).

28

Carmel (^?), seemingly a mere geographical term in the Hebrew Bible,

doubles as a god: Tacitus Hist. 2.78 "Carmelus lies between Judaea and Syria, so they name a mountain and a god. The god has neither image nor temple—so older authorities state—but only an altar and piety": est Iudaeam inter Syriamque Carmelus: ita uocant montem deum- que. nec simulacrum deo aut templum

—sic tradiere maiores—: ara tantum et reuerentia.

Perhaps the Baal of Elijah's contest (I Reg 18,21) is this god rather than Melqarth. An inscription from Carmel of the late 2nd century CE on a foot twice life size (either votive or belonging to a large statue) reads

. . [] "Zeus

Heliopolites Carmelus, Gaius Julius Eutychas, colonist of Caesarea."

29

Here the old God of Heliopolis (Baalbek, probably so named when

under Ptolemaic control after Egyptian Heliopolis = old "On," 11.48) is conflated with the god of Carmel.

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10.2.1 Wheat and barley

The unity of Mediterranean agriculture appears in lists of grains and fruits. For millennia before writing, barley and wheat, both native to the Fertile Crescent, had been cultivated. Ruth goes on gleaning (Ruth 2,23) "until the end of the harvest of barley and the harvest of wheat":

D^{ann} Tsp-i ••H'&fcr-rsjp 1 ??— LXX , Vg hordea et triticum.

Job's protest presumes the same crops (Job 31,40 with singulars), "let thorns grow instead of wheat, and stinkweed [a unique noun] for barley":

28 ANET3 204.

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nin KÍ P

29 M. Avi-Yonah, "Mount Carmel and the God of Baalbek," IEJ 2 (1952) 118- 124, with further documentation. Discussion in Stern ii. 13-14.

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LXX Homer describes the infantry battle at the ditch (Iliad 11.67-69) "As reapers facing each other drive their swath down a blessed man's field of wheat or barley, and the handfuls fall thick":

... .

That the owner is "blessed," , means not just that he is rich but favored by the gods, otherwise his crops would not grow. 30 Disguised Odysseus flatters Penelope (11.90), comparing her to a king(!) who through giving just judgments (Odyssey 19.111-112), , ensures it that "the black earth bears wheat and barley": / ; that trees are laden with fruit and flocks with young; and that the sea teems with fish. This archaic-magical view of the king's function is echoed at Ps 72,16, "May there be abundance(P) of grain in the land":

Job 31,40 shows the same mentality: the constancy of Job's crops generating their own kind depends on his maintaining constancy of justice.

With Heb. "Q "grain" the lexica compare Arabic burr (un) "wheat, grain of wheat," which in the accus, burran runs parallel to .

Mostly 3 is poetical or covers grain of any variety; it is the word for what Joseph stored up during the fat years in Egypt, Gen 41,35 etc.

Latinists do not compare far "spelt" (genit. farris) with but rather with OE bere "barley"; however the comparison with "13 and the Arabic is also attractive.³¹ All these words could be European and Mediterranean variants for "some kind of grain."

The simile of the reapers at Iliad 11.67-69 taken in one direction pathetically contrasts death in war with the seemingly life-giving farm scene; but in the other direction the reaping tinges with the finality of death. Eliphaz (Job 5,26) puts the best color on the image: "You shall come to your grave in ripe old age (?), as a shock of grain comes up [to the threshing floor] in its season": ini; 3 ni^y?

30 Elsewhere I hope to discuss the possible Egyptian etymologies of .

31 So Möller 34, Bomhard 219. Levin points out that far like lac "milk," mei "honey," and fel "gall" "belongs to the very basic mother-and-child vocabulary, devoid of any classificatory morpheme, and treated by default as neuter in its adjective agreement and pronoun reference."

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10.2 Cultivated plants 11

Vg ingredieris in abundantia sepulchrum sicut infertur aceruus in tem-pore suo. The mysteries of Eleusis, in which Demeter gave Triptolemus the grain (Apollodorus 1.5.2) to sow over the earth,

as in the well-known relief (ab. 440 BC), may or may not have involved the death and new life of the seed. But the New Testament does: Joh 12,24 "Unless a grain of wheat (, Vg granum frumenti) falls into the earth and dies, it remains alone, but if it dies, it bears much fruit"; so I

Kor 15,36 "That which you sow is not quickened unless it dies." Gide in the cantata Perséphone (set by Stravinsky) applies the New Testament theme to Eleusis: Il faut, pour qu'un printemps renaisse Que le grain consent à mourir Sous terre, afin qu'il reparaisse En moisson d'or pour l'avenir .

10.2.2 Fruit trees

Odyssey 9.105-110 sees the prevailing Cyclopes as pre-agriculturalists, for whom, relying on the gods, everything grows unsown and unplowed, "wheat and barley and vines yielding wine from excellent grapes; and the rain of Zeus nourishes them": ' , , .

The poet realizes that wheat and barley must have grown native somewhere, and by conjecture places it in the west. Deut 8,8 describes Canaan as "a land of wheat and barley, of the vine and fig and pomegranate, a land of the olive yielding oil and of honey...": »'an-i lotf rrrH N

njRn-i l??.! j"n'yen na n

LXX , , , , ; Vg terram frumenti

hordei uinearum, in qua ficus et mala granata et oliueta nascuntur, terram olei ac mellis. Wheat and barley grew wild nearby, but the author refers to cultivation. Jotham's fable (Jud 9,7-15) thinks of three "royal" trees as fit to rule over the others: olive, fig and vine.³² The neat Phaeacian orchard beside its

vineyard has (Odyssey 7.115-116) "pear-trees and pomegranate-trees and apple-trees with shining fruit and sweet fig-trees and flourishing olive-trees":

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32 Hag 2,19 like Deut adds the pomegranate. Joel 1,10-12, listing crops destroyed by the locust, to the two grains and four fruit trees adds apple and palm.

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Apart from the apple (added to such a list in Joel) and pear this is the list of Deuteronomy.

For the symbolism of the olive see 1.60-61 above; for the vine 1.134-

158. In both countries the pomegranate has a clear sexual meaning. The virgin bride of Cant

4,12-13, "a garden locked," holds a "paradise of Oli?» LXX , Vg paradisus to Demeter pomegranates," malorum punicorum. In the Homeric Hymn (2.412-413)

Hades gave Persephone a pomegranate seed, , and "compelled me by force

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to taste against my will."

The fig is a sign of a woman's sexual maturity. Cant 2,13 "The fig tree puts forth its figs,"

>33 3 3, LXX , Vg ficus protulit grossos suos. So Aristophanes in the final marriage song of Pax 1349-50 "His is big and thick, her fig is sweet," - / ' . Rabbinic 23 "unripe fig" may pass for a Mediterranean word beside ficus and (Boeotian TÛKOV [LSJ]). The fig-leaves of Gen 3,7, 3 H^U, LXX , are appropriate in that what they cover can be compared to a fig.

Besides marking sexual maturity, in its leaves the fig marks the spring.

Hesiod Opera 679-681: there is a brief sailing-time in spring "when first leaves appear to a man on the topmost branch [of a fig tree], as big as a crow settling down makes its footprint": In a contemporary Lebanese proverb it is time

for planting:³⁴ "When fig leaves are as large as the palm of, a raven, plant your chick-peas":

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ll .l^~l «*> £ Le

The fig takes years to mature, and a grown tree testifies to decades of peace. Besides its olive Athens had a sacred fig, given by Demeter (Pausanias 1.37.2); "When they take the sacred things from Eleusis to the city, they rest () at it."³⁵ Only when swords have been

³³ At Zach 12,11 the LXX tr. 13003 "the mourning for [the god?]

Hadad-rimmon" as ? , the only attestation for the noun "orchard

of pomegranates." If Greek fúsas originally had a digamma, and remembering the shift m/w, we could compare *! with rimmlown; but this is merely speculative.

³⁴ Anis Frayha, *Modern Lebanese Proverbs Collected at Ras al-Matn, Lebanon*; Publications of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, Oriental Series no. 5; Beirut: American University 1953, no. 3633, p. 647. Note the parallelgräb to Hebrew in'U "raven" and Latin coruus (1.313).

³⁵ Philostratus Vit. Soph. 2.20.

10. 2 Cultivated plants 1 3

beaten into plowshares can every man sit under his vine and figtree, Mic 4,4:

iruKn nnm iaaa t^ s The same

stability is attested under Solomon (I Reg 5:20, cf II Reg 18,31; Zach 3,10). Jesus saw Nathanael

under his fig tree. Gautama received his enlightenment while sitting under the royal fig or pipai tree, *Ficus religiosa*, and became the Buddha.³⁶

At a later date Buddhism was not entirely unknown to the West.

King Asoka in his Prakrit inscriptions states that he sent ambassadors to five Hellenistic kings:³⁷ Antiochus II of Syria (261-246 BC) [Amtyoye etc.], Ptolemy II Philadelphus (285-

247), Magas of Cyrene (d. 258) , Antigonus (Gonatas, 276-239), and some Alexander. In a bilingual Greek- Aramaic inscription from Afghanistan from the tenth year of Asoka his name Priyadarsi appears as 3 = (KAI 279). 3 8 King Chandragupta (ab. 300 BC) was known as (Strabo 2.1.9 etc.). Clement of Alexandria³⁹ says that some Indians "have honored Boutta () as a god because of his surpassing awesome-ness," ' cos . Jerome⁴⁰ quotes a tradition of the "gymnosophists" quod Buddam principem dogmatis eorum e latere suo uirgo generarti, "that a virgin bore Budda, the leader of their sect, from her side."⁴¹

10.2.3 Legumes

Agriculture, although dependent on a state bureaucracy, was simpler in the Nile and Euphrates

valleys, because the annual flood brought fresh nutrients to the soil. The rain-watered fields of the Mediterranean had three requirements: periodic fallow periods; rotation with legumes to

restore nitrogen; and vegetable mulch or animal manure. All those could only have been learned by hit or miss over centuries. The He-

36 I cannot easily find an early Sanskrit or Pali text stating this in a concise manner.

37 Jules Bloch, *Les inscriptions d'Asoka*; Paris: Belles Lettres, 1950; see Rock Edict 13 p. 130. In the Rock Edicts "Ceylon" (Strabo 15.1.14) appears as Tambapamni etc.

"does truthfulness" in a double root; the editor interprets ' as "the body of Buddhist truth," dharma.

39 Clemens Alex. Strom. 1. [15]. 71.6.

4 0 Jerome, Adv. Iovinianum 1.42 [309], PL 23.273A.

41 See A. Dihle, "Buddha und Hieronymus," pp. 98-101 of his *Gesammelte Aufsätze* (ed. V. Pöschl

38 In the same inscription the king QBpHO uses the
et al.); Heidelberg: Winter, 1984.

brew Bible attests only the first, in the provision (Ex 23,10-11; Lev 25,1-7) to let the ground lie fallow every seventh year (11.25). Homer and Hesiod attest the use of fallow land, .

The planting of legumes to restore nitrogen is clear in Theophrastus Hist. Plant. 8.9.1: "Wheat exhausts the land most of any crop (

) ... beans actually seem to manure the ground (...) through their loose growth and ease of rotting, so that the people of Macedonia and Thessaly turn the ground over when it is in flower.

So Cato de agrie. 37.2 Quae segetem stercorent fruges: lupinum, faba, uicia, "Crops which manure

the ground: lupine, beans, vetch." Both texts assimilate the use of legumes to manure.

In Greece, because of silt washed down from the hills, the plains are very much richer than even the better portion of the hillfoot and hillside, where the soil, such as it is, can only be kept in position by terrace-walling; and this was the basis of a sharp class-division between poor and primitive uplanders and well-to-do plainsmen.⁴²

Sanders will modify this:

In Greece the best land for supporting life lies in the foothills between 200 and 400 m. This is where one finds a truly mixed cultivation. The plains have too many problems, chief among them the perennial floods which create stretches of stagnant water and fine breeding grounds for disease.⁴³

Aristotle [Ath. Pol. 13.4, cf. Plutarch Solon 13.1) says that the "party of the plain-dwellers ([[]])" in Athens was oligarchic, while that of the "highlanders" ([]) was democratic. There is a similar distinction in Palestine between the mobile hill-dwelling Hebrews and the sedentary Canaanites of the plain; it was in the uplands there that a literate society and an understanding of justice was born.

The culture of the vine, requiring the best soils and sophisticated techniques, had an international vocabulary (Chap. 4). The growing of grains, the olive and other fruits has on the whole indigenous vocabulary. However, there is a nice parallel in the names of the bean, which, although the food of poverty, may through its necessary use in crop-rotation have spread internationally.

The earliest way of preparing grain was cracked, boiled and made into porridge; it required less fuel than baking, and so many proteins were retained that it could be the staple of diet. Thus Pliny 18.83 pulite,

42 AR Burn, *The Lyric Age of Greece*; London: Arnold, 1960; 18. 43 Sandars (note 3 above) p. 27.

10.3 Domesticated animals 15

non pane, vixisse longo tempore Romanos manifestum, "it is evident that for a long period Romans lived on porridge, not bread." Excavators should take pains not to elevate porridge bowls to the status of libation bowls. In times of need legumes were mixed with grains or substituted for them. Thus emergency rations in David's campaign (II Sam 17,28) and in Ezekiel's dramatized siege (Ez 4,9) both include "beans and lentils," $D^{\wedge}T\acute{\iota}l^{\wedge}$, LXX, *Vg fabam lentem*.

We saw (1.342) that a lens in the sense "lentil-shaped flask" may have gone into Hebrew ijS for "flask" of oil.

By themselves, the legumes were identically cooked. Thus (Gen 25,34) Jacob gave Esau a "pottage of lentils," $D^{\wedge}IJS^{\ast} IT3$, LXX, *Vg lentis edulio*; so Theocritus 10.54 () ... "boil up better lentils." The Lebanese consider their mujaddarah⁴⁴ none other than Esau's dish of lentils; it did not make a big hit with American children being brought up there. But now Heb. powl "beans," one ingredient of such a porridge, reminds us of Latin *puis* and "porridge." As with Jacob, the porridge could be made of legumes; a fragment of Alemán promises "pease porridge" ();⁴⁵ again Pliny records (18.118) *quin et prisco ritu puls*⁴⁶ *fabata suae religionis diis in sacro est* "in the archaic rite bean-porridge was sacred to the gods with a religious character all its own."

10.3 Domesticated animals

10.3.1 Sheep and goats Greek

mentions sheep and goats separately although flocks were mixed: the Cyclops (*Odyssey* 9.244) "sat

down and milked his sheep and bleating goats"

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where the imitative shows how eta was pronounced. Diomedes (*Iliad* 10.485-6) attacks the

Thracians "as a lion coming on un-shepherd animals, goats or sheep, rises against them with evil intent":

I say , , evil

44 2 cups lentils, 1/3 cup rice, 1 cup chopped onion, 3/4 cup olive oil, 1 tsp salt: Marie Karam Khayat & Margaret Clark Keatinge, Food from the Arab World; Beirut: Khayat's, 1959; 58.

45 Alemán frag. 96 PMG = Athenaeus 14.648B. 46 MSS pulsa.

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where means any small herded animal. Hebrew on the other hand, where the flocks were also mixed, often does not specify the species, and uses collective of a flock of sheep and/or goats whose singular is nfr. So 1;J3 "herd" is collective of "litS "ox." Thus Exod 21,37 on restitution (cf. 1.202) "he shall pay five oxen for the ox, and four sheep (or goats) for the sheep (or goat)":

nfcn nnn ' nits'rt nnn d^ep - '

But when there is a contrast,

Sam 25,2) had "three thousand sheep and a thousand goats":

can mean "sheep" plural; Nabal (I

IK'S

Vg accurately oues tria tnilia et mille caprae. The species are fully distinguished only where they are designated by sex. Jacob brings as present to Esau (Gen 32,15) "200 she-goats and 20 he-goats, 200 ewes and 20 rams":

nnSw cp'p'W ^ n^ipv crt^ni ••' •ry Commoner than 2>";n for "he-goat" is DMy "Pyt? Gen'37,31 etc. "buck from among the

she-goats." Hebrew had no international word for either barley or he-goat, since it calls both "hairy," rn'BÈf and TBÉp.

Here the later versions are models of accuracy: Vg capras ducentas, hircos uiginti, oues ducentas, arietes uiginti; Luther zweihundert Ziegen, zwanzig Böcke, zweihundert Schafe, zwanzig Widder. In this pastoral vocabulary, -iym (as an old collective) serves as plural

equally for males and females, as with men (D''ÎS'3N) and women (D1^]). The males were kept only for breeding.

Levin⁴⁷ proposes parallels between the names of young animals in Semitic and Indo-European. Thus (a) Heb. 3 "calf" beside and Latin agnus "lamb"; the Greek and Latin together imply a labio-velar *agwnos which actually appears in Ethiopia, (b) Heb. ;13È>3 "ewe-lamb" (this form only at Lev 5,6) with likely plural n'aies* beside Old High German kilbur "lambs"; for in other words (1.97) Hebrew 6} sin has a "lateral" or 1-component. He compares a whole class of OHG neuter plurals of baby animals ending in -ir. (c) Heb. "Ha "kid" with Arabic cognates and Latin haedus "kid," German Geiss etc.

Of all baby animals, the most vulnerable was the lamb, so that it became particular prey to the wolf. Nothing so remarkable as that (Isa 11,6, cf. 65,25) "the wolf shall

dwell with the lamb" feos'Dy nsr -ui along with kid and leopard,

calf and lion; LXX

, Vg lupus cum agno. Achilles tells Hector (Iliad 22.262-3) "there is no

⁴⁷ Levin, SIE 105-119.

10.3 Domesticated animals 17 reliable treaty between lions and men, nor do wolves and lambs have a common mind"

So in a proverbial phrase of abandonment (Herodotus 4.149.1) "to leave him as a sheep among wolves," ôiv .

Jesus is given Homer's choice of nouns by Luk 10,3 "I send you out as lambs (but Matt 10,16) in the midst of wolves," cos . So elsewhere in the Gospels, "ravening wolves" () "in sheep's clothing,"

Matthew 7:15; the hiring shepherd who sees the wolf coming and abandons the sheep (, Joh 10,12). Sirach 13,17 "What has the wolf in common with the lamb?," ;48 —The names of the "wolf": , lupus, Gothic wulfs, Sanskrit vfkah etc. cannot quite be brought together into correct descent; similar names appear for different animals, Latin uolpes "fox, " English whelp, and even the "lynx"; we can compare then (Job 30,1) "•W'Jr'O'?? "my sheep-dogs,"

Arabic ʕis kalb(un).so

The lamb plays an ambivalent role, made part of the family but in the end only to be slaughtered. The ewe lamb (ʕ"lÊD3) in Nathan's parable (II Sam 12,3) grew up with father and children: "It used to eat from his morsel, and drink from his cup, and lie in his bosom, and it was like a daughter to him." One year in Beirut when Ramadan came round to spring and nearly coincided with Easter,

our Moslem landlord illegally brought up and then slaughtered a lamb in the back yard; the children who had been playing with it were shooed indoors until the deed was done. The theme in art is equally ambiguous. In a Greek archaic bronze statuette from Boston with numerous equivalents, Hermes carries a small ram on his shoulders, surely for sacrifice.⁵¹ The much-restored "Good Shepherd" from the Vatican (not demonstrably Christian) represents an idealized youth with a shepherd's bag carrying

48 See West EFH 395 with further examples.

49 Frisk 11.144 citing Swedish lo, old Germanic *luha.

50 Also the bear is brought into the confusion: the cult center of Greek Arcadia "Bear Country" is Mount Lykaion "Wolf Mountain"; the constellation Ursa Minor is Kynosoura "Dogtail" in Greek; Old English Beowulf "bee-wolf?" is some kind of a bear; in Syriac, Hebrew 3W "wolf" and 3H "bear" fall together into almost identical forms, torn di'bo' "wolf" (Joh 10,12 Peshitto) and {<31 debbo' "bear" (Rev 13,2) .

51 LIMC v.2.22, Hermes 260; Boston, Fine Arts Museum 99489.

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a curly-fleeced sheep on his shoulders, apparently for protection.⁵² But in the end some of the protected sheep would not be kept for wool or milk, but be slaughtered young for meat, or mature for hides.

10.3.2 Cattle

In hilly Canaan and Greece sheep and goats can more easily find pasture than the cow, less agile and more demanding; since the primitive Indo-Europeans surely had an economy based on cattle, they must have lived on flatter plain country. Sanskrit and

Avestan texts suggest the myth of an original cattle-raid;⁵³ in the Mediterranean it is seen in more legal terms as cattle-theft. In a single Hebrew text (11.16), Exod 21,37 "If a man steals a bull...he shall repay five cattle in place of the bull":

it appears as object of *clepere*.

DJ?EP - ; ripian ... lito'

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Levin⁵⁴ compares "stative" words for "stolen thing": Exod 22,3 33 and attributed to the laws of Solon;⁵⁵ in general the two roots 233 and - run parallel. There is a rare cognate in Latin, *clepe* imperative (Plautus Pseud. 138).

But now (1.194) with collective ~l̥⁵³ "herd" we compared Latin neuter collective *pecus* (plural *pecora*) "flock" of sheep or "herd" of cattle. It is an extension of neuter *pecu* "flock, herd" (plural *pecua*) with equivalents in Sanskrit neuter *paçù*, Old English *feoh*, German *Vieh* etc.⁵⁶ If it is related to a verb "shear," "sheep" would be the primary denotation. Thus Hector (Iliad 12.451) lifts a stone as easily "as when a shepherd easily carries the fleece (TOKOS) of a

male sheep":

<i>S' oíos

It has a rare alternate (LSJ) and verb - "comb, shear":

Hesiod (Opera 775) says that the eleventh and twelfth of the month are favorable "both to shear [metrical variant] sheep and reap the kindly fruits":

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ôis

^{5 2} Metropolitan Museum, The Vatican Collections: The Papacy and Art; New York: Abrams, 1982; no. 134 p. 218.

^{5 3} Bruce Lincoln, *Priests, Warriors, and Cattle: A Study in the Ecology of Religions*; Berkeley: Univ. of California, 1981, 103-121.

^{5 4} IESL 242-3; SIE 214-220; 11.322.

^{5 5} Pollux 8.34; perhaps a quotation from the law in Scholiast on Aeschylus PV 400 "He goes off with the

stolen thing in his possession," ? ; but West (IEG Adespot. Iamb. 56)

considers it epodic.

5 6 A third form, fem. pecus "single animal" (plural pecudes) is an inner-Latin formation; in Accius (below)

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The original sense may have been more abstract.⁵⁷ A "cattle-

thief" is ;⁵⁸ Hermes "stole the oxen" of Apollo (Horn. Hymn 4.18) Bous

. It has been proposed⁵⁹ that the Cy-clops (Odyssey 9.296) has his name not from "Circle-Eye" but from *! "Cattle-Thief"! We have the closest approach to Old Latin *pecora clepere in a fragment of the Atreus of Accius (cited by Cicero de nat. deorum 3.68): agnum inter pecudes aureum clarum coma quem clam Thyestem clepere ausum esse e regia

(Atreus speaking) "[The father of the gods sent me] a ram of golden fleece, conspicuous among my sheep, which Thyestes was reported to have secretly stolen from my palace." Also Germanic has cognates to both Latin clepere and pecu. Hence one more international phrase of verb with noun object "to steal cattle," almost as well attested as "test gold," "slaughter a bull" and "mix wine" (1.18). Levin notes that the Gothic New Testament has faihu translating words for "property"

(Mark 10,22-3; 14,11; Luk 18,24) and hlifand for (Matt 6,19). Thus in the time of Wulfila a Goth might have said *faihu hlifand "they steal a beast" with identical meaning and forms to early Latin *pecu clepunt.

10.3.3 Tame animals in the Golden Age We saw

(11.13) that peace is when (Mie 4,4) "they shall sit each one under his vine and fig tree, and none shall make them afraid (TW)." The italicized phrase recurs in

two passages which promise rain on the land, and security from wild animals and foreign enemies, under a renewed covenant: Lev 26,3-13 and Ez 34,25-31.

That wild beasts are neutralized reappears at Isa 35,9, where there will be no lion on the new Holy Way; and above all (11.16) at Isa 11,6, where the wolf will live with the lamb, and likewise for other oppo-

5 7 Levin cites from a review of his: "Emile Benveniste refutes the accepted view that *peku (unchanged in Latin pecu; Sanskrit paçù, OHG fihu) in origin meant 'cattle'

(in the broad sense) or more specifically 'sheep' —cf. the verb-root *pek 'shear, fleece.' From the Indo-Iranian texts, from the Latin pecunia and peculium, the Gothic faihu, etc., he proves that this application to beasts is secondary to the general meaning 'movable property.' I would prefer 'dis-posable property' and posit— contrary to Benveniste—that the primary form of it among the proto-Indo-Europeans was a fleece."

5 8 Sophocles frag. 318 TrGF iv.308.

5 9 Paul Thieme, cited by Rüdiger Schmitt, *Dichtung und Dichtersprache in Indogermanischer Zeit*; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1967; 168.

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sites. So in Hellas Empedocles, describing something like the Golden Age,⁶⁰ says that "all animals were tame and friendly to men, beasts and birds, for the flame of concord burned in them":

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Vergil in Eclogue 4.22, explicitly designated (vs 9) as the time of a "golden race," gens aurea, has "nor shall herds fear the great lions," nec magnos metuent armenia leones. Jerome on Isa

ll,6-96 1 says of literal interpreters: Nisi forte iuxta fabulas poetarum, aureum nobis Saturni saeculum

restituent, in quo lupi et agnis pascentur simul...

"Unless they plan to restore the golden age of Saturn for us, after the fables of the poets, in which wolves will feed together even with lambs⁶²..." The American Quaker primitive Edward Hicks (1780-

1849) has a deep understanding of the Biblical materials: in his re-peated versions of the Peaceable Kingdom, set against the Hudson or the Delaware Water Gap, he always puts William Penn's treaty with the Indians (1683), representing simultaneously the healing of breaches in

the historical and natural orders.

Who is the "little child" (Isa 11,6 f. lin, Luther ein kleiner Knabe) that will lead the animals? Hicks represents him as a toddler. But at I Sam 16,11 Samuel asks Jesse if all his sons ("youths," 0"3) are there; and Jesse says all but the "youngest" ("t?ij>n), for he is keeping the sheep. Then the whole passage Isa 11,1-9 is about David the "root of Jesse": the manifold spirit of Yahweh shall rest on him; he will judge the poor justly; and he will lead the tame animals. How will he do that?

David is a lyre-player (I Sam 18,10; 19,9): the effect of his playing is (temporarily) to send away Saul's evil spirit (I Sam 16,23); and so the Greek bard, the "servant of the Muses" (, Hesiod, Theog. 98-103), dispels sorrow and grief. A vase of the 11th cent. BC from Megiddo⁶³ called Philistine shows a lyre-player surrounded with animals; the identification with an Orpheus figure is irresistible.

60 Empedocles frag. 130, Diels-Kranz FVS8 i.364.

61 Corp. Christ. 73.151.

62 But I do not find any pagan version of the Golden Age which specifically reconciles wolf and lamb.

63 Metropolitan Museum of Art, Treasures of the Holy Land: Ancient Art from the Israel Museum; New York: Metro Museum, 1986; p. 156 no. 75; Israel Museum IDAM 36.1321. Discussion by Trude Dothan, The Philistines and their Material Culture (New Haven & Jerusalem; 1962; 149-153); the alternative explanation that a king is singing about beasts and birds is less convincing.

10.4 The crisis of land-tenure 21

Euripides (Bacchae 562-4) tells how "Orpheus playing on his kithara moved the trees with his songs ('Muses!'), moved the wild beasts," / , .

The theme appears in Roman mosaics; in the 6th century CE a syna-gogue mosaic from Gaza⁶⁴ shows David (labelled) playing the lyre among animals. So perhaps David in Isaiah 11 is seen as an Orpheus figure. Orpheus was son of Zeus and the Muse Kalliope (Apollodorus 1.3.2), as David is son of the God of Israel (Ps 2,7).

10.4 The crisis of land-tenure

10.4.1 Tenure and alienation

Hebrews and Greeks of the historic period agreed in a theoretical schema

about land-tenure: (1) at an ill-defined original time all land was held in common; (2) it was then divided among heads of household by lot; (3) the descendants

of those original land-holders continued in possession down to the present; (4) those descendants were the only full members of the society; (5) any other persons resident on its territory were under some sort of restrictions. Until recently Marxist historians held that at the earliest period, both in Greece and Italy, land was actually held in a "primitive commune."⁶⁵ With the collapse of the Socialist regimes in Eastern Europe less is heard of this doctrine today; in 1977 a well-known manual called the sources on which it was based "scanty and unreliable."⁶⁶

In Israelite theory all land belonged to Yahweh. Just as in his capacity of Great King he was considered to have granted a vassal-treaty to the Hebrew king and people, ie, the covenant (1.254); likewise he was considered to have granted the land after the Mesopotamian pattern to the Israelite people as a fief, ie, "in return for the obligation to render personal services."⁶⁷ de Vaux finds little evidence for the supposed communal property; under the early monarchy (he says) there were only two types of property, the king's estate and

64 Asher Ovadiah, *Mosaic Art in Ancient Synagogues in Israel from the 4th to the 7th centuries*; Tel Aviv: University, 1993; p. 21.

65 Bibliography, from a point of view sympathetic to the theory of the primitive commune, in Robert A. Padgug, "Select Bibliography on Marxism and the Study of Antiquity," *Arethusa* 8 (1) (1975) 199-225, esp. 213.

66 Austin & C Vidal-Naquet, note 2 above; p. 74 n. 19. Some more documentation (dated) in my original article, *ZAW* 95 (1983) 384-5.

67 R. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel: Social Institutions*; 2 vols.; New York: McGraw- Hill, 1971; i.164.

family property, each passed on by inheritance.⁶⁸ Jos 13-19 is a theo-retical account of how the land was originally assigned to the tribes by lot; but in fact by the historical period the householder is simply in possession of his land.

Greek legendary memory hardly goes back so far. But the prime evidence that both Greeks and Hebrews held to the theoretical scheme is that both describe land-holding through a word which has all three meanings

"pebble," "lot," and "piece of land." Hebrew *73 corresponds to Arabic collective ZJt-jaral(un) "stones." Prov 16,33 • jliarm K <7û!P p^na "a lot is cast into the garment's fold," Vg sortes mittuntur in sinu-, Ñum 26,55 - pì7IT ^nìaa-^K "by lot shall the land be divided," LXX .

6 Jos 15,1 -1

... ""ja 1? ·?13 11" the lot for the tribe of the sons of Judah was...", Vg sors filiorum Iudae.

Frisk takes from "break" as "pebble, potsherd," comparing Old Irish ciar "Brett, Tafel." When Paris and Menelaus are to engage in a duel, Hector and Odysseus (Iliad 3.316) "took lots and shook them in a bronze helmet" to see who should cast first:⁷⁰

Hector urges the Trojans to risk their lives, for if the Achaeans give up, wives and children will be safe, and "your house and lot will be undamaged" (Iliad 15.498):

...

Nausithoos at Scheria "allotted the fields," {Odyssey 6.10}. Sesostris in Egypt (Herodotus 2.109.1) "gave each man an equal square lot." Plato's ideal city (Leg. 745C) is to have 5,040 .

71 Still today in the English-speaking world a piece of land is a "lot." The two words for "pebble, lot," are similar enough to arouse curiosity, not so

similar and

as to prove any connection.

No doubt the actual process by which families acquired land was less systematic. And in spite of regulations to keep real estate in the family, including temporary ownership by a widow (1.238-9, 11.278), the roster of families could not remain completely unchanged. In spite of all legal efforts a family might die out. If there were two sons the

68 Ibid., i.124-126, 166-167.

69 In both Hebrew sentences the true subject is marked accusative as if the verb were active impersonal.

70 This comparison was independently made in unpublished work by Anne Marie Kitz.

71 For such a theoretical division of the land see Weinfeld, Promise 23.

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10.4 The crisis of land-tenure 23

land might be divided. Hesiod Opera 37 reminds his brother Perseus "we had already divided our lot":

γὰρ ()

but Perseus seized the greater part by doing a favor to the "gift-eating kings" (/ 38-9). And some property at least was available for sale: Hesiod again advises piety to the gods "so that you may buy the lot of others, and not another yours" (Opera 341):

' , else

The alienability of land in the Greek world was also much discussed under Socialist auspices. 72 The alienability of land in Israel is concretely

demonstrated by the formation of large estates. Isa 5,8 "Woe to those who join house to house, who add field to field": יְחַרְחוּר וְיִבְנוּ בֵּית לְבֵית וְיִשְׁכְּנוּ בְּיָדֵיהֶם וְיִשְׁכְּנוּ בְּיָדֵיהֶם

וְיִשְׁכְּנוּ בְּיָדֵיהֶם וְיִשְׁכְּנוּ בְּיָדֵיהֶם · Micah 2,2 "They covet fields, and seize them; and houses, and take them away": וְיִשְׁכְּנוּ בְּיָדֵיהֶם וְיִשְׁכְּנוּ בְּיָדֵיהֶם

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Aristotle in the Ath. Pol. 12 gives a series of verse quotations from Solon (archon 594 BC) with comments. Solon frustrated some parties who hoped for a redistribution of land (12.3) to their own benefit. Aristotle continues (12.4):

Again, [Solon goes on] concerning the cancellation of debts, and concern-ing those formerly enslaved but freed through the seisacbtheia [lifting of burdens]: "And I—of all the aims for whose sake I gathered the people, which I did abandon before achieving it? Let my best witness⁷³ in the tribunal of time be the greatest of the Olympian deities, black Mother Earth, from whom I lifted off the markers everywhere fixed—Earth, formerly enslaved, now free". ⁷⁴

again

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; ' '
, , Oru ,
, .

⁷² See again my notes in ZAW 95 (1983) 385; Austin ÔC Vidal-Naquet (note 2 above) 98f.

⁷³ Here Earth is a witness to the fulfillment of an obligation as in the gods witnessing a treaty (1.269).

⁷⁴ Solon frag. 36.1-7, West IEG ii.141.

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In Hellas, the original boundaries were too well known to need markers, so the horoi defined

the extent of usurpation, whether by mortgage or outright annexation. Israel still had markers for

the original extent of the fields, which the usurpers removed. Prov 23,10 "Do not remove the ancient landmark (Vg terminos),⁷⁵ or enter the fields of the

fatherless":

o'pto ^aa aon-1?« LXX ... When mortgages are canceled in the hypothetical fiftieth jubilee year,

the command is (Lev 25,10) "You shall proclaim liberty (LXX , Vg remissionem, Luther Freilassung) in the land to all its inhabitants" (the text cited on the US Liberty Bell):⁷⁶

n^^-'PD1 ? ynxn "im ariNnjp-i So at Rome, Numa Pompilius "decreed that whoever destroyed or removed the markers (ôpouç) should be

accursed ()... for the Romans consider the termini (etc.) to be gods and sacrifice to them yearly" (Dionysius Halic. 2.74.3-4). Thus a Roman lexicographer:⁷⁷ Termino sacra faciebant, quod in eius tutela fines agrorum esse putabant. Denique Numa Pompilius statuit, eum qui terminum

exarasset, et ipsum et boues sacros esse.

"They offered sacrifices to [the god] Terminus, because they believed that the boundaries of fields were under his care. And finally Numa Pompilius decreed, that whoever plowed over a boundary- stone should be condemned [to death] along with his oxen. " Again, a preserved law:⁷⁸ Quique termini hac lege statuti erunt, ne quis eorum quem eicito neue loco moueto sciens dolo malo.

"Whatever boundaries shall be fixed by this law, let no one knowingly, with malice aforethought, remove any of them or move it from its place."

10.4.2 Cancellation of debts, redistribution of land Aristotle affirms that Solon carried out a cancellation of debts but

doubts that he did a redistribution of land; however, Athenians on Solon's showing were reduced to slavery or serf-status both through

⁷⁵ Same phrase at Deut 19:14; 27,17; Job 24:2; Proverbs 22:28; Hosea 5,10.

⁷⁶ Cast (in England) in 1752 for some anniversary or Jubilee of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania; the text was

"Proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof."

⁷⁷ Festus (excerpted) p. 505 L.

⁷⁸ CG Bruns, Fontes Iuris Romani Antiqui, 7th ed., Tübingen: Mohr, 1909; i.96.

':? FT1 ? ·? ^lön-i

debt and losing property. Plato (Rep. 8.566A) gives the classical conservative critique of both actions: an extreme democracy leads to oligarchic reaction; over against this the people demand a "protector" () who

ends up a human wolf, that is, a tyrant; among other techniques "he hints at cancellation of debts and redistribution of land," .79 But the cry for cancellation of debts (1.249-251), however much misused, arises from an awareness of real abuses. In the founding of a colony a distribution of land often happened—at the expense of any local farmers. Delphi urged colonists to go to Cyrene on that ground (Herodotus 4.159.3): "Whoever goes to lovely Libya after the distribution of land, I say that he will soon regret it":80 ôs âç yäs ,

The final goal of the Sabbatical and Jubilee legislation in Israel was comparable to Solon's: to redeem Israelites from slavery or serfdom.

The Sabbatical year at first involved letting the land lie fallow, ostensibly "that the poor of your people may eat" (Exod 23,11 RSV), but perhaps in reality to restore fertility, whether or not that was fully understood; for in Lev 25,1-7 the poor do not appear. In Deuteronomy it has become a cancellation of debts or "release," Deut 15,1 nisattf (LXX , Vg remissionem, Luther Erlassjahr). In the earliest attested sabbatical year (163/2 BC?—I Makk 6,49-53), as in others, only the lack of provisions is mentioned; but the cancellation of debts was taken with enough seriousness that Hillel devised a formula to cancel it, the Prozbul ('Puma 1.250). The Jubilee year appears only in Leviticus (8c Num 36,4), where leases and sales are canceled, and (Lev 25,10) "each of you shall return to his property (LXX , Vg possessionem, Luther Habe) ":

imr 1?« s^ s oniitfi Lev

25,23-4 states the general principle: "The land shall not be sold in perpetuity, for the land is mine; for you are strangers and sojourners with me. And in all the country you possess, you shall grant a redemption (n'pKa, LXX , Vg sub redemptionis nni??1 ? -ge n '1 ? ^ ? ' fn « ^' s?·! -3 n^xa

•FiK D-atfim ana- ··?

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79 The same conservative critique of both actions, cancellation and redistribution, is echoed at Isocrates 12.259; Ps.-Demosthenes 17.15; Oath at Demosthenes 24.149; Dionysius Hal. 7.8.1.

80 For the pattern of colonization see the discussion of Weinfeld, *The Promise of the Land*, in Chapter 15 below.

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In contrast to the Sabbatical year, there is no record that the Jubilee restoration was ever carried out. Weinfeld⁸¹ considers that "the laws

of $\text{nt}\hat{\text{u}}^{\text{Qtf}}$ and $\hat{\text{av}}$ remained Utopian." Both seem quite untainted by Plato's suspicions of coming tyranny.⁸²

10.4.3 "Strangers and sojourners"

The formula "strangers and sojourners" of Lev 25,2-3 has a beautiful parallel at Rome. It appears

in the LXX as $\text{Vg aduenae et coloni}$. The doubled phrase appears elsewhere:⁸³ at Gen 23, 4 Abraham says, "I am a stranger and sojourner among you," $\text{opa? } \bullet \text{g'JK ntfirm ia LXX}$, $\text{Vg adueña sum et peregrinus}$, Luther *Fremdling und*

Beisasse. The LXX of Gen 23, 4 is picked up at I Pet 2,11 (see Eph 2,19; Heb 11,13). The doubled phrase suggests a legal

term like "curse and oath" (1.256) in treaty-context; or "justice and righteousness" (11.33), which spread both through prophetic poetry and royal proclamations. Aliens, instructed in one legal system so to refer to themselves, would naturally carry the terminology elsewhere.

Alcinous says to the Phaeacians (*Odyssey* 8.546) "A stranger and suppliant is considered like a brother,"

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Odysseus tells the Cyclops (9.270-271) "Zeus Xenios, who assists all revered strangers, is the avenger of suppliants and strangers":

⁸¹ Moshe Weinfeld, *Social Justice* 11; see *Promise* 193.

⁸² Ben Zion Wachholder ("The Calendar of Sabbatical Cycles during the Second Temple and the

early Rabbinic period," HUCA 44 [1973] 153-196) on the basis of various texts tried to show that the Sabbatical year was consistently celebrated at regular 7-year intervals throughout antiquity. Thus he takes the first Sabbatical year in the Common Era to be from 1 Tishri CE (=AD) 6 to 30 Elul CE 7 (consistently with 163/2 BCE); all Sabbatical years thereafter would then end in a CE year evenly divisible by 7. Current usage in Israel, based on a medieval calculation, made the year CE 1972/3 Sabbatical (Encyclopaedia Judaica xiv; New York: Macmillan; 1971; 585), whereas on Wacholder's reconstruction the Sabbatical year would have been 1973/4. In a later article ("Chronomessianism: The timing of Messianic movements and the calendar of Sabbatical cycles," HUCA 46 [1975] 201-218) he suggests that various Messianic movements were consciously begun on a Sabbatical year.

But he misses the possibility that Jesus' inaugural sermon at Nazareth was on a Sabbatical year (which on his reconstruction could only have been CE 27/28); for there (Luk 4,18) he quotes Isa 61,1 "to proclaim liberty to the captives," which as we will see (11.28) picks up Lev 25,10 (Jubilee) "to proclaim liberty in the land."

83 Gen 23,4; Leviticus 25:47; Numbers 35:15; Psalm 39:13; I Chronicles 29,15.

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Hippocrates raises an army (Thucydides 4.90.1) from the entire citizenry of Athens, "themselves

and the resident aliens ['metics'] and all the foreigners available," TOUS

. But in none of these Greek formulas are the two nouns full synonyms. It is in legalistic Rome that the Semitic formula most clearly implanted itself. At Plautus Poen. 1031 Hanno the Carthaginian refers to himself as *hominem peregrinum et aduenam*; Plautus, who elsewhere puts Punic into Hanno's mouth, may have a Punic source for this too.

Thus Cicero de or at. 1.249 *ne in nostra patria peregrini atque aduenae uideamur* "lest in our own fatherland we seem foreigners and strangers "; de leg. agr. 2.94 *non hospites sed peregrini atque aduenae nominabamur* "we were not named honored guests, but foreigners and strangers." The phrase was fixed in Latin, so that when Jerome came to its

Hebrew equivalent at Gen 23,4 he used the old language (in reverse order). Here is a formula brought from overseas to Rome, very likely by Phoenicians.

10.4.4 Unfree persons Control

of land led to enslavement of the old owners. Micah 2,2 (11.23) goes on "they oppress a man and

his house, a man and his inheritance":

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of shoes": cr1?!?] nay a iriiKi ^ ? ^çm The usurpers are in

collusion with the judiciary: "the prince and judge

ask for a bribe (Dl^tS1' [text in some disorder])" (Mie 7,3) instead of "establishing justice in the gate" (Amos 5,15): tastfo nyts'ii iraní Nowhere are the two Greek epic traditions closer than here. Hesiod

\3·1 121 -íptfin Amos condemns those (Amos 2,6, cf. 8,6) "who sell the righteous for silver, and the needy for a pair

Opera 263-264 "Gift-eating kings (cf. vs 39 cited 11.23), straighten

forget crooked judgments":

... fables ,

your words⁸⁴ and wholly

On an autumn day Zeus may send a downpour in anger at men (Iliad 16.387-8) "who in a violent assembly decide crooked decrees, and

84 For some MSS have the seemingly unmetrical .

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drive out justice, not minding the gaze of the gods (= Hesiod Opera 251)": oī) àyoprj

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Cf Isa 10,1-2 "Woe to those who decree iniquitous decrees...to turn aside the needy from judgment": D"1?!" 1 ? nitan1? ... inppipn •"" ^in The result is exile

and slavery. Solon continues his report of success, claiming to have done what in the prophets is seen as the work of God: 8 5

And I brought back to Athens, to their fatherland founded by the gods, many who, lawfully or unlawfully, had been sold, and those who fled by dire necessity, no longer speaking the Attic tongue, so far had they wandered; and I also set free those who here at home were subjected to shameful slavery, and trembled before the moods of their masters.

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Another , ' , ' ,

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having,

So Jer 31,8 "Behold I am bringing them from the land of the North (Saphon, see 1.100-101), I will gather them from the borders of the earth":

}>-'3: trn^api pas pnxα «•'na Elsewhere it is the task of the

Servant of Yahweh "to bring out the prisoner from the dungeon" (Isa 42,7) "laosip K^in1 ? and "to proclaim liberty to the captives" (61,1) 1 tnatf 1 ? «"ijp1?, LXX (cited exactly in the LXX by Luk 4,18, Jesus at the Nazareth synagogue). "To proclaim liberty" echoes the Jubilee proclamation Lev 25,10 (11.24).

The newly disenfranchised did have one big advantage over the slave, serf or sojourner: they attracted the attention of the poet or prophet.

The demands made by the poet in fact are moderate and non-revolutionary. Neither in Amos, Micah or I Isaiah, neither in Hesiod or Solon, do we find any concern about the lot of serfs, privately held or state

85 Solon frag. 36.8-15 West IEG 141 = Aristotle Ath. Pol. 12.4.

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slaves, beyond the former landowners. Defects in distributive justice command little attention. The principal notion of justice is commuta-tive: outrage is felt when somebody

who once owned something has it taken away from him. Compare the famous definition of justice by Ulpian of Tyre^{8 6} : *iustitia est constans et perpetua uoluntas ius suum cuique tribuendi*, "Justice is a constant and perpetual will to render each one his due." The poetic concern for justice in both societies is limited to the inequity that legitimate hereditary landowners have been dispossessed and reduced to slavery, while their land has gone to somebody else. What someone had never possessed was not considered his due.

If we want to read about concerns for the slave or resident alien, in Hebrew we must leave the prophets and go to the Law; in Greece we must leave history altogether and

go to Utopian thought. The only prophetic passage dealing with manumission is Jer 34,13-14; and the function of the word of the Lord here is to recall the provisions in the Law of the sabbatical year. The abhorrent thing is that Zedekiah and the people "broke the terms of the covenant" (Jer 34:18) by reneging on the manumission they had begun. That is what it is to "profane the name" of Yahweh, "Otf'nR -l^n ni (34,16). ^{8 7} Here it is the Law that is the more progressive institution.

86 Digest 1.1.10. He summarizes a discussion of Cicero de fin. 5.25 on *iustitia* as the *animi affectio suum cuique tribuens* "state of mind which grants each one his own."

87 I cannot bear adding one theological note. The passages which speak of "profaning (^) the name" are a little directory of what must not be done in this world: they include reversing the manumission of slaves (Jer

34,16); sacrificing children to false gods (Lev 18,21; 20,3); lying under oath (Lev 19,21); "trampling the head of the poor ... turning aside the way of the afflicted" and prostitution (Amos 2,7). Rare passages define its

opposite as "sanctifying () the name": Ezek 36,23 (cf. Lev 22,32; Isa 29,23): "And I will sanctify my great name, which has been profaned among the nations" : •Man ^na n filari ""atf-ns ""Fitf

Luther emphasizes it that the two verbs ^^ and are exact opposites: Denn ich will meinen grossen Namen, der vor dem Heiden entheiligt ¿sí... wieder heilig machen. A prominent Aramaic part of the Synagogue liturgy, the Qaddish (D.

Hedegård, Seder R. Amram Gaon I; Lund: Lindstedt, 1951; 41 &), extends Ez 36,23: "Magnified and sanctified be his great name in the world which he created according to his will; may he establish his kingdom during your life...": •pD^na nniD^a - ^ rimino to: m xa^in ten nati t;npm 'njm The first three clauses of

the Lord's Prayer (Matt 6,9-10) all rest on this:

. - ...

The Syriac Peshitto restores the Qaddish vocabulary except for "will":

•jras Kim: -jmi^a : -|B» enprn And so the meaning of "hallowed be thy name" includes: freeing slaves, reverencing children, telling truth, lifting the poor.

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The former landowners, one way or another, joined the spectrum of unfree persons. While slaves could be gotten in various ways, many were taken as prisoners of war and so designated (as in Isa 61,1 LXX = Luk 4,18 cited above) by "captured by the spear," "by the point." The latter can serve for a woman (Cassandra of herself, Aeschylus Agatn. 1440) but has a collateral feminine (Sophocles Aias 1228 etc.). There is a unique Hebrew

parallel at Gen 31,26 where Laban complains that Joseph has carried off his daughters "like captives of the sword," 3 ni'Utf 3 (Vg captiuas gladio); the LXX found ready-made the translation - .

Some non-Attic states had permanent unfree peoples bound to the land: Aristotle (Pol. 2.6.2-3 = 1269a34-b7) discusses the class (-) of Penestai (ie) at Thessaly, the Helots () at Sparta, and the Perioikoi () of Crete. 88 He says that the Penestai and Helots repeatedly rebelled, but not the Perioikoi. Plutarch (Solon 22.2) says that "a multitude of Helots, which it seemed better not to leave idle, but to keep down, continually

oppressed and laboring, was spread out in Lacedaemon": ô ,

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Israel, besides the temporary draft of labor-gangs on specific royal projects like the corvée (013 I Reg 5,27) in Lebanon, had a permanent parallel to these unfree populations in the Gibeonites. Jos 11,19 says that only "the Hivites, the inhabitants of Gibeon" ("O EP1) made peace with Israel.89 We identified (1.32) the uncircumcised Hivites with the Achaeans; and suggested (1.201) that the great bamah of Gibeon (I Reg 3,4) was a link to the Greek altar or . Margalith90 now has a long discussion of Hivites and Gibeonites, in particular of Saul's Gibeonite ancestry according to I Chron 9,35-39,9 and identifies the Gibeonites with the later Nethinim of the Temple

88 There was also a class of Perioikoi at Sparta (Herodotus 6.58.2), midway in status between the true Spartiates and the Helots; both subject groups (H. says) must engage in ritual mourning at a king's funeral.

89 Also in Jos 9, the "inhabitants of Gibeon" in vs 3 become "the Hivites" in vs 9.

90 Othniel Margalith, *The Sea Peoples in the Bible*; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1994, 62-91.

91 According to Chronicles then, Saul's massacre of the Gibeonites (II Sam 21,1-14) was an effort to wipe out the non-Israelite stock from which he himself came.

Levin asks whether the genealogy of I Chron 9,35-38 "reveals intermarriage between an Israelite and a Gibeonite family? Or merely an Israelite family settling in Gibeon, and perhaps claiming patronage over the Gibeonite? Was

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Gibeonites by a famous stratagem (11.51) persuaded the Israelites to make a covenant with them on the grounds that "thy servants have come from a very distant country" (Jos 9,9), ἴκ ὦ if they had in mind a legendary home in the Aegean it was very distant indeed!

When Joshua discovered their ruse he made them (Jos 9,21, cf. Deut 29,10) "hewers of wood and drawers of water"

Διο-αῖ ἔχ' ἄνδρες, slaves (vs Luther Holzhauer und Wasserschöpfer, LXX

22) for the as yet non-existent house of God. The of Iliad 23.123 seem skilled artisans, not slaves; but the female HYDROFOR of Herodotus 3.14.4 are led in humiliation.

Perhaps the Linear occupations from mainland texts du-ru-to-mo "treecutters"⁹² (cf. Iliad 11.86) and re-wo-to-ro-ko-wo "bath-pourers?"⁹³ (cf. Odyssey 20.297) are palace servants.⁹⁴

Pejorative designations of peasants on the land are derived from the soil they worked. Egyptian peasants were called "blackfeet"

(Apollodorus 2.1.4) just as French city-dwellers called the French colonial farmers of Algeria

pieds-noirs. The serfs at Epidauros were "dustyfeet. What gets you out of the

servant class is to have your feet washed when you have been on the road. Most Hebrew texts assume that men will do it for themselves.⁹⁶ The dust on the feet of itinerant preachers is a testimony against all who would not receive them (and let them get their feet washed),

Mark 6,11 etc. Odysseus' first recognition is when his old nurse washes his feet while he is still in disguise (Odyssey 19.386) Conversely, to wash another's feet is to enter the servant class. The enslaved Milesian women wash the feet of their new masters (Herodotus 6.19). wash the feet of the servants of my lord" (I Sam 25:41). It is especial condescension when the woman of the city washes Jesus' feet with her tears (Luk 7:38); even more so when he washes the feet of the Twelve (Joh 13,1-16).

Saul's cruelty to them due to a grudge which arose from their flouting the rights or privileges of his family, and which he dignified as 'his zeal for the sons of Israel and Judah'?"

92 DMG2 no. 252.

93 DMG2 nos. 9,10.

94 Saul Levin, "Greek Occupational Terms with Semitic Counterparts," The First LACUS Forum 1974, 246-263, esp.

252-6 participial segment of these "compounds describing , discusses the vocalism in the men's work."

95 Plutarch Quest. Gr. 1 = Mor. 29IE.

96 Gen 18,4; 19,2; 24,32; Jud 19:21; II Sam 11,8.

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10.5 The poetry of justice

The shepherd (often with a complement of goats also) up there in the hills is in a receptive situation. He is mostly alone, as when David or the shepherd of Iliad 5 (II.3) must deal with a lion coming onto the fold. Whatever shelter he has is rudimentary; he is more aware even

than the farmer (with a house to go to at night) of rain, thunderstorm, sunshine. He is the living representative of the state of affairs, historical or legendary, when all the land belonged to all men, for there is no need of fences or boundary stones up there, the soil is too hilly and rocky for cultivation. He has gotten from his father the understanding that the rain is the gift of the High God (11.3 below); and that the thunder is his voice, giving a word of law (11.1). In his struggle with lion or wolf or bear the Israelite shepherd takes on the role of the High God, the shepherd of his people; the Greek shepherd of Agamemnon or Heracles. Each welcomes rain from the High God as watering the lot that he or his cousin cultivates down below; and since that God is the god of his people, he recognizes the God as legitimating the correct division of the land down there into its individual portions.

10.5.1 The justice of the High God⁹⁷ As

long as each family is secure on its land, the purpose of the original division is automatically ensured. But only in theory can that go on forever. A family's sons may die; poverty may force it to relinquish its land. Justice consists in equitably dealing with the inequalities that time brings. Jeremiah (22,15-16), apparently of a just king, "Did not your father...do justice and righteousness (H^{li}M t23P'0)? ... He judged the cause of the poor and needy (" |1 !?) ... Is not this to know me, says Yahweh?":

9 7 The esteemed editor of this series, Otto Kaiser, has treated the relationship between the Hebrew and Greek ideas of justice from other points of view: "Dike und Sedaqa: Zur Frage nach der sittlichen Weltordnung. Ein

theologisches Prä-ludium," *Neue Zeitschrift für systematische Theologie und Religionsphilo-sophie* 7 (1965) 251-273; "Gerechtigkeit und Heil bei den israelitischen Propheten und griechischen Denkern des 8.-6. Jahrhunderts," *ibid.* 11 (1969)

312-328. Both reprinted in his *Der Mensch unter dem Schicksal*, BZAW 161; 1985; 1-40.

9 8 José Porfirio Miranda, *Mark x and the Bible: A Critique of the Philosophy of Oppression* (tr. John Eagleson; Maryknoll; Orbis, 1974) 44 takes this as "the explicit definition of what it is to know,Yahweh."

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The near-synonymy between the twin nouns "justice and righteous-ness" is underlined by the versions which give them an etymological relationship, Vg iudicium et iustitiam, Luther Recht und Gerechtigkeit.

In numerous other passages they stand in the same relationship. Hesiod (Opera 225-7) echoes the

thought: "But those who give straight judgments to strangers and residents, and go aside in no way from what is just, — their city flourishes."

Weinfeld begins his now classic book":

The concept of social justice was expressed in Ancient Israel and in the Ancient Near East by means of a hendiadys [ie a single concept in two words]. The most common word-pair to serve this function in the Bible is HplSl BSBO, "justice and righteousness"...100

The comparable Greek pair is and "justice and law": so Pindar (Isthm. 9 frag.) of those in a well-ruled city, "not infringing on the law or justice due to strangers," /

Or in the plural: the definition of the unsocialized Cyclops is that (Odyssey 9.215) "he does not know acts of justice or laws":

... nor

The Hebrew can equally well be in the plural, Ps 103, 6 "Yahweh does acts of justice and judgment to all who are oppressed": •^M'ir 1 ^ 1 ? ætpstfo-i nipiii np'v

Luther here brings all three concepts into linguistic relationship, Der Herr schafft Gerechtigkeit und Recht allen, die Unrecht leiden.

99 Weinfeld, Social Justice, 25; his attempt to find the same construction in Hesiod Opera 226 is flawed.

100 Weinfeld also considers the pair and "liE^O "uprightness," which in Hebrew do not quite occur in "hendiadys" but rather in parallelism: so Isa 11,4 "But with righteousness (plS) shall he judge the poor, and decide with equity (liH^ Q) for the meek of the earth" and thus frequently. (But

see Prov 1,3 D'H^ai taaiö'Ql pi s where all three appear as synonyms.) It is this pair that occurs in Canaanite: thus at Byblos (KAI 4) of king Yehimilk "a king of justice and a king of uprightness" (less likely that they are adjectives here):

-ltr "I^Ol pis "I^DD And

so in Ugaritic Keret, KTU 1.14.1.12-13 'ft sdqh lypq mtrht ysrh "his lawful wife did he find, his legitimate

spouse." They likewise appear as typically doubled divinities: KTU 1.123.14 (apparently in a god-list) sdq msr; Philo Byblius (FGH 790 F 2.10.13 in a genealogy of divinities) "Misor and Sydyk."

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The justice of the High God can be harsh. At first it may have seemed his care for the continuity of the family that he "visited the iniquity of the fathers upon the children to the third and fourth generation of those who hate him" (Ex 20,5), or when Delphi insisted that Croesus must be punished for the sin of his fifth ancestor (Herodotus 1.91). Later it seemed more appropriate that the children's teeth should not be set on edge for the sins of their fathers (Ez 18,2; Jer 31,27). But

the new individualism had dangerous consequences which are also ascribed to the High God: in hard times the children rise up against their parents (Mie 7,6;

Matt 10,35); and so in the Iron Age "the father will not agree with his children nor the children with their father" (Hesiod Opera 182-3).

Harsh or otherwise, in both societies the High God is the guarantor of justice. In Greek the theme is concentrated in a hundred verses of Hesiod (Opera 239-333) but affects many other texts. As contrasted with the animals, it is "to men that the son of Kronos gave justice"

(Opera 279) ' . This parallels the central Biblical theme (Ps 98,2) "He has revealed his justice in the eyes of the nations":

in;5n? 1?? crian

LXX, And by Paul's echo it has become the central theme of the New Testament also, Rom 1,17 "the justice of God is revealed in [the good news]," yàp .

The High God keeps his eyes or eye fixed on earth. His beneficence comes out in the rain: Deut 11,10-12, after its contrast between Egyptian irrigation and Canaanite rain from Yahweh (discussed 1.22), goes on "—a land that Yahweh your God cares for, always the eyes of Yahweh your God are on it":

a ^ « m, ^"y -ra n nn'K tfn'i ^pn'1TM m.-p '

His impartiality comes out at Ps 11,4-5 "His eyes behold, his eyelids test, the sons of man; Yahweh tests the righteous and wicked..."¹⁰¹ DTK \33 -im.; rsya y -irrr vv v ran i {nr; mVr
Once his eye in the

fear him" (1.272):

singular is spoken of, Ps 33,18, "Behold, the eye of Yahweh is on those who

The eye of the High God is the organ which detects the justice that marks his own character. Hesiod Opera 267-9 "The eye of Zeus, seeing all and knowing all, looks on these things [events in a city] if he wishes,¹⁰

¹⁰¹ But vs 5 may be wrongly divided, and if so the impartiality vanishes.

¹⁰² Hesiod seemingly limits Zeus' omniscience—perhaps because some unfairly governed cities may flourish for a long time.

1TM nin·1 vi? nan AT·J V i ·· " .

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nor does it escape him what degree of justice is this that a city keeps within it":

vu \ ' ', ,

That "the eye of Zeus does not sleep" we saw in a Greek tragic fragment (1.122). In a treaty oath (Iliad 3.277, cited 1.269) among the divine elemental witnesses is "Helios [the Sun], you who see all things and hear all things"; "eye" in the singular may look back to a time when the sun was seen as the god's eye. In Menander the eye of Justice sees all things:103

The High God's justice is also compared to his rain or snow and the streams they feed, Amos 5,24 with regular parallelism "Let justice roll down like waters, and righteousness as an ever-flowing stream:"

, ^RN S NPIS- I iqatf o DIA ? BR I

For it is the rain-filled streams that make his justice attainable. Isa 55,10-11: As the rain and snow from heaven water the earth, so God's word does not return to him empty. We

see below (11.66) that the High God's thunder is heard as a word of law; two beautifully parallel poems will make the connection between his thunder and the justice which reverses inequitable social arrangements.

A passage from the proem of Hesiod's Opera (5-8) shows parallel-ism between the two halves of each hexameter, with no run-on lines:

For easily he makes strong, and easily he afflicts the strong man; easily he diminishes the proud man and increases the obscure man; easily he straight-ens the cripple and blasts the proud man—Zeus, who thunders on high, who inhabits most high dwellings.

yà p , , ' ,

' ,

, .

Likewise the song of Hannah (I Sam 2,1-10) has a series of reversals, obviously not arbitrary but based on justice: "Yahweh kills and brings to life; he brings down to Sheol and raises up. Yahweh makes poor and makes rich; he brings low, he also exalts." And it ends "Yahweh—his adversaries are shattered, against them he thunders in heaven":

103 Menander St. 225 ed. S. Jaekel (Teubner 1964) 45.

in? croœ'a

I:P~II? -inn:, mrp

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10.5.2 The shepherd and the teachers of song The Hebrews felt it

appropriate that the ostensible authors of law and psalm should at one time have been shepherds. It was when Moses was "tending the flock of Jethro" (Ex 3,1), nrr " ' that he heard Yahweh from

the burning bush. We saw that young David kept sheep for his father (I Sam 16,11; 17,34). Even more so the authors of prophecy. Amos was among the shepherds (0"Hp'3 Amos 1,1) of Tekoa when he "saw" his words; "Yahweh took me from following the flock" (Amos 7:15), nn« a mrr ^n^ i

But his shepherding was part-time, in transhumance, for he was both "a herdsman and a dresser of sycamore trees" (7,14) lypjptf "o']« ip n

^

The Psalmist says (Ps 40:4) "And [Yahweh] put a new song in my mouth,"

2>' TE> •'33 IFPI The new

song is the vindication of God's justice. Ps 96 (similarly 98) begins "O sing to Yahweh a new song, sing to Yahweh all the earth": pxn-^ s mrr1? -îmtf and ends "He will judge the world with righteousness, and

the peoples with his truth":

ts'in mtf mm1? ·#

invaio D^iayi More pi^a ^an-a'atf.; concretely, David himself is made to say "The Spirit of Yahweh speaks by me, his word is upon my

tongue" (II Sam 23,2): •,3it»'?'-?'i) in^ ai And so Yahweh says of his Servant (Isa 42,1) "I have put my Spirit on

him, he will bring forth justice to the nations": K ^

r ••».ia'p taatfp r'pr " •'Fin]

Further, that spirit bears multiple gifts or is itself multiple: of the coming Davidic king it is said (Isa 11,2)

"And the spirit of Yahweh shall rest on him, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge and of the fear of Yahweh": :·>3· ntpn nn mm nnr^y nmi mm memi nûfr . htq hrmnn

If we count correctly we arrive at (Rev 1,4 etc.) the "seven spirits before the throne" of God.

The Greek poet must call upon the Muse to tell him the story. At Scheria Odysseus can tell from the accuracy of Demodocus' account that "either the Muse, the child of Zeus, has taught you, or else Apollo" (Odyssey 8.488): ' , , '' Apollo

mm nn

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Hesiod's poems show that he knew most about farming; but like Amos he doubled as a transhumant shepherd, going up on the mountain in summer. And there he met the Muses () "who once taught Hesiod sweet song, as he was pasturing his sheep under divine Helicon" (Theog. 22-23): ' ,

''

Further (31-2) "they breathed into me a divine voice, so that I could celebrate things to come and things that have been":

... ,

' ,

The center of what he celebrates is (Opera 256) "virgin Justice born of Zeus":

, ·

Up there on the mountain, somehow the shepherd is taught to sing of Justice; words are put in his mouth by a divine feminine memory-figure, at once single and multiple. Only the divine source of justice can teach the song in which justice is expressed.¹⁰⁴ Western society looks back on Greek texts as "classical" in form and on Hebrew texts as "revealed" in

content (1.14). Hesiod, though not in the highest rank for Greek poetry, gives the fullest account of how it came to be; Amos is almost equally informative. The poets took over

many phrases from tradition: Hebrew poets took pairs of nouns; Greek epic poets took pairs of proper name and adjective which conveniently ended a verse.¹⁰⁵ What new did they get from the Muse or Spirit? — A form of words uniquely suitable for recitation expressing universal experience. So on death. David says of his child by Bathsheba (II Sam 12,23) "I am going to him, but he will not come back to me": -»';-«'1? .] r 1 ?« |?'

Helen (Iliad 3.243) speaks of her brothers Castor and Polydeuces as if alive, but the poet adds "So she spoke, but already the teeming earth held them..."

, '

104 West (EFH 170-173) compares the typical beginning of an Homeric hymn with Akkadian usage and also Hebrew: Moses' song (Ex 15,1); Deborah's (Jud

5,3); and some Psalms, eg Ps 89,2. He sees Vergil's *arma uirumque cano* and Whitman's "I sing the electric body" as continuations, through Greek usage, of the Ancient Near Eastern practice.

¹⁰⁵ So JB Hainsworth in the Oxford Odyssey i.350 (on Od. 8.63, cited 11.161 below): The gift of the Muses "to the poet was not sublime inspiration, an idea not earlier than the fifth century, ...but knowledge of the great storehouse of legend and saga."

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(probably once meant "growing barley," but already in Homer it is reinterpreted as "life-bearing"—in a fixed phrase, but one still carefully chosen for this context.)

The Hebrew poet says that Yahweh or his Spirit puts a new song in his mouth or on his tongue, he sings it aloud. Pindar {Olymp. 3.4} says "The Muse stood by me when I found a new- shining mode," ' . Although Apollo is the leader of the Muses (106) they are "Pierian maidens, daughters of Zeus" {Olymp. 10.96} . Language is what distinguishes human beings from animals; the poet or prophet is the user of language par excellence. The divinely-taught bard stands at the center of the new emergence represented by Israel and Hellas. Only in a free society, under the conditions we have seen, was the word of the bard possible. He celebrates the merits of his society in many ways.

Looking as if from outside onto himself, he praises the agency of the High God for giving him that word; looking outward he defines the free society by its possessing the justice of

the High God. Pindar gives two pieces of advice to rulers as poets also (Pyth. 1.86): "Guide the army [ie the men and the city] with a just rudder; forge [as a bronzesmith] your tongue on a true-ringing anvil"

An international Mediterranean physiology holds that the difference between a living person

and a dead one is that the living has the breath of life, expressed in Greek and Hebrew by several nouns each. Then the "divine voice" which the Muses breathed into Hesiod was something above and beyond. So Elisha asks and receives from Elijah "a double measure of your spirit" (II Reg 2,9), 3>_,

, Vg duplex spiritus tuus. A seer in the underworld, a Tiresias or Samuel, still has his wits about him and can foretell the future, because

some of that extra sticks to him (11.189).

The Muses are counted to nine by Hesiod (Theog. 76, giving their names) and by Odyssey 24.60-61; but other numbers are attested. It is tempting to compare them with the attributes of Ahura Mazda in the teaching of Zarathustra. Later tradition makes those six in all in addition to Spenta Mainyu "Holy Spirit," more or less identified with Ahura Mazda.¹⁰⁷ In Yasna 47.11 0 8 all seven appear, but not clearly as a college of divine figures:

1 0 6 Pindar frag. 24 1 Bowra.

1 0 7 Mary Boyce, Textual Sources for the Study of Zoroastrianism; Totowa: Barnes & Noble, 1984; 13. I do not attempt an exact transcription of the Avestan.

108 Ed. S. Insler, The Gāthās of Zarathustra, Acta Iranica III série 8, Textes et Memoirs I; Leiden etc.: Brill, 1975; 88; tr. from Boyce 44.

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Through the Holy Spirit (Spenta Mainyu) and Best Purpose (Vohu Mana), by act and word in accord with Truth (Asha), They [ie the whole college?] shall grant him [the worshipper?] Wholeness (Haurvatat) and Immortality (.Ameretat) 109—Lord Mazda, together with Power (Khshathra) and Devo-tion (Armaiti).

Plutarch¹¹⁰ already has Horomazes create six gods, of which the first, is clearly Vohu

Mana, and the second, ' is Asha. Can Hesiod's and Zarathustra's lists go back to a common source? may be related to "strength," identical with Avestan ma-nah. "Clio" is the feminine of (/), identical (1.11) with Sanskrit çravas "fame" and Avestan sravah "word," appearing frequently in the Gathas. 112 Does Isa 11,2 show awareness, however distant, of a divine group of six figures?¹¹³

Knowledge of Magian religion came early to the West in Herodotus and the "magi"

of Elephantine (1.342). Later it is specifically Zoroas-trian. Plutarch in the passage

just quoted knows of and the two rival divinities and '.¹¹⁴ The adversary appears in Zarathustra's words at Yasna 45.2, Angra Mainyu "Evil Spirit." The Greek name of Ahuramazda was formed when zeta was still pronounced zd; when

it shifted to dz the name became

(Diogenes Laertius 1.8) to preserve the sound. It has been speculated¹¹⁵ that the Cilician king (Herodotus 7.98) bears his name.

109 These two appear at Quran 2.96/103 as Härüt and Mārüt (Jeffery 282). 110 Plutarch, De Iside et Osir. 47 = Mor. 370.

111 Memory is the mother of the Muses, Horn. Hymn Hermes (4.429-30) - ... and likewise they are her daughters (Pindar, Isthm.

6.74). If "Muse" is related to either root "I am eager" (Latin memini "I remember") "I learn," it will designate a force working for memory.

112 Levin IESL 248 citing Pindar Nem. 3.83 "fair-throned Fame."

113 Hellas and Mesopotamia agree in another group of seven: the wise men. Before "sophist"

got bad connotations, Greeks felt that there had been a group (Isocrates 15.235) and that Solon was one of them. But since the list varied, the concept must have preceded.

Akkadian knows a group of seven muntalki "wise men": Gilgamesh xi.305us-s'isu la iddû Vil [mun]-tal-ki "Have not the seven wise men laid its [the wall's] foundation?" (CAD 10.2.207).

JC

Greenfield ("Apkallu," DDD 134-8) calls them apkallu and cites descriptions of them from the Erra epic and inscriptions of the Assyrian kings. In the Aramaic of Hatra (1/2 cent CE) they appear as ^DBN (KAI 254). Likewise in Palmyrene (PAT 0320 = CIS

2.3974) (Ota «1TM lrrī) K'JDBK "apkallu of the good god 'Azizu." Greenfield (col. 137) implausibly translates Prov 9,1 (cf. 1.117 above)

"Wisdom built her house, the Seven set its pillars."

114 [Ps.-?] Plato Ale. 1122A has genit. as father(!) of Zoroaster, but the authenticity and date of this text are uncertain.

115 JM Cook, The Persian Empire (New York: Schocken, 1983) 149.

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Avestan Aburo Mazda is always two words, Old Persian almost always one Auramazda; the h was pronounced in view of the Aramaic from Elephantine ".116 Men at Palmyra carry the god's name, 01 and iroin. 1 1 7 At an uncertain date, Bab. Talm. Sank. 39a "A Magus once said to [R.] Ameimar, 'Your upper half belongs to Hormiz, your lower half to Ahriman'," where the latter name has been assimilated to that of the good god: -p'rao ron m

-ja^ao IÖ'OK'?

n^ no •"?

10.5.3 Sacral immunity of the speaker of justice The original

farmer-poet or shepherd-prophet—an Amos or Hesiod—then both have an idea of what ideal

justice in land-tenure should be; and, going back down to the city, can see where it is broken.

Later his task is taken up by men of an urban elite: Isaiah, Solon, Agis and Cleomenes kings of Sparta, the Gracchi. In Egypt or Mesopotamia we have no clear indication even that such

a vocation existed. But how is it that when the poet or prophet speaks words about the restoration of justice, they can be heard and remembered? We have discussed the comparative democracy of the Mediterranean city-state, and the simple alphabetic script in which his words can be preserved. But, when large land holders have come into existence with superior status in society, how can the prophet go on being heard? The answer must be that he has a special sacral immunity, which is clearer in Israel and in Rome than in Hellas; but Rome has no tradition of his words as revealed poetry to be remembered, while in Hellas the nature of his immunity is uncertain; it is in Israel that the two features are unmistakably combined.

Amaziah the priest of Bethel tells Jeroboam king of Israel that Amos has conspired against the king, "the land cannot bear all his words"

(Amos 7,10):

VHai-^~nN 'top'? jnxn 'PD-in-K'1?

But all Amaziah can do is to tell Amos to go away to the kingdom of Judah. For the prophet was once a holy ecstatic: Samuel says of Saul (I Sam 10,6) "And the spirit of Yahweh will come mightily upon you, and you will 'prophecy' with [the others], and you will be turned into another man": kPn1? Foanji dssj rvajnm mrr · ^ nn^si

.. • • • • • : ~ : : » . - - - - - •

116 Cowley 252.

117 PAT 0420 = CIS 2.3.4074; PAT 1575.

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Perhaps the 'prophecy' is unintelligible speaking with tongues. Again, perhaps in an alternative version of the same episode (I Sam 19,20-24), the spirit of God overcomes Saul's messengers, and eventually Saul himself, lying naked a day and a night before Samuel. The woman of Shunem recognizes Elisha as a "holy man of God" (II Reg 4,9) 1 ' \1'1? B^K. When the priests and prophets tell the princes and people that, for Jeremiah's words, "a judgment of death is against this one" (Jer 26,11), Jeremiah speaks to them in the

Name of Yahweh, and the princes and people reverse the judgement. One of the elders (Jer 26,19), citing the precedent of Micah, is afraid that if they execute him his words

will come true. At a later time the king's counselors beat Jeremiah, imprisoned him, and put him into a muddy cistern (Jer 37,16; 38,6); but they cannot bring themselves to kill him, and king Zedekiah is still so fearful of him that he allows the Cushite Ebedmelech to pull him out (38,7-13).

In Rome a similar status is occupied by the tribunes of the people. The plebs were thought of as a city within the city (11.107); and its representatives, the tribunes, *tribuni plebei* (Livy 2.33.1) were inviolable

(*inviolatos* Livy 3.55.7). If anyone harmed them (or other magistrates), such a one "should forfeit his head to Jupiter," *eius caput loui sacrum esset*—the same penalty as for moving a boundary stone (11.24). Interpreters of the law (Livy goes on, 3.55.10) hold that "the tribunes, by the ancient oath of the plebs, when first it created this office, were *sacro-sanct*," *tribunos uetere iure turando plebis, cum primum eam potestatem creauit, sacrosanctos esse*.¹¹⁸ Plutarch¹¹⁹

calls their status "sacred and holy and inviolable," ; Dionysius Hal. 6.89.4 calls their persons or 'bodies' "sacred and holy," Perhaps the tribunes had inherited from an even remoter antiquity a sacral status more like that of the Hebrew prophet; but whatever the historical status of the tribune's inviolability, it was real.

¹¹⁸ RM Ogilvie (A Commentary on Livy Books 1-5; Oxford: Clarendon, 1965, 500-503) explains the Roman thinking: "when a man committed an offense against a god...by breaking an oath made in a god's name, he became forfeit to that god—*sacer*.... [But] when the old notion of *sacer* became obsolete with the increasing secularization and ordering of the legal system, it underwent a subtle change. Instead of the person who violated a tribune being held *sacer*, the tribune himself was held to be inviolate or 'sacred' in our modern sense.

He could not be subjected to legal or physical restraint." And Ogilvie goes on to explain why the issue was important to Livy. "Augustus had assumed the sacrosanctity of a tribune in 36 [BC] (Dio 49.15.5) and certain other tribunician powers in 29 (Dio 52.42.3). Such innovations required justification... The question had a current topicality."

¹¹⁹ Plutarch *Quest. Rom.* 81 = *Mor.* 283B.

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The formation of the plebs as part of the society is attributed by tradition to a "secession" in 494 BC (Livy 2.33.4 per secessionem plebis) to a Sacred Mount (2.32.2). Their organization came to be known as the concilium plebis (Livy 2.57.1-2); according to the traditional account, they elected leaders, the tribuni plebis. One tradition makes those originally two in number (Livy 2.33.2 etc.), according to

Cicero (de rep. 2.58) to counterbalance the consuls, contra consulare imperium tribuni plebis...constituti. Cornell 259 gives as rational an explanation as possible of their status:

The tribunes' authority was based on what the Romans called a *lex sacrata*. This was a collective resolution reinforced by a solemn oath. Having elected their tribunes, the plebeians swore to obey them and to defend them to the death; anyone who should harm them became sacer....In this way the tribunes of the plebs became 'sacrosanct'....In a Roman context the *lex sacrata* has affinities with the military oath.

But this may historicize an older status more deeply bound up with religion and the remoter origins of the Roman people.

How was Solon able to put his reforms through? Plutarch (Solon 16.3) says that the people made him "corrector and lawgiver of the polity," . Aristotle [Ath. Pol. 5.2) says that "the many" and "the few" agreed to make him "mediator and archon" ()

—apparently on grounds of his verse¹²⁰ in which he expresses his sorrow at seeing "the oldest land of Ionia" (...) endangered. The natural conclusion is that, beyond his political connections, by his ability to create verse he fell heir to the special status of the poet in Hellas.

10.6 The personification of justice

10.6.1 Genealogy of justice and injustice To some degree in

both countries Justice was personified, and the themes are comparable. For Hesiod (Opera 256) as we saw (11.37) "on earth there is virgin Justice born of Zeus"; Aeschylus (September 662) calls her "virgin Justice, the child of Zeus":

Once only the Hebrew Bible speaks in so many words of "the justice of Yahweh," Deut 33,21

nî51S; but "thy justice" (Ps 36:7), "my justice" (Isa 46:13), "his justice" (Ps 22:32) are regular. In the plural in the song of Deborah (Jud 5,11) 1. nîpîS. At Jer 23,6 (= 33,16)

120 Solon frag. 4a West IEG ii.123.

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the new name -U^l· * given Israel means that Yahweh is justice. The first of the attributes of the spirit at Isa 11,2 is Wisdom (), of whom it is said (Prov 8,22,11.54) "Yahweh created me the beginning of his way":

effect she is his child, as Athena and Justice of Zeus.

We saw (11.33) that at Ugarit Sdq (Philo Byb.) is a divinity.¹²¹ Also it seems in Canaanite Jerusalem. Thus Melchizedek ^ "king of Salem" (Gen 14,18) is naturally interpreted as "My king

is Sedeq";¹²² and so Adonizedek king of Jerusalem (Jos 10,1) is pl2~'13""tK "My lord is Sedeq." The old usage then seems reflected at Jer 31,23 where Jerusalem is called 2~13 "the abode of Sedeq."

Martin Bernal¹²³ has compared 13 with "temple"—tempting, in view of dialectal (£) with digamma (LSJ). With II Sam 15,25 -113 "his (Yahweh's) abode" cf. Iliad 1.39 where Chryses has roofed Apollo a temple ().

In turn the daughter of Justice is Peace, "Quiet the daughter of Justice," Pindar Pyth. 8.1-2 With less personification Isa 32,17 "and the work of Justice will be Peace,"¹ Dî1?»'

npisn nfoiro nvn Again Pindar (Olymp. 13.6-

LXX

8) finds three sisters, Harmony, Justice and Peace (...); they are the "golden daughters of right-judging Law," . Prov 8,19-20 (1.73, 308) says of Wisdom "My fruit is better than gold (-, the Phoenician name), even fine gold, and my yield than choice silver; I walk in the way of Righteous- ness, among the paths of Justice." The personification is undeniable at Ps 85,11 where "Justice and Peace have kissed":

•1p2>3 Dî'?Eh p"l2 Here both nouns are masculine, but they become feminine again in the LXX,

.
The phases of injustice have a full genealogy in Greek, built either on animal generation or fruiting

of plants; Hebrew keeps only the agricultural theme. Hesiod set the fashion by having Strife () bear Toil, Oblivion (), Famine and a whole family of evils ending with

1 2 1 All possible texts for "Zedeq" as a divinity are gathered by BF Batto in DD D 1750-1758.

1 2 2 The old construct ending -iy- would make this "king of righteousness," but that lacks the sentence structure "divine name plus predicate" normal for a man's name.

1 2 3 Letter, January 1996; see 11.223.

1 2 4 Akkadian comparisons at West, EF H 305.

1311 rvw'fo in

mrp

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Ruin (), Theog. 226-230. Hence Solon¹²⁵ "When much Happiness (Olbos) falls to men of unsound mind, Satiety (Koros) begets Arrogance (Hybris)": " ,

fj

Or in reverse Hybris may be the mother of Koros, Pindar Olymp. 13.10 continuing " ; and so the oracle in Herodotus 8.77 "Divine Justice will quench powerful Koros, the son

of Hybris"

"

Hybris is a genealogy to itself: Aeschylus Agam. 763-6 "It is the nature of old Hybris to beget renewed Hybris," " ". The end of the process (Ag. 770) is TWa, Ruin or Infatuation; Aeschylus completes Solon's genealogy (Persae 822-823).

Hebrew with less personification speaks about the sequence of events: Prov 16,18 (1.294) "Pride C]iKa,) goes before a fall, and a haughty spirit before destruction." And very clearly

in the realm of agriculture: at 1.317-318 we saw Prov 22,8 "He who sows injustice shall reap calamity," with its nice translation by Luther *Wer Unrecht sät, der wird Unglück ernten*, and parallels in Greek, Latin and the New Testament. Again, prophecy casts God in the role of thresher at the harvest. Mic 4,12 "He has gathered [the nations] as sheaves to the threshing floor,"

^

nn'a -roya osiip

LXX ; see John Baptist (Luk 3,17 cf Matt 3,12) "whose fan is in his hand to purge his threshing floor ()." Progressive Greeks improve the technology: "The mills of the gods grind slow (really 'late'), but they grind exceedingly small":126

, .

Another set of images for retribution comes from the life of the wanderer, getting his meals from the arts of the hunter or fowler. Ps 141,10 "Let the wicked fall into [Yahweh's] snares,"

ü\ytaH in'asoa -^

Jer. ix. Heb. *incident in rete eius impii sitnul*. Job 18,8-10 "For [the wicked] is cast into a net by his

own feet..." with six parallel clauses:

1 2 5 Solon frag. 6.3-4 West IEG ii.125 = Aristotle Ath. Pol. 12.1.

126 Sextus Empiricus di/f. math. 1.287 from an unknown source, echoed elsewhere.

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So in a fragment of Aelian¹²⁷ "caught in the snares which he laid for others," αἰσ . And so conversely, liberation is escape from the bird-net (West, EFH 522): Ps 124,7 "Our soul is escaped like a bird from the net of the fowlers": D^'ipr "'It?1? !?] -11323 ·13>'33_ Theognis 1097-1100, the

speaker is "lifted up on wings like a bird," escaping the adversary and "breaking the net," βp0Kxov .

10.6.2 The throne of Justice

Hesiod, after defining Dike as the virgin child of Zeus (Opera 256, 11.37), goes on to say that she is "sitting beside her father Zeus the son of Kronos" (vs 259): ... Ali

In a fragment of Aeschylus¹²⁸ she says "I sit on the throne of Zeus,"

An "Orphic" passage quoted by Ps.-Demosthenes 25.11 says that Justice, "sitting by the throne of Zeus, sees all the works of men,"

... [] .

.

In a fragment of Solon¹²⁹ the foundations belong to Justice herself, . Likewise the Psalmist says of Yahweh

(Ps 9:5) "You sit on the throne judging (with) justice,"

LXX classically . Luther ...ein rechter Richter. At Ps 97,2 (nearly = 89,15) "Righteousness and justice are the foundation of his throne,"

INO? Pi? tassai pi s

In the fragment of Aeschylus just quoted, at vs 15 it is possible that Dike is in heaven; in any case (vs 21) she "[writes] offenses on the tablet of Zeus," ' ; see 1.53 for this use of . Compare then Ps 85,12 "Truth will spring up from the earth, and Righteousness [here masculine] has looked down from heaven": 3^o3 DiOBfo pi2 i Just weights are a concrete means by which the concept of

nos n

Prov 16,11-12 speaks both of Yahweh and a human king: "A just balance and scales are of Yahweh; all the weights ['stones'] in the bag are his work. It is an abomination for kings to do evil; a throne is established by righteousness."

1 2 7 Aelian, frag. 2 2 of the *Varia Historia* ed. R. Hercher (1864) ii.196. 128 Aeschylus frag. 281 a TrGF iii.380.

1 2 9 Solon frag. 4.1 4 West IEG ii.121 = Demosthenes 19.254.

justice could pass

from one country to another, through traders on land or sea.

pia tasittf «? 1 ? FQB h

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CP-^NS-^ S -INS» 1 ? taatfa ^M' a -I O1???

kg? lis- ; npisi i "'<3 irtçh niöu •"' nar'in

The Homeric Hymn to Hermes (4.324) has the "scales of justice were set," before Zeus on Olympus with a seemingly Semitic idiom for "just scales." Lev 19,36 (cf. Ez 45,19) demands "scales of justice, weights of justice," piS'-'JaN pi s ^rs'a. Job (31,6) asks to be weighed in such, "let him

weigh me in scales of justice," pis-'jm'a a ^ipt>"": The decision lies in which direction "the balance of Justice tilts ,"

Bacchylides 17.25 . Justice can then be thought of as carrying scales. In Shakespeare II Henry IV V.ii.103 (Folio) the king says to the Lord Chief Justice: Therefore still bear the Ballance, and the Sword.

10.6.3 The straight way of justice and the crooked way

Hebrew knows a "way of justice," Prov 16,31 njJIS (LXX) or ' Prov 8,20 etc.; it is plural at Ps 23:3.

For Hesiod Opera 216-217 "the better way leads to things that are just,"

John the Baptist came "in the way of justice," Matt 21,32. At Opera 288-291 Hesiod knows two ways, of which the way to virtue (surely the same as the way to justice) is long and steep,

. There is an old Indo-European theme here: the Pali Buddhist text Dhammapada means "the path of law (Sanskrit dharma)"; so in Avestan, Yasna 33.5 asät ä orazûs pa6ö "the straight paths of truth (asa)."

Ways may be literally straight, Thucydides 2.100. 2 (cf. Act 13,10) ; or figuratively crooked, Pindar Pyth.

2.85. In Hebrew, ways can be straight, Isa 26,7 "the way of the just is straightness" (LXX):

•" ^ P ^ S 1 ? rn'N or crooked,

Prov 2,1 5 Ü\»'j3V ^" (LXX). In Greek, judgments may be straight, (Hesiod Theog. 86, cf.

Opera 225,11.33) or crooked, (Opera 219, 264); and see ,25lli0ad 16.387 (11.28).
Judgments may be straight, Neh 9,13 •"Htf": [TtpBìS'B; or crooked, Hab 1,4 ^iSiJB t232>'B.

There are those who "make crooked all that is straight," Mic 3,9: •Itf'Sl?·1 mt9\TL73 1

1-;j- ...

It seems very Hebraic then that Zeus (11.35) "easily straightens out the crooked one"
(Hesiod Opera 7)

' . Isa 40,4 c is usually translated "the uneven ground shall become level":

-lit»'·«!/?1? n'pyn rrii

10.7 Land transport: the ass and its sacks

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But the meaning of 3'py is uncertain, at Quran 90.11 'أُصْلَى al-'aqabatu may be "the Ascent."
Anyway, the LXX, perhaps with Hesiod in their head, translate "and all crooked things
shall be straight."

10.7 Land transport: the ass and its sacks

Perhaps the reader will agree that there was some communication between Palestine and
Greece on the justice of the High God and its implementation. What was the intermediary?
Weinfeld in his Social

Justice elaborates one more set of the beautiful parallels in international legal language
(11.279) that he has made his specialty. Here he draws up a long series of parallels in the
contents of royal proclamations. 130

While his fullest parallels are between Akkadian and Hebrew, he also covers Hittite,
Egyptian, Persian, Greek and Roman imperial. Even to outline his materials would have
taken up many pages here. But while the legal language of the proclamations reappears
especially in Hebrew, and also occasionally in Greek, they are not the same as the
affirmation of justice and demand for justice in poets and prophets. For what the king has
granted he can take away; and what the treasury can afford at the beginning of a reign is not
likely to be continued steadily.

The only sure guarantee of justice in human affairs is an effective control exercised by institutions of a people at large. To whatever extent Solon or the Gracchi were aspiring politicians, they still like Amos, Jeremiah, and Hesiod voiced the needs of larger groups.

In his Introduction (p. 10) Weinfeld seems to recognize this by saying that the motivation for the proclamation of "liberty" by the kings of Egypt and Mesopotamia was "the wish of the monarchs to win over the hearts of the people... to appear in the eyes of the people as just and upright kings, and not a genuine concern for improving the lot of the poor among their people." But at p. 78 he modifies this critique:

Royal inscriptions...[in Mesopotamia] with their obvious interest in praising the king, are likely to exaggerate in their descriptions of the king's benevolence. Even so, this evidence must not be discounted outright; the events that lie at the heart of these documents can be considered historical.

We may grant that the formulas by which the prophets of Israel expressed the notion of justice, and laid on the king the privilege and duty

130 Ammisaduga of Babylon (1646-1626 BC) repeatedly says "The king has established misarum (justice,

equity) in the land": Weinfeld Social Justice 89- 91; ANET3 526-528.

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of realizing it (little as the king might do so), were in part derived from the proclamations of Ancient Near Eastern monarchy. But we must insist that Israel was in a fundamentally different situation from the Ancient Near East precisely by the existence of prophecy in its society.

Thus the role of prophets was to take the formulas of Egyptian or Akkadian royal propaganda and make it real by acting genuinely as spokesmen for the poor among their own people. The formulas of justice might as well have made their way to Greece as to Israel from the Near Eastern courts. But the new reality of the demand for justice still requires explanation; how did it pass on from one people to another?

The crisis of land-tenure described in Amos and Micah has a Greek parallel two centuries later in the time of Solon; and Solon from time to time agrees in his form of expression with

that of his contemporary Jeremiah. Above (11.28) we saw that Solon told how "I brought back to Athens, to their fatherland," the exiles; and so Jeremiah (31,8)

"Behold, I will bring them from the north country." Solon again (11.45), "They do not regard the holy foundations of justice":¹³¹ Jer 5,28 "They do not

judge the cause of the poor": ras»' '1 ? D^voN tassa i

Both emphasize exile to lands of a foreign tongue. Solon (11.28) says that the exiles were so far dispersed that they no longer spoke the Attic tongue; Jeremiah (5,15) says that Yahweh is bringing on Israel a nation [Assyria] from Afar, "a nation whose tongue you do not

know, and you cannot understand what it says" (Deuteronomic, cf Deut 28,49b): " untfn '1 ? !

These parallels become more piquant when we can bring Solon and Jeremiah to nearly the same place at the same time—close to a meeting!

Solon traveled at least once to Egypt—our sources disagree whether before or after his time as archon and lawgiver. One of his fragments has him living "by the mouths of the Nile near the Canopic shore."¹³² Plato (Tim. 21C—22A) represents him as visiting upstream Sais before his lawgiving. But Plutarch (Solon 26.1) has him visiting after his lawgiving of 594 BC and studying with the priests Psenophis of Heliopolis¹³³ and Sonchis of Sais—presumably through an interpreter.

Then he might have come back via the city which Greeks called

¹³¹ Solon frag. 4.14 West IEG ii.121 = Demosthenes 19.254.

¹³² Solon frag. 28 West IEG ii.137 = Plutarch Solon 26.1.

¹³³ Its proper name was On, pK Gen 41,50: UN Ezek 30,17, but LXX ;

already Jer 43,13 calls it "house of the sun," B'QB' 3, where LXX [50,13] .

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Daphnae and Hebrews Tahpanhes (1.333). It was the main base of Greek mercenaries (and Carians too) in the east of Egypt. Daphne in the east and Naucratis in the west

continued to flourish until the anti-Greek outburst that put Amasis on the throne (566 BC).... It was from [the Greek camp of Daphnae] that the Greeks marched out under Necho

on the expedition which overthrew Josiah (jer 2.16] , and it was here that Jeremiah and many of his fellow-countrymen sought refuge from Nebuchadrezzar [Jer 43.5—46.1 4 (582 BC)] and found it till that monarch fell upon Egypt

Herodotus (2.30) found Daphnae occupied by Persians. Here by an accident of history we can document a near-contact between Hebrew and Greek reformers.

At 1.22-28 we considered four sets of conditions necessary (though not sufficient) to generate independent societies capable of producing alphabetic texts and preserving them when independence

was lost: geographical, technological, social, scribal. We have focused on the two primary societies where those conditions held, Israel and Hellas, and considered various common enterprises that they show. Two explanations might account for those common enterprises. (1) The fourfold conditions might by themselves be adequate to generate common enterprises as their natural result, without the need of any specific contact between the societies in the practitioners of that enterprise.

That explanation is likely to hold where commonalities in the enterprise are vague and general; where

there is no demonstrable mode of contact; and where the parallel enterprises in the two societies show no

common vocabulary. (2) But common enterprises may also be the result of actual contact at one or more

places—a contact facilitated by the shared fourfold conditions. That is the possibility we should consider wherever commonalities in the enterprise are specific; where a demonstrable mode of contact exists; and

where common vocabulary appears. It is attractive to explain contacts of various sorts by sea-trade, where there was the common name of the carrier, the Phoenician freighter or and the wine-container or cadus. I have tried to show that the poetic demand for justice is sufficiently concrete to require contact. A demonstrable mode of contact exists in overland trade by the very same class of men, upland farmer- shepherds, who originally raised the demand for justice; and there is common vocabulary in the carriers

and containers of those traders, namely, the pack-ass and its pannier sacks.

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134 PN Ure in CAH (1st ed.) 4.107.

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Levin¹³⁵ has compared words for the two principal international occupations of men. With reconstructed Ionic * (Attic) "business" he compares ^; with "war" 1?!? (I Sam 13,22). Both are attractive but not compelling. Other modes of contact to explain these agreements are less plausible. In Chapter 9 above we discussed the movement of the goldsmith-bankers (along with the arrabon or pledge, 1.74-78); but whatever ideas of justice they trans-mitted was done unconsciously. We have only scraps of Canaanite sailing vocabulary beyond the . Too many hypotheses are needed to derive »3» "ship" from Greek .

136 Heb. for "rafts" (II Chr 2,15) is ' ; surely foreign, and related to unique Talmudic "stools." Strabo 7.4.1

calls rafts "stitched boats"; the Heb. phonetically is as close as possible to (Herodotus 5.67.1) "ode-stitcher, poet": I cannot explain these relations.

But since the prophetic word of justice is recorded as originating among farmer- shepherds up there in the hills, we should look for contact between societies among such men engaged in trade overland rather than by sea. And here we make the elegant discovery that, under pressure of famine or invasion, locals take to the trade- routes with equipment identical to that of full-time professional traders. At all periods the description held good:

On the roads of Eastern and Central Anatolia, where today speedy motortrucks and railroads carry freight to remote towns and villages, there traveled, in the Old Assyrian period, long lines of donkeys heavily laden with merchandise from far-off Assyria. In local traffic, too, asses were the most common freight carriers... 1 3 7

Rostovtzeff¹³⁸ illustrates a bronze figurine of the Roman period from Syria of an ass with twin pannier sacks.

There is no doubt about the connection between Akkadian saqqu, Ugaritic sq,

Hebrew Latin saccus. Mos Greek

,

, tly in Hebrew

135 Saul Levin, "Greek Occupational Terms..." (fn 94 above); words for "war," see SIE 231.

136 RD Barnett, "Ancient Oriental Influences on Archaic Greece," pp. 212-238 of Saul S. Weinberg (ed.), *The Aegean and the Near East: Studies Presented to Hetty Goldman*; Locust Valley: Augustin, 1956; 214.

137 Hildegard Lewy, "The assload, the sack, and other measures of capacity,"

Rivista degli studi orientali 39 (1964) 181-197, p. 181. This is a study of Akkadian commercial documents, in which none of the words for "ass" or "sack" are cognate to the ones we study here.

138 M. Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*; 3 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1941; p. 521; from the British Museum.

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it is used for the garment of humiliation, "sackcloth"; "in sackcloth and ashes" Dan 9,3 "לִצְ1 6>1 (LXX) And so Menander attributes it to Syrians, , along with sitting in dung by the roadside in supplication to their goddess.¹³⁹ The similarity in the donkey-words on the Hebrew side is that for the jennies; the males were kept at home for the mule-breeding ranches . Levin finds the closest relation between Heb asinos; Greek ὄνοϛ "ass" 1 4 1

may also be more distantly related; underlying all per-haps is Sumerian

ANSI!

Asses are regularly used as beasts of burden in local trade. Thus in Demosthenes 42.7

asses and their drivers () carry timber off from farms. Dio Chrysostom (10.19) compares the tasks of "shepherd-ing and ass-driving," , as not for the inexperienced. And beautifully comparable texts show ordinary peasants, driven out of their customary fields by famine or invasion, going off as refugees with only sacks of food, often carried by donkeys. In Aristophanes *Acharnians*, the starving Megarian brings in his two daughters in a sack (ēs 745) disguised as piggies and in a vulgar scene sells them for garlic and salt. Likewise when Joseph's brothers go to Egypt for grain: "And one of them opened his sack¹⁴² to give fodder to his ass" (Gen 42,27):

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141 The lexica considers but rejects a connection to Latin *onus* "load." 142 At Gen 42,25 the LXX correctly translates "his sack" by .

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Cicero (Piso 30) Quid te nunc, asine, litteras doceam? Non opus est uerbis, sed fustibus
 "Why should I now teach you letters, you ass? You don't need words but sticks." The final
 humiliation

of men is to treat them like asses. The enslaved Messenians in Tyrtaeus¹⁴³ were "laden down like asses with great burdens":

great

And so Epictetus (Arrian Epict. 4.1.79): "You should treat your whole body as if it were a laden donkey () ... then if there is conscription () and a soldier lays hold on it, let it go."

In Greek, "requisition (of animals or ships), conscription (of men)," seems plainly derived from "(Persian) courier" (1.342); but its new meaning, and its appearance in Rabbinic, suggests that it is a second borrowing from some eastern imperial usage, Akkadian

or Old Persian.¹⁴⁴ In Menander¹⁴⁵ is apparently used of a ship as in the Talmud¹⁴⁶ and Roman law.¹⁴⁷ Often in the texts the object of *angareia*, whether animals or men, is uncertain.¹⁴⁸ Josephus (AJ 13.52 expanding I Makk 10,30) records a decree of Demetrius forbidding the requisitioning of animals of the Jews, ; and so at Mishna Baba Mes.

VI.3 where an ass () "becomes *angareia*," {Olm But sometimes *angareia* plainly refers to men, as ambiguously in Epictetus.

Thus in Tosefta Baba Mes. 7.8 a worker is subject to $\hat{\text{OT}}13\text{K}$; 149 Jer.

Talm. Berakhoth 2d69 R. Zeira is subject to 33< to carry myrtles into the king's palace (but it turns out for the best, since others paid a big fee to see the inside of the palace).

The usages are illustrated above all in the Gospels. In the Sermon on the Mount (Matt 5,41) "And whoever conscripts you one mile, go with him two," , , Vg et quicumque te *angariauerit mille passus, uade cum illo alia* two the

143 Tyrtaeus frag. 6 West IEG ii. 153 = Pausanias 4.14.4-5.

1 4 4 The Greek texts are elaborately treated by C. Spicq i.31-33.

145 Menander frag. 37 3 ed. A. Koerte (Teubner 1959) ii.134.

1 4 6 Pesiqta Rabbathi 42, 177a, as cited by Daniel Sperber, *Nautica Talmudica*; Ramat-Gan:

Bar-Ilan & Leiden: Brill, 1986; p. 11 4 "It is like a king's favorite whose ship was constantly requisitioned as 33 for many years."

1 4 7 Ulpian (Digest 49.18.4) says that the ships of veterans may be requisitioned, *angariari posse*, so *angaria* in Paulus, Digest 50.5.10.2.

148 Thus in an inscription from Egypt of AD 47/48, OGIS 665.21; an inscription from Thrace (SIG3 880.53) of AD 202.

1 4 9 Ed. Zuckermann, p. 386.23; the texts are studied by Daniel Sperber, "An-garia in Rabbinic Literature," *Antiquité Classique* 38 (1969) 164-168.

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Palestinian Syriac restores the noun, "whoever exercises conscription..." ^

•pin nay ^ «

Latin mille passuum went into Greek as a neuter since Polybius 34.11.8 along with
, and in Rabbinic since Mishna Yoma VI.4 ^". Latinisms in Greek tend to become concrete;
thus a bilingual milestone of AD 198 from Cyprus has milia erexit = () "he set up
milestones" (CIL 3.218.10). Once likewise Rabbinic is concretely milestone, "a road on
which there were no milestones,"¹⁵⁰

•p^o na rrn K'PE» n^oa

We might thus read Matt 5,41, since only by the stones could distance along the highway
be

measured. "

To conscript for a mile" and "to requisition an ass" thus continue the older international
phrases of Vol. I as part of a lingua franca (Latin, Greek and Aramaic) of the Roman Near
East. A Greco-

Latin bilingual inscription of the 3rd century CE from Phrygia documents conscription (but
without

the technical term angareia) from one mile-stone to another.¹⁵¹ If the Sermon on the
Mount in

Matthew's form was truly a Galilaean discourse, it could hardly use examples from the
Roman occupation of Judaea ; then Herod Antipas' soldiery must already have exercised
conscription or

picked it up from Rome.

However there may be some anticipation in the Sermon, for it uses examples which later
became part of Jesus' own humiliation: thus with "whoever strikes () you" Matt 5,39 cf "they
struck () him" 26,67 ; with "take your garment ()" 5,40 cf "they divided his garments

()" 27,35. And so Matt 27,32 (cf Mark 15,21) "They conscripted () [Simon of Cyrene] to bear
his cross," where Vg angariauerunt and the Pal. Syriac again 33 TINS. Also in

Jesus' "triumphal entry" (11.254) the ass shows up. The Messianic formula of Zach 9,9 "riding...on a colt the foal of a she-ass" (ni]nX""|3 ~py, Vg filium asinae) envisages a return to the golden age of Israel when kings or their retainers rode humbly on donkeys (II Sam 16,2) or at most on a mule (I Reg 1,33). Peisistratus drives into the Athenian Agora in a mule-drawn cart, Herodotus 1.59.4. And Jesus' retainer Simon of Cyrene likewise as in Epictetus is subject to conscription as if he in turn were an ass.

1 5 0 Krauss 33 5 citing Yalqut Deut. 907.

151 SEG 16 (1959) 75 4 = WHC Frend, "A Third-Century Inscription relating to Angareia in Phrygia," JRS 4 6 (1956) 46-56.

o iouj r 1?

Chapter 11: The High God and the Elements¹

The High Gods of Israel and Hellas appear non-comparable in that Zeus is head of a family of gods. But several factors bridge the seeming gap. (a) Israel also has a "council of Yahweh" (Jer 23,18) 1103, Vg in

Consilio Domini·, it is composed of "sons of Elim" (Ps 29,1 etc.)

D·'1?« LX X , Vg filii Dei (for whom see 11.66,99,105). At Job 15,8 it is "the council of Eloah," ni^K "lio, Vg consilium dei.

Micaiah in his vision (II Reg 22,19) describes it, except that here the other gods are demoted to the

"host of heaven" and its spirits. It may be located at the "mountain of assembly" (Isa 14,13) in the North, likely Mt Kasios (1.98). Yahweh is chief among the Elim, and like Zeus (Pindar, Olymp. 7.34, 11.88) he is "a great king above all gods" (Ps 95,3). Also at 11.66 we shall see Seneca's description of the consilium of Jupiter. (b) In Rome the Olympian pantheon got Latin names. The cult of Jupiter was deeply rooted there, and those of Juno, Minerva, Mars and Diana were well established; but Greek

mythology did not come over as a living tradition. We may say that Rome is halfway between Hellas and Israel.

(c) Yahweh has a female companion "Wisdom" (nippn) who says (Prov 8,22) 13} 01 LX X
,VgDomin,usposseditmeinitiumuiarumsuarum,LutherDerHerr

hat mich schon gehabt in Anfang seiner Wege; "Yahweh gave me the beginning of his way."
She is comparable to Athena the "of many plans," "whom Zeus the Counselor himself
begat from his sacred head," (Homeric Hymn 28.4-5): 2

1

Revision of an article "Yahweh, Zeus, Jupiter: The High God and the Elements," ZAW 106
(1994) 175-197.

2 The Greek and Hebrew roots for "beget" have a seemingly very old agreement, especially
in

the participle, where both consonants and vocalism agree: Euripides Sup. 629 of Zeus
"creating children"; Gen 14,1 9 pis i D^QB nip of Yahweh "creating heaven and earth." See
11.319.

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...

Further there is an agreement between Apollo and Resheph who goes behind Yahweh;
each is an archer and is responsible for plague (11.144). (d) Hebrew "God" is a grammatical
plural D^rí^íí,

sometimes a real plural "gods" referring to non-Israelite deities (II.8); beside "men" its
number can be indeterminate, with parallels to Greek. When Jacob the trickster is renamed
Israel, it is "because you have striven with gods [God?] and men, and have held your own"
(Gen 32,29):

D^'iN-Din O'n^K'üy rnen?

So the mother Maia of Hermes the trickster (Horn. Hymn to Hermes 4.436) tells him "your
father [Zeus] begat you as a great worry to mortal men and immortal gods" (160-161)3

...

At Jud 9,9.13 the olive and vine in Jotham's parable are surely ignorant of Israelite monotheism, "Shall I leave my fatness by which people honor gods and men (CPBfäKL DM^N ·3?");...shall I leave my wine which cheers gods and men OVtSk naöön)?" The Vulgate correctly at vs 9 has qua et dii utuntur et homines, and so Luther at both places Götter und Menschen (l. 139-140). The narcissus that trapped Persephone is a "glory () for all to see, immortal gods and mortal

men" (Horn. Hymn Demeter 2.10-11):

Agamemnon in the underworld tells Achilles (Odyssey 24.64) "we mourned for you, immortal gods and mortal men":

people

Greek and Latin have the identical name of the High God, "Sky-Father," from Indo-European antiquity. Strunk,⁴ following Schmitt,⁵ shows that three Greek poetic formulas have Sanskrit counterparts, exactly including the accent. Two are Homeric: the vocative

"Zeus Father" (Iliad 1.503 etc.) beside the vocative *dyaùs pítah* at Rigveda 6.51.5; and the nominative with object (Iliad 11.201) beside *dyaúr me pitá* Rigveda 1.164.33. The

nominative

3 But the singular is intended at Prov 3,4 (cf I Sam 2,26; Luk 2,52) "and find favor and good reputation in the eyes of God and man"; contrast Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite 5.141-2 "marriage that is honorable among men and immortal gods."

4 Klaus Strunk, "'Vater Himmel'—Tradition und Wandel einer sacralsprach-lichen Formel," pp. 427-438 of *Serta Indogermanica* (Festschrift G. Neumann), ed. J. Tischler; Innsbruck, 1982.

5 Rüdiger Schmitt, *Dichtung und Dichtersprache in Indogermanischer Zeit*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1967.

56

was unavailable for hexameter but is very frequent thereafter, eg Pindar Olymp. 2.27, beside *dyaús pita* Rigveda 4.1.10 etc.

The same vocative appears in an Italic language (Iguvine Tables IIB.246) *Iupater*. The Latin vocative in *Iuppiter magne* (Terence *Eu.* 709) corresponds to the new Latin nominative. In Greek the god is "father of men and gods" (*Iliad* 1.544), . The illogical sequence

putting later-made men before gods is metrically motivated. Vergil imitates it at *Aen.* 1.229, *hominumque deumque*.

Latin prose has the logical order, Livy 8.6.5 *patrem deum hominumque*.

Ennius (*Ann.* 203 Skutsch) calls Jupiter "father of gods and king of men," *diuom pater atque hominum rex*, a phrase taken up by Vergil (*Aen.* 1.65). The "sky" appears without "father," as in

Greek, in the Latin dative *Ioui* and ablative *Ioue*, forms in sacral use (below), *IOVI FVLGVRI* "to Jupiter the lightning" and *Ioue fulgente* "when Jupiter is lightening."

Dyaùs-pitâ "Sky Father" in the Indie pantheon is subordinate to Indra; his appearance as the chief god in Greece and Italy shows a common tradition. His name defines him as the god of the bright sky.

But AB Cook in his monumental *Zeus* saw that in Greece the god had a double role as god of the bright sky and dark sky. 7 In the tripartition of the cosmos (*Iliad* 15.192) "Zeus drew by lot the broad heaven in brightness and in clouds,"⁸

Zeus ' '

Theocritus 4.43, broad Doric, "Sometimes Zeus is bright, sometimes he rains":

Zeus , ' So Jesus, even using

the old name of the sky-father (Matt 5,45): "So that you may be sons of your Father in heaven, for he raises his sun on the evil and good, and rains () on the just and unjust."⁹ In Rome Jupiter hardly appears in the bright sky; he is identified (like

6 James Wilson Poultney, *The Bronze Tables of Iguvium*; Philological Monographs of the American Philological Association XVIII; Baltimore, 1959; p. 198.

7 AB Cook, *Zeus: A Study in Ancient Religion*; 3 vols, in 5 parts; Cambridge: University, 1914-1940. See especially the beginning of vol. 2 for the passages on "Zeus rains" etc. here cited.

8 Poseidon gets the sea and Hades the "misty darkness" of lower air or under-world or both, while earth and Olympus are shared. Two other tripartitions of the universe show Greek-Hebrew agreements (1.267, EFH 109).

9 The development in Pesiqta Rabbathi 48. 4 is very close to Jesus' words; can it possibly have been influenced by them?: "Have you ever seen rain come down upon the field of one who is righteous, but not upon the next field of one who is wicked (cf Amos 4,7)? Of course the sun shines upon those in Israel who are righteous, but it also shines upon those who are wicked, just as the

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Zeus in his dark aspect) with things that fall from the cloudy sky, the "elements"—lightning and thunder, snow and hail, rain and dew. The Indo-European god of the "bright sky," coming to the Mediterranean, in Greece adds attributes of the dark sky, and in Italy largely becomes a god of the dark sky.

Adam of Bremen in the Acts of the bishops of Hamburg (IV.26, written AD 1074-1076) describes the temple on the site of the present cathedral of Uppsala. In it sit three gods, Thor with Wodan and Fricco by his side. Wodan is armed like Mars; Fricco the god of peace and pleasure has a phallus. 10 "Thor, they say, presides over the air, and rules thunder and lightning, winds and rains, fair weather and crops...

Thor with his scepter resembles Jupiter": Thor,

inquiunt, presidet in aere, qui tonitrus et fulmina, uentos ymbresque, serena et fruges gubernat... Thor autem cum sceptro louem simulare uidetur.¹¹

Here, seen through the eyes of one educated in Latin paganism, is a development closer to the Greek.

The High God in Israel is primarily a god of the dark sky. While most of the year the sky is bright, the Hebrews noticed the things that fell from a cloudy sky. Hebrew mostly avoids calling the High God "father," but see Isa 63,16 WaR "Thou Yahweh art our Father"

(II.87-91). But Hebrew runs parallel to Greek and Latin in the role of the High God in 7· -

sending down the "elements," as well as in the consequences for God's people. And this far from exhausts his parallel aspects in Israel and Hellas (1.54-55).

The impartiality in providing benefits which Jesus ascribes to him is seen earlier as impartiality in bestowing both good and evil (1.55-56, 11.325). Isa 45,7, while in context connecting with the gifts of rain and justice, itself is absolute, "Fashioning light and creating darkness, making peace¹² and creating evil":

-- ni1?!* nfo'u ." «lim -isi"¹

• .. |

Lord causes the sun to shine (tööBn " 0) upon Israel and also causes it to shine upon the nations."

¹⁰ Levin comments: "But Tiu, the Germanic cognate of is missing!!-t is re-markable that Wodan there in Sweden was not likened to Mercury. In Germania further south (including England) the days of the week, including Wednesday for Mercuri die (s), must have been well established a good deal earlier. On the other hand, the identification of Thor with Jupiter is quite in accord with Iouis die(s)— which is transparent in the Italian giovedì and Spanish jueves."

¹¹ Ed. Carolus Clemen, *Fontes Historiae Religionis Germanicae; Fontes Historiae Religionum* 3; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1928; p. 71.

¹² Qumran Isaiah MS "A" has "making good."

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The Vulgate of the first clause, *formans lucem et creans tenebras*, shows an old Indo-European contrasted pair; see the Avestan (Yasna 44.15)¹³

kâ hvâpâ raocâscâ dât tamâsca "What craftsman created the luminous bodies and the dark spaces?"

Deut 32,39 in its sequence is more hopeful, "I kill and make alive, I wound and I heal":

^Kl "«nsno .«^{1 2}

Achilles tells old Priam (Iliad 24.527-531, quoted 1.56): "For two urns stand on the doorsill of Zeus, such that from one he gives evil gifts, while the other is of good gifts. When Zeus who delights in the thunder () mixes them and gives them to somebody, at

one time that one receives evil, at another good. But to whomever he gives from the urn of sorrows, he makes that one a target for outrage." The thunder-God is seen as a Minoan wanax, dispensing to his retainers from great stone urns such as we have found in Crete.

Yasna 44 begins with a series of such questions, which have been thought an old Indo-European catechism addressed by the poet to his hearers. So the Muses instruct poets (Vergil Geor. 2.481-2 = ken. 1.745-6) quid tantum Oceano properent se tingere soles / hiberni

"Why the sun in winter hurries so to dip itself in Ocean." Pythagoras (Ovid Met.

15.69) taught

quid deus, unde niues, quae fulminis esset origo "what God is,

where snow comes from, what is the source of light-ning." Morton Smith¹⁴, besides other parallels, observes that Il Isaiah agrees with the Avesta both in the question-format and the answers: besides the answer at Isa 45,7 (above) see Isa 40,12 "Who measured the waters in the hollow of his hand?"

D"; Q i^iits'a "ina "? The Massachusetts Puritan poet Edward Taylor (1645-1729) restored the catechetical

theme with local imagery: Who in this Bowling Alley bowled the Sun?

...Who hung the twinkling Lanthorns in the Sky?

13 S. Insler, The Gâthàs of Zarathustra; Acta Iranica 8, 3rd series (Textes et Memoirs) vol. 1; Leiden etc.: Brill: 1975 , 66.

14 Morton Smith, "Il Isaiah and the Persians," JAOS 83 (1963) 415-421. 15 Ed. TH Johnson; Princeton: University, 1943; p. 31.

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11.1 The elements in general

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11.1 The elements in general

The elements are neatly summed up at Iliad 10.5-7: coç ' ' " ...

"As when the husband [Zeus] of fair-tressed Hera flashes lightning, creating either a great monstrous rain or hail or snowfall..." In Pales-tine rain is mostly seen as beneficial; for the other elements compare Ps 18:14-15 (nearly = Il Sam 22:14-15):

i'pp irr iV^sn mrp oioaf a • • • an D^pii-i DITETI ra n nl ?ç'a- i

i » \ • } A" • ; - • ;

"And Yahweh thundered (LXX) in the heavens, and the Most High gave his voice,

hailstones and coals of fire; he sent out his arrows (Jerome iux. Heb. sagittas) and scattered [the enemy], he shot¹⁶ lightnings (, fulgora) and routed them."¹⁷ In Ugaritic¹⁸ mtr "rain" and brqm "lightning" appear together. See Horace Carm. 1.2.1-4:

lam satis terris niuis atque dirae grandinis

misit pater et rubente dextera sacras iaculatus arces

terruit urbem.

"Now the Father has sent enough snow and woeful hail on the country side, enough has he terrified the city by pelting the sacred citadel with his red-hot right hand." In the Beirut winter thunderstorms with hail are normal, and when they clear Jabal Sannin is covered with a fresh snowfall.

Other effects are occasional. (a)

Stopping the sun. In the prose text of Jos 10,12-14, Yahweh on request stops the sun until the battle is over; but the verse has Joshua command sun and moon directly. Agamemnon prays to Zeus (Iliad 2.412-413) that the sun should not set until he has taken Troy; but West (EFH 357) points out that this is less a request to slow the sun than to expedite victory. It is closer to a miracle that Hera hurries sunset to stop the fighting (Iliad 18.239-242). Hezekiah actually has the shadow on the dial run backwards (II Reg 20,8-11 = Is 38,7-8).¹⁹

¹⁶ Taking 3 (lacking at Il Sam 22,15) from a rare root "shoot"; or could it be from the common root 33 "he multiplied"?

¹⁷ Similarly as a mere catalog Ps 148,8 "Fire and hail, snow and frost, storm wind doing his word." For the god's arrows see 11.145.

¹⁸ KTU 1.4.V.6-9.

¹⁹ This and other parallels between Homeric and Near Eastern themes are dis-

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(b) Earthquake. This may accompany the thunderstorm. So Aeschylus (PV 992-994)

,

...

"So let the bright lightning be thrown [by Zeus, vs 990]; with the white-feathered snow and underground thunderings [earthquake] let him disrupt everything." At Ps 29 the "voice of Yahweh," normally the thunder, causes an earthquake.

(c) Raining frogs. With the plague of frogs at Exod 7,28; 8,10 cf the Hellenistic account from Heraclides Lembus (second century BC) in Athenaeus 8.333B:

In Paeonia and Dardania the god rained frogs ()

Their cooking dishes were filled and the frogs were found boiled or baked along with the food. Furthermore the water could not be used nor could one's feet be put on the ground for their being piled up in heaps; and the inhabitants were so oppressed by the smell of those who had died that they fled the land.

The event was surely real, but the motifs of the pots, the heaps and the smell in agreement with Exodus suggest a coloring of the narrative from the LXX. Here the names of the "frog," and 32, apparently old Mediterranean (1.336) appear in parallel contexts.²⁰

Here by way of parenthesis we may note that the main feature of the bright sky, the sun, has comparable names in Semitic and Indo-European. From Cretan (Hesychius) Frisk 631 reconstructs *, differing from Sanskrit *sūrya* only in Ablaut (Sanskrit mostly lost the 1-sound). Behind lies an athematic **säuel*, cf. Sanskrit *súvar* neuter, Avestan *hvara*; the stem is "heteroclite" in 1/n, compare Latin *sol* with English *sun* etc. Levin adds Gothic *sauil* (Mark 1,32). The Semitic names of the sun diverge remarkably between languages: with Hebrew *pausai tíütí* (Jud 20,43 etc.) contrast Arabic *J.Hi*, *sams(un)* where the two sibilants differ, and Ugaritic *sps*. If the sibilants were assimilated in Hebrew, the final one might once have been *sin* (ÉS), which as we saw (1.97) had a "lateral" or 1-component. Thus behind the *pausai* Hebrew might lie **sómel*; in view of the frequent variation m/w (and the variability of the middle consonant between Hebrew and

quoted by Jasper Griffin, *Homer on Life and Death*, Oxford: Clarendon, 1980;

esp. p. 41.

²⁰ See the proverb "a very frog to drink water," ; Aristopho

frag. 10.3, Kock ii.280.

11.1 The elements in general

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Ugaritic) this is closely comparable to reconstructed pre-Sanskrit *säuel.

Sidonian inscriptions of the 6th and 5th century BC (KAI 13.7 and 14.12 [Eshmunazar]) have the phrase EJÖttf DTI3 "among those who live under the sun"; it is taken up late in Hebrew in

the constant usage of Koheleth. See esp. Koh 4,15 "all the living who go about under the sun":

t&'oœ'n •'o'pnpn D^nn-^s Zeus says (Iliad 4.44) that Ilios is dearest to him among all cities "under the sun and the starry heavens," ...

' te There seems to be an East Mediterranean theme here. 21

Both in classical and modern Greek the verbs of snowing, raining etc. have the idea of the High God so built in that the subject can be "Zeus," "the god," or "impersonal" with no necessary difference of feeling. So with snow. Babrius 45.1 ò "Zeus was snow-ing"; Xenophon Cyn. 8.1 when the god snows "when the god snows"; Aristophanes Ach. 1141 as a whole sentence. With rain. Iliad 12.25 ' "Zeus was raining"; Pausanias 2.29.7 nor ... ò "the god did not rain on the land"; Herodotus 4.28.2 "it is not raining."

With earthquake: Xenophon (Hell. 4.7.4) in one passage may have all three alternatives: "the god made an earthquake"; immediately the Spartans invoke Poseidon, and Xenophon then uses (perhaps impersonal, perhaps with the god as subject understood).22

In Hebrew the causatives "he rained" and •"inn "he thun-dered" always have God as subject at least implicitly except at Isa 5,6

neo ì^i? -roan o n- m 00i>n iv i

IT

... ..-.- -;

"And I will command the clouds not to rain rain (LXX ...) ... on it." So Quran 26.173 (174)

"And we rained on them a

rain," // »'l/ lĵ^a^t f>f,ij\ t Li lĵ # /W

In Ugaritic²³ 'rpt tmtr bqz tl ytl lgnbm "The cloud rains on the harvest, dew falls on the grapes." A nice parallel at Aristophanes Clouds 1118 where the Clouds urge the jurors to give their play the prize, and promise "we will rain on you first of all."

21 Further examples West EFH 235.

2 2 But Thucydides 4.52.1 "there was an earthquake" is clearly demythologizing.

23 KTU 1.19.1.40-42.

62

In Latin Jupiter rarely appears as the subject of a finite form of the weather verbs, but rather in participial phrases like *loue fulgente* (cited below).²⁴ A grammarian:²⁵ *Pluit et tonat et fulminât et multa similia, quae ad homines non pertinent, proprie quidem ad tertiam dicuntur personam...et sunt quasi propria uerborum, quae ad solum louem pertinent.*

"Pluit 'it rains,' tonat 'it thunders,' fulminât 'it lightens' and many similar verbs, which do not apply to men, are properly used in the third person...and are as it were 'proper verbs' [analogous to proper names] as applying to Jupiter alone." A Greek grammatical notice²⁷ asks why the questions ; "Is it thunder-ing?" , namely

,

God."

In the sections that follow we compare texts which name the principal "elements" falling from the sky by the agency of the high God.

Four names for those elements (for lightning, snow, and two for rain) reflect very old agreements between Semitic and Indo-European, which (one would think)

much antedate contacts across the eastern Mediter- ranean.

11.2 Thunder and lightning

Yahweh causes the lightning: "his lightnings (LXX, Vg fulgora) lit up the whole world" (Ps 97,4, cf 77,19) ·£3 •"; "he made lightnings to bring on the rain" (Jer 10,13; 51,16; Ps 135,7) n^y naia1?

O^na. So (Iliad 10.154 etc) "the lightning of father Zeus"; "And Zeus son of Kronos lightens [on the right], showing them favorable signs" (9.236-7)

/ cf 2.353

() "lightening on the right." But as we saw (11.60) in Aeschylus (PV 992) another name of lightning is .

2 4 One exception is Statius Theb. 7.406 tonat pater "the Father thunders."

2 5 Priscian, Institutes 8.104 = Grammatici Latini ii.450 ed. Keil.

2 6 These "proper verbs" are discussed by Robert Schilling in "'Iuppiter Fulgur': A propos de deux

lois archaïques," pp. 358-365 (esp. 364) of his Rites, Cultes, Dieux de Rome; Etudes et Commentaires XCII; Paris: Klincksieck, 1979.

2 7 Etymologium magnum 212. 7 (col. 60 7 Gaisford). It is unclear to me whether the writer is pagan or Christian.

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The mechanism of lightning is described at PV 1016-8 (Hermes to Prometheus):

... first men yàp

...

"First the Father [Zeus] will smash this rough cliff with thunder and the flash of the bolt." The causative agent is the "thunder-bolt," a missile whose path heats the air to incandescence () and causes thunder (). AB Cook suggested²⁸ that this was because Greeks had found Neolithic flint arrowheads, and identified them as remains of old lightning-bolts. (But then the thunderbolts of ancient art-works, spindle-shaped stones,

were a faulty interpretation of the tradition.) So with the verb, Aeschylus Septem 512-3 /s ...
"Father Zeus, flaming his missile out of his hand."

See Euripides Bacchae 598-9 "the flash of the 29 thunder of Zeus."

In Latin the bolt is fulmen: Cicero {de nat. deorum 3.84) nec Olympius Iuppiter fulmine
persecutur "Olympian Jupiter did not strike him with the bolt"; Horace

(Carm. 3.3.6) nec fulminantis magna manus Iovis "nor the great hand of Jupiter

casting the bolt." Latin fulgo and fulgeo "lighten," fulgur "lightning," fulmen (from *fulgmen)
"bolt" represent archaic augural language: Cicero in Vatinius 20 augurs

omnes usque ab Romulo decreuerunt Iove fulgente cum populo agi nefas esse

"all augurs from Romulus on down have decreed that when Jupiter is lightening it is
improper for business to be conducted with the people." Hence Aeschylus' cognate rather
than Homer's must represent Greek sacral usage.

Gods and heroes are named for the lightning. Deborah summoned Baraq (pH3 Jud 4,10) as
her general, like a man of Palmyra p⁰;30 and she herself was nil-'S1 ? ntFK (4,4) "wife of
Lappidoth ['Torches'],"

11.174. At Jos 19,45 the place pi?"1 ?.? must be Aramaic "Sons of Lightning."³¹ At the
mythical site Phlegra () in the battle of gods and giants "Zeus destroyed the remainder,
pelting them with thunderbolts (...)" (Apollodorus 1.6.2, see Pindar

28 Cook, Zeus ii.528.

29 Here is an adjective from "Zeus" modifying "thunder."

30 PAT 0345 = CIS 2.3999. But this usage is not attested at Carthage, so Hamilcar "Barcas"
(Nepos Hann. 1.1) is just

"Blessed" (root "[]12); see 11.123.

31 Compare the nickname of James and John (Mark 3,17) "sons of thunder"; the Greek is
perhaps corrupt,

and the underlying Aramaic undeterminable.

Nem. 1.67).³² Jupiter is flatly identified with the lightning. So in the Arval calendar for Oct. 7 IOVI FVLGVRI "To Jupiter Lightning."³³ A dedication from Narbonensis (CIL 12.1807) has further IOVI FVLGVRI FVLMINI; in Vitruvius 1.2.5 a building is dedicated to Iouī Fulguri, and so for a tree struck by lightning.³⁴ Ps 144,6 (cf 77,18-19) uniquely has the verb *pl3* "flash lightning" with a cognate object, "Flash forth the lightning (LXX -

, Jer. iux. Heb. *mica fulmine*) and scatter them; send out your arrows (*sagittam*) and rout them" *oanm ipsn*

1 ?!»'

In probable verbs as old cognates *fulgur...fulget.* between Indo-European and Semitic. reconstructions he compares Sanskrit *bhrāt* (root *bhrāj-*) and Aramaic pl 3 *baraq*, both "he (it) lightened"; in attested forms we may compare the plurals and 0*¹³ *baroqaym*

"lightnings."

Thunder is the voice of the High God. The word of God in the creation-story is interpreted as the thunder at Ps 104,7 "At the voice of thy thunder [the waters] took to flight"³⁶:

1-iraiv ^ Since

the waters are elsewhere the primeval sea-dragon Rahab, this runs parallel to the battle of Zeus

the thunderer with the giants. So less explicitly at Ps 29,3

or? in *linsrr* 1 ? « *trarr* 1?!? *mrr* ^ip

"The voice of Yahweh is on the waters, the God of glory has thundered"; here the unpredictable damage of the thunder to trees and animals is emphasized. At Sinai (Exod 19,16) "there were 'voices' and lightnings and thick cloud on the mountain,"

nnn-^y 133 "|3in D^piin nVp ^rri

The setting is like Iliad 16.297-87

³² The warlike Phlegyai of Thrace (Iliad 13.302 accus.) bear a similar name; Pausanias (9.36.2-3) "the god [surely Zeus] utterly destroyed the race of the Phlegyai with frequent thunderbolts and strong earthquakes."

³³ CIL 6.1.2295=G. Henzen, *Acta Fratrum Arvalium*; Berlin: Reimer, 1874; p. ccxxxviii.

³⁴ Servius on Aeneid 10.423.

³⁵ SIE 203-208.

36 Greek is an active verbal noun from "murmur, roar" (cf Latin fremo), which in a general way is similar to Hebrew OSTI, and in compounds like (Hesiod Opera 8, 11.35) means precisely "thunder."

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^- pi a pil a

With the construction compare Luk 17,24 , Vg Levin³⁵ regards the underlying

11.2 Thunder and lightning

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"As when from the high head of a great mountain Zeus who gathers the lightning stirs up a thick cloud." ³⁷Odysseus asks Zeus for a sign and like Moses gets an answer in thunder, "straightway [Zeus] thundered from shining [ie snowy] Olympus, on high from clouds" (Odyssey 20.103-4): ' ' ' ;

...

The Ten Commandments then were spoken in thunder, the "loud voice" (·?3 'Pip) of Deut 5,22.³⁸ Eliot in The Waste Land picks up the three Sanskrit imperative verbs in DA-39 heard in the thunder.

Hebrew and Greek seem to share a word for "mountain." The "Mount Hor" in Lebanon ("Num 34,7 with another in Edom, Num 20,22) shows a Phoenician pronunciation of Hebrew . The mountain is the property of the High God: Num 10,33 of Sinai, "HO ;

Pausanias 9.2.4 ó term "Mount Kithairon is sacred to Zeus Kithaironios." The words act as "determinatives" in mountain-names, so that the Akkadian classifier % <* KUR may be both a graphic and a linguistic feature: Jud 3,3 liš'pn ; Strabo 16.2.15 ó term. They are contrasted with a word for "valley" (1.58): Isa

40,4 -^! ...

valley...every mountain"; Pindar Pyth. 1.30 TOUT' "this mountain, brow of a fruitful land."

KT^S "every ... ,

The Arval Brotherhood set September 1 for "Jupiter Tonans on the Capitoline," IOVI TONANTI IN CAPITOLIO. Dedications may combine formulas: IOVI TONANTI FVLMINANTI,⁴² IOVI FVLMINI FVLGVRI TONANTI.⁴³ Tonans alone was a title of Jupiter,

Lucan 3.320 caelo solum regnare Tonantem "for Tonans alone to reign in

3 7 is a unique variant of usual , normally required for this verse position but made impossible by the preceding .

38 At Joh 12,2 9 the crowd rationalistically interprets the "voice from heaven" as thunder.

3 9 Damyata "be subdued," datta "give," dayadhvam "be merciful"; see the Brhadaranyaka-Upanisad 4 0

V.2.

"thunder of Father Zeus" at Iliad 13.79 6 (cf 21.19 9 and Euripides Hippol. 1201); the "thunderbolt of Zeus"

at Iliad 21.401.

Seneca, Medea 531 nunc summe toto Iuppiter caelo tona "Now, highest Jupiter, thunder throughout the heaven"; Lucan 7.19 7 tonitrus...Iouis.

4 1 CIL 6.1.2295=Henzen ccxxxvi. Augustus reports (Res Gestae IV.19) "I (re)built the temples of Jupiter Feretrius and Jupiter Tonans on the Capitoline," AEDES IN CAPITOLIO IOVIS FERETRI ET IOVIS TONANTIS...FECI, where the Greek gives an equivalent of the latter , .

4 2 CIL 11.1.3773 , Galera.

4 3 CIL 11.2.1.4172 , from Interamna.

Further classical texts: the

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heaven." A logic is suggested by Cicero Philip. 5.7 loue enirn tonante cum populo agi non esse fas, "For when Jupiter is thundering it is not proper for business with the people to be conducted."

His thunder conveys a message requiring immediate interpretation, which supersedes human business. The XII

Tabulae, although not ascribed to Jupiter or his voice, were once only ten (Livy 3.34.6), like the Commandments of Yahweh given to Moses.

In Greek also a sign from the High God cancels business. A parallel to the thundering of Jupiter which cancels the comitia is the more generalized . At Aristophanes Ach. 171 a drop of rain cancels the church. At Plutarch de def. orac. 18 (= Mor. 419E) at an island near Britain (), are wind and lightning, and signify the death of an eminent person. At Julian Or. 7.212B a thunder-storm is such a sign from Zeus.

The High God exercises his role as thunderer in a conciliar fashion, as the chief of a council. At Ps 29,1 the "sons of Elim" (O^K ">33) are to "ascribe to Yahweh honor and strength" in recognition (11.54, 99,105) of his thundering (vs 3). The others are not comparable with him: Ps 89,7-8 "For who in the skies can be compared to Yahweh, or among the sons of Elim is like Yahweh? —a God feared in the council of the holy ones (D'1 !i"lip"lÍD3, Vg in Consilio sanctorum)"; Exod 15,11 "Who is like thee, Yahweh, among the Elim?": D ^NS

••• • Jupiter's conciliar status may be derived from his Etruscan counterpart, Tin or Tinia. Pliny 2.138

Tuscorum litterae nouem deos emitere fulmina existimant, eaque esse undecim generum, louem trina iaculari "The books of the Etruscans hold that nine gods send thunderbolts, and that these are of

eleven kinds, since Jupiter hurls three kinds."

The three are specified by Seneca Nat. Quest. 2.41.1-2: Fulmina a loue dicunt [Etrusci] mitti et tres illi manubias dant.

Prima, ut aiunt, monet et placata est et ipsius louis Consilio mititur.

Secundum quidem mittit Iupiter, sed ex consili sententia, duodecim deos enim aduocat; hoc fulmen boni aliquid aliquando facit, sed tunc quoque non aliter quam ut noceat; ne prodest quidem impune.

Tertiam manubiam idem Iupiter mittit, sed adhibitis in consilium diis quod superiores et inuolutos uocant, quia uastat in quae incidit et utique mutat statum priuatum et publicum quem inuenit; ignis enim nihil esse quod fuit patitur.

44 Cicero has a double formula at de div. 2.42 loue tonante fulgurante comitia populi habere nefas "When Jupiter is thundering and lightening it is improper to hold

an assembly of the people."

11.2 Thunder and lightning

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[The Etruscans] say that thunderbolts are sent by Jupiter, and they attribute three missiles [?—manubias] to him. The first, as they say, only warns, is gentle, and is sent by the counsel of Jupiter alone. The second is also sent by Jupiter, but on the advice of his council, for he gathers the twelve gods. Sometimes this thunderbolt does some good, but even then only on the condition that it also harms; it cannot bring sheer benefit.

The third type of missile is also sent by Jupiter, but after having called into council the gods whom they [the Etruscans] call Superior and Veiled; because it destroys whatever it strikes and wholly changes the private or public state of affairs that it finds; for fire allows nothing to remain what it was.

The thunder marks the role of the High God as assuring victory to the armies of his people. I Sam 7,10 "And Yahweh thundered with a great voice that day against the Philistines, and scattered them": ••i ri»"?at 7y dp s ^iir^ip a mrp ay-m

•ar m

Throughout the Iliad the thunder of Zeus, especially on the right, means victory for one party, eg 20.56-57 "And the father of men and gods thundered terribly from on high," /

Below (Chap. 16) I show how the Ark of the Covenant and the Temple of Janus were homes from which the war-god went out to defend the city; at Rev 11,19 when the Ark appears there are "lightnings and 'voices' and thunders and an earthquake and heavy hail." In AD 410 in the invasion of Alaric, Tuscans () report how their city Narnia was saved: "By their prayer to the divinity

and their worship in the ancestral fashion extraordinary thunderclaps and storms came about and 45

drove off the attacking barbarians" (Zosimus 5.41.1)

Below (.171-174) I discuss the words for "torch" in Hebrew (T31 ?) and Greek ()— apparently an Aegean loan to Hebrew. In both languages it is a synonym for lightning. Thus in Euripides Bacchae 594-595 Dionysos calls to the thunderbolt in agitated dactyls:

"Kindle the gleaming thunder-torch; burn, burn down the house of Pentheus"; so at vs 244

"who is burned up in the thundering torches." See then Exod 20,18 •Ta'frnK i n'^isn-n« D-
'K'T ourr^Di

• . - - : i - . *

45 Narnia of Umbria (Livy 10.9.8 etc) somehow gave its name to the land of C. S. Lewis' children's allegories.

;

68

LXX , Vg uoces et lampadas.46

11.3 Snow and hail

Canaanites looking up to Lebanon, as Greeks to Olympos, saw snow as a product of the high God: Ps 147,16 "He [Yahweh] gives snow like wool," nos ? J1 ?»']3; Iliad 19.357 ; Homeric Epigram 13.6 "when the son of Kronos snows," '

. A Greek poet addresses imperatives to Zeus "Snow, throw down hail ..." , 47

. With Jer 18,14 "snow from Lebanon" see Tacitus Hist. 5.6 praecipuum montium Libanum erigit, mirum dictu, tantos inter ardores opacum fidumque niuibus, "[Judaea] raises up Libanus chief of mountains, wonderful to relate, among such heated lands dark [with trees] and constant in snow."

Levin⁴⁸ compares the Indo-European and Semitic words for "snow," eg Russian

CHer and the anomalous verb Ps 68,15 3^27'n talsleg; we have often seen the variation

1/n. Snow appears along with the Semitic-Germanic isogloss (Levin, SIE 58-65) for

"earth" (German Erde, Arabic Jo'J\ 'arda accus.) at Job 37,6 "For he says to the snow,

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"And all the people, seeing[!] the 'voices' [thunder-claps] and 'torches' [lightning-bolts]....,"

Fall(?)⁴⁹

to the earth":

^

... ' Levin (SIE

390) finds a primordial phrase common to Akkadian *ina er-ce-tim* "in the earth" and Old High German *in erdo* (*erdu*, *erda*) "in(to) the earth "; it continues in English down to the KJV, "in earth as it is in heaven."

The snow is seen as the weapon of the High-God, as if to bring back the Ice Age.⁵¹ Job 38,22-23, "Have you entered the treasures of the or seen the treasures of the hail,

So Luther *Er spricht zum Schnee, Falle zur Erde*. Then compare Iliad 12.156 "[the missiles] fell like 50 snowflakes to earth":

snow

war?" Iliad 12.278-280,

which I have reserved for the time of trouble, for the day of battle and

46 "Torches" appears in parallelism with "lightning" further at Ezek 1,13; Nahum 2.5; Daniel 10:6.

47 Greek Anthology 5.64; Asclepiades (3rd cent. BC).

48 Levin, SIE 208-213, 457. Note the unique form Hesiod Opera 535.

"fall."

49 Apparently the Arabic root 50 l

read for of the Oxford edition which makes no sense to me.

51 Plato had an inkling of a time when the sea-level was lower, Critias 111C.

ios'.1

11.3 Snow and hail sixty nine

286-7 "And as the flakes of snow fall thick on a winter day, when Zeus Counselor determines to snow, showing men his weapons ... when the rain of Zeus is heavy; so the stones of those on both sides fell thick. " ... obs

' , ... '

.

Missiles are seen as snow: Pindar Isthm.

4.17 "the harsh snowfall of war," ; Aeschylus Septem 212 "when a baneful snow [of stones] was falling,"

At Iguvium⁵² two passages have a formula of ten singular imperatives in alliterative pairs, once (VI.B.60) addressed to three deities, once (VII.A.48-49) to the single goddess Tursa louia; the divinities may be so indistinctly conceived that the verbs are impersonal. The formula is only partially understood: tursitu tremitu, hondu holtu, ninctu nepitu, sunitu sauitu, pre-plotatu preuilatu.

Terrify them (Latin territo⁵³) and cause them to tremble (cf. tremefacito), cast them down (?) and destroy them (?), overwhelm them with snow (ninguito) and overwhelm them with water, deafen them [with thunder?] and wound them, trample them under foot (?) and bind them (*praeuin-culato).

Also the High-God causes hail—this time without common vocabulary. Exod 9,23 "And Yahweh rained hail," "na mT ""ltpOM borrowing the root "Itüö; Jos 10,11 "And Yahweh sent down on them great stones from heaven ... stones of hail ("3 "^OX)." Euripides Troades 78-9 "And Zeus will send rain and much hail," /; Lucian Bis Accus. 2 Zeus complains of his simultaneous duties around the world, including "hailing on the Getae,"

lv . In Aristophanes Clouds 1127 the Clouds take over his duties, "We will crush with round hailstones," -. We saw (11.59) that in Horace the Father [Jupiter] is responsible for both snow and hail.⁵⁴

⁵² Iguvine Tablets ed. Poultney.

⁵³ These three Latin imperatives are correctly formed but seem not to be attested.

⁵⁴ Seneca (Nat. Quest. 4B.4.1) expresses these notions with impersonal verbs (where any sense of Jupiter as subject is weakened), qua re hieme ningat, non grandinet "why it snows in winter but does not hail."

Below (Chap. 13) we discuss the names of "arrows" (Osn, , sagittae) for the elemental weapons of the High God. At Ps 18,14-15 (11.59) hail and the lightning are his arrows. Thus at Zach 9,14 (cf. Hab 3,11) "Then Yahweh will appear over them, and his arrow will go out like lightning (Vg

ut fulgur)":

iSn X^ l ...

The verses of Pindar and Aeschylus on the rough "snow" of warfare are echoed in the old Latin poet Pacuvius⁵⁵ niuit sagittis, plumbo et saxis grandinai "It snows with arrows, it hails with lead and stones."

The late Greek poet Nonnus (Dionys. 18.232) says "from the gloom were sent arrows of hail,"

11.4 Rain and dew

11.4.1 The "water" words

There are two Greek-Hebrew parallels in words meaning "rain". One is in Hebrew both a noun "Itpa, I Reg 18,1 "And I will give rain (ItpO) on the face of the earth"; and a causative verb, Gen 2,5 "For Yahweh the God had not rained (Ttplpn, LXX) on the earth." The verb can take the noun as

cognate object (Isa 5,6,11.61). So Zeus is responsible for rain, Odyssey 14.457-85 6

' / "Zeus rained all night long." Aristophanes treats as if a cognate accusative to (Clouds 1279-1281) 5 7

‘ ; ‘ ;

"Do you think that Zeus always rains new water every time, or that the sun draws up this same water again from below?"—a blend of traditional and modern explanations. 8 Latin pluit never takes a subject, as explained by Priscian (above), though "Jupiter Pluvius" is occasional (1.23).

5 5 Pacuvius Paulus frag. 3 (i.325 Ribbeck). The MS has sagittis niuit. The verb niuit appears here only, elsewhere "it snows" is ningit or ninguit.

5 6 Zeus as raining also at Iliad 12.25-26, Hesiod Opera 48 8 and frequently.

5 7 And so Herodotus 1.87.2 where Apollo is responsible though not grammatically present.

58 Two more characteristic Greek phrases. Theognis 25-2 6 ò Zeus / '

' ' "Zeus cannot please everybody either by raining or

holding back"; Theophrastus Char. 3.4 (cf Herodas 7.46) "if Zeus should make more rain."

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There is a nice Palestinian parallel in a church writer of the fourth century:59

ó , . yà p Mapväv , Mapväv .

"When God kept withholding the rain, ...all were distressed. And [the people of Gaza] gathered together in the temple of Marnas and made many sacrifices and prayers on account of this. For they said that Marnas was god of the rains , and they affirm that Marnas is Zeus."60 The destruction of the temple in AD 402 is confirmed by Jerome in his commentary on Isa 17,2, Serapium Alexandriae et Marnae templum Gazae in ecclesias Domini surrexerunt, "The

Serapium at Alexandria and the temple of Marnas at Gaza have risen up again

as churches of the Lord."6 Greek , cognate to English water, is often simply "rain." The

original r/n stem (cf Swedish vatten) is clear in Hittite uatar neuter, genitive

uitenas; I cannot tell if in any text cited by Friedrich62 it means "rain." In view

of the regular alternation m/w it is attractive to com-(Akk. mitru, appearing at

Ras Shamra only, is West-

63

Since rain falls from what is normally a clear sky, there must be (Gen 1,7) "waters above the firmament"—the metal sky-dome. Perhaps it is perforated for the stars to shine through (1.108, 11.170). In the Flood the "windows of

heaven" (^ 3) were opened (Gen 7,11); so Mai 3,10 "I will open the windows of heaven for you and pour down for you an overflowing 'blessing' (33)." In drought Yahweh "shuts up the heavens so that there is no rain ("itaö)" (Deut

59 Marcus Diaconus, *Life of Porphyry Bishop of Gaza* 19; ed. H. Grégoire & .-

A. Kugener, *Marc le Diacre: Vie de Porphyre Evêque de Gaza* (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1930); events of AD 396. Problems with the text have been satisfactorily answered by Frank R. Trombley, *Hellenic Religion and Christianization C. 370-529*; 2 vols.; *Religions in the Graeco-Roman World* 115; Leiden: Brill, 1993; Appendix 1: "The Historicity of the Greek Version of Mark the Deacon's Life of Porphyrius of Gaza," pp. 246ff.

60 Actually Marnas is probably an Aramaic title, "our Lord"; see 11.117. It may then simply continue the god Dagon (pil Jud 16,23) of Gaza: Dor and Jaffa are "lands of Dagon," pi -"ai (KAI 14.19).

61 Corp. Christ, ser. lat. 73.268.17.

62 Johannes Friedrich, *Hethitisches Wörterbuch*; Heidelberg: Winter, 1952, p. 249.

63 I owe this comparison to Levin, who treats the words briefly at SIE 211, 287.
pare "0 "rain." Semitic.)

72

11,17, cf I Reg 8,35); pictorially, "Who can lay flat the waterskins (Luther Wasser Schläuche) of heaven (D"«OBf "??})?" (Job 38,37). At II Sam 22,12 the Vulgate introduces the image *cribrans aquas de nubibus caelorum* "sifting down water from the clouds of heaven." At Hero-dotus 4.158.3 Libyans, taking Greeks to a well-rained-on site, say *yàp ó* "here the sky

is perforated." At Aristophanes *Clouds* 373 Socrates answers the question -ris usi "who rains?" by "the Clouds," but Strepsiades confesses

' truly

"I used to think that it was really Zeus pissing through a sieve."64 In fact (Frisk ii.446-7) both and are connected with San-skrit *varsati* "it rains."

The geographical difference of Mediterranean societies from the empires of the Near East was the rain which made possible autonomous city-states not dependent on centralized irrigation; see the full discussion at 1.22-24. In the Mediterranean, fields "drink" rain from the High God, either directly or via the mountains. Sach 10,1 "Ask for rain from Yahweh ("Itpip) at the time of the spring showers." See Plato Laws 761A "[The wardens shall watch over] the waters from Zeus () ... as they flow down from the heights into the hollow valleys in the mountains () [and shall channel them] ... so that the valleys, receiving and drinking the waters from Zeus (...), shall provide fountains and springs for the fields and all places lower down." Compare Deut 11,11 of Canaan (cited 1.22 above) "it drinks water from the rain of heaven," LXX ,

65

Cf. Xenophon

Anab. 4.2.2 (& Thucydides 2.77.6) "and there was much water from heaven." Theophrastus Hist. Plant. 2.6.5, the date palm of Syria does not need "water from Zeus," []. Herodotus 3.117.4 "In winter the god rains on [Persian nations] () as on other men.... [In summer they bribe the

64 The punishment of the Danaids, carrying water in a sieve (Plato Rep. 2.363D) or perforated jar (Xenophon Oec. 7.40), is a ceremony in Egypt (Diodorus 1.97.2)—perhaps as a symbol of rain-making. For the "bucket" (dolium)

of the Danaids see 1.145 and cf Horace Carni. 3.11.27 inane lymphae / dolium "their bucket empty of water."

65 With the "valleys" () of Plato see the Hebrew word used only in connection with Dor (itself likely named for the Dorians), I Reg 4,11 etc "IR'l ?]"1 ^ "all the valley of Dor"; a Greek geographical term borrowed in Hebrew? See

1.342.

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Great King to irrigate their lands;] when their earth becomes saturated drinking the water () [he channels it elsewhere]."

Finally see Marcus Aurelius 5.7 "Prayer of the Athenians: 'Rain, rain, dear Zeus (), on the field of the Athenians and on their plains:'"

When the God is angry, a seer can predict or cause drought for up to seven years. Amos 4,7 "And I would rain ("»fntppni, , plui) on one city, and on another city I would not rain; one field would be rained on ("ltpsn) and the field on which it would not rain (TtpöFl)66 withered." Elijah tells Ahab (I Reg 17,1) "These years there shall not be dew or rain ("lE3Ö1) except by my word."

Herodotus 4.151.1 "For seven years it did not rain on Thera ()" because Delphi wished it to found a colony. Cf Gen 41,30 "seven years of famine." 7 Elijah

produces rain by one style of sympathetic magic (I Reg 18,41-44), and priests of Zeus Lykaioi in Arcadia by another (Pausanias 8.38.4, 11.171).

Also the High God when angry can give unseasonable rain and destroy the crops. Samuel, reproving the people for wanting a king, calls on Yahweh during the wheat harvest, "and he will send 'voices' [thunder] and rain" (I Sam 12,17). So at Iliad 16.385-6

(11.27) men in a violent assembly judge crooked decrees and drive out Justice: "...on an autumn day, when Zeus pours out much rain, when in his indignation he is angry at men" :

' / ...

11.4.2 The "blessing" words

The other shared word for rain has in Hebrew, and to some degree in Greek, the connotation of "blessing." We saw at Mai 3,10 (11.71) "I will open the windows of heaven for you and pour down for you an overflowing 'blessing' (33). " In form the noun "blessing" exactly corresponds to "rain" Matt 7,25. Levin⁶⁸ saw that 3 I Reg 22,38 "pool" was a feminine stative verbal noun corresponding to unattested but probable neuter *\$. Also the Hebrew active noun can mean simply "rain" with the connotation of blessing as in Malachi.

Thus Ezek 34,26 "And I will send down the shower in its season; they shall be showers of blessing (33 ,,0E>'a)." It can be the object of a verb

6 6 Apparently a 3rd person feminine singular imperfect used as an impersonal like Psalm 68:15.

6 7 Saul is of the family (I Sam 10,21); are these professional rainmakers? 6 8 IESL 286; SIE 198-201; see above 1.24 and 11.322.

"pour" and parallel to "water" (Isa 44,3). At Deut 28,12 where Yahweh opens "his good treasury the heavens," "to bless (=13 7) all the work of your hand" is parallel to "give the rain (itpo) of your land in its season." The opposite of a blessing is a curse, Deut 11,26 n'p'ppl 33; the root once means "dry up" of waters after the Flood, Gen 8,8

So at Xenophon Oec. 17.2 , so where all men "look to the god, to see when he will rain on the earth and let them sow," has the connotation of the god's beneficence. Polybius 16.12.3 records, and rejects, a popular belief that a certain statue "is never snowed on nor rained on," ... neither ... nor . In Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 12.1482.6 (letter of the 2nd century CE) means

excess-sive rain, ö "For Zeus was sixty nine

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At Matt 7,25 rain is a destructive flood, but beneficial "irrigation" at Theophrastus Hist. Plant. 9.6.3.

At Olymp. 7.34 Pindar⁷⁰ in his highest style speaks of Rhodes ó "where once the great king of the gods⁷¹ drenched the city with a golden snowfall"; referring to its wealth rather than to some more specific myth?

11.4.3 The "dew" of the High God The dew

results from the procreation of the High God. Job 38,28 "Has the rain a father? Or who has begotten the drops of dew?" Gen 27,28 "And may God give you of the

dew of heaven (ITO^n ^BO)"; Sach 8,12 (cf Hag 1,10) "And the heavens shall give their dews."⁷² Iliad 14.351, from the intercourse of Zeus and Hera "there fell down sparkling dewdrops," ' . Alkman⁷³ speaks of "such things as Dew the daughter of Zeus and of the Moon generate,"

69 The editors state that it does rain at Oxyrhynchus in January.

70 Compare later in the same ode, Olymp. 7.50 "he rained gold," and Isthm. 7.5 "snowing with gold."

71 See 11.88 for the beautiful agreement with Ps 95,3 "and a great king above all gods," LXX ; ètti toùç .

72 The women's names ^EPI»* (II Sam 3,4) and ^tû-ian (II Reg 23,31) if Hebrew must be

"My father is the dew," "My father-in-law is the dew" ; but they could also be more prosaic Aramaic, "My father is a shade" etc., from Aramaic (in Hebrew at Neh 3,15) = Hebrew raining and you couldn't stand against the wind."

73 Frag. 57 ed. Page PMG = Plutarch Quest. Conviv. 3.10.3 (Mor. 659B).

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Ovid {Met. 13.621-622}: "Aurora was intent on her sorrows [over the death of Memnon], and still she weeps pious tears and makes dew in the whole world":

luctibus est Aurora suis intenda piasque nunc quoque dat lacrimas et toto rorat in orbe.

AB Cook7 4

Danaë75 and Pindar's "golden snow" cited above.76

interprets as of divine intercourse the golden rain in which Zeus came down to

Thus the High God through the rain is the husband of the earth.

When the Babylonian Talmud (Taanith 6b) says "the rain is the husband of the earth," *rò m mû*"1» we can hear the language of pagan Canaanite Baal-worship. Further in the Talmud77 irrigated fields are "the house of a ditch"; rain-watered fields are *7?3 "house of Baal" or ^mn 0. Hosea at 2,18 changes the old word to one which even more strongly defines Yahweh as the husband of his people, "And in that day...you will call me 'my man' and no longer will you call me 'my master' (""piïZl)." Although Israel did not know it, it was Yahweh "who gave her the grain, the wine and the oil" (Hos 2,10); at a coming day the heavens and earth will mutually "answer" each other in view of the new divine name Jezreel "God sows" (2,24).

And Hosea parallels exactly the Greek image of the dew, "I will be like the dew to Israel" (14,6).

11.4.4 Symbolism of the rain In a fragment from the Danaids of Aeschylus78 Aphrodite speaks:

, yaîav '' yaîav-

' '' - ' .

74 Cook, Zeus iii.455-478.

75 Sophocles Antigone 944-950; Pherecydes, Jacoby FGH 3 F 10.

76 The classical passages with "dew" here cited, along with many more, are taken up in the beautiful study of Deborah Boedeker, *Descent from Heaven: Images of Dew in Greek Poetry and Religion*; American Philological Association: Scholars Press, 1984.

77 Mishna Baba Batra III. 1 ; Bab. Talmud Moed Qatan 2a.

78 Aeschylus frag. 44, TrGF iii.159 (from Athenaeus 13.600A).

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"The holy heaven desires to wound the earth; Eros seizes the earth to be united in marriage; rain from the covering Sky falls and impregnates the earth, and she brings forth for mortals pasture for flocks and the life of Demeter [the grain] and the harvest of trees; all that exists is perfected from the dewy marriage; of these I am the cause." This intercourse of heaven and earth is much echoed. Euripides in a fragment of an unknown play,⁷⁹ again referring to Aphrodite, says "the earth desires the rain (γαι[α])...the holy heaven full of rain at the impulse of Aphrodite desires to fall on the earth".

Lucretius 1.250-1

...pereunt imbres, ubi eos pater aether in

gremium matris terrae praecipitavit

"the rains disappear when father Aether has flung them into the lap of mother

Earth." Vergil, *Georgics* 2.325-7

tum pater omnipotens fecundis imbribus aether

coniugis in gremium laetae descendit et omnis

magnus alit magno commixtus corpore fetus

"Then the almighty father Aether with fertile rains descends into the lap of his

joyful spouse and in his greatness, mixed with her great body, nourishes all new births." And most beautifully in the late classical *Peruigilium Veneris* 59-62 (text a little uncertain): eras erit quom primus

Aether copulabit nuptias, ut pater totum crearet uernis annum nubibus in sinum maritus imber fluxit almae coniugis, unde fetus mixtus omnis aleret magno corpore.

"Tomorrow will be when the primal Aether will consummate nuptials.

So that the Father might create the whole year from the spring clouds, the rain, the husband, flowed into the lap of his receptive spouse, so that, joined

with her great body, it might nourish all births." Again, Pausanias (1.24 .3) on the Acropolis of Athens found "a statue of Earth imploring Zeus to rain on her," *οἰ* . Proclus⁸⁰ reports that "at the rites of Eleusis they looked up at the Sky and shouted *hē* "Rain!"; then down to the Earth and said *kye* 'Conceive!'"⁸¹

79 Euripides fragment 898 Nauck.

80 Proclus, in *Platonis Timaeum Commentaria* iii.176 ed. E. Diehl; Leipzig: Teubner, 1906.

81 Hippolytus *Refutatio* 5.7.34 (GCS 26) cites without elaboration the formula as *uē* , which also appears in an inscription from Athens (BCH 20 [1896]

)":

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Euripides takes up this theme with new features in a fragment of the *Chrysippus*.

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It is an address to "Greatest Earth and Aether of Zeus," *Ζεὺς* ; he is the begetter (*γενέτωρ*) of men and gods; she "by receiving the moistening dew-drops gives birth to mortals," *θνητῶν* / *ἀνθρώπων* and hence is "Mother of all," *μητέρα πάντων* . The text continues: *ἅπαντα γὰρ ἐκ τῆς γῆς γίνονται καὶ πάλιν εἰς τὴν γῆν ἀναστρέφονται· τὰ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ γινόμενα πάντα ἀφθάρτουνται καὶ ἀλλοτρίωνται.*

,

' .

"// things born from the earth return to the earth, but all that increase by an ethereal begetting go back to the heavenly pole; nothing that comes into being dies, but one thing changed into another manifests a different form."

11.4.5 "Earth to earth"

Euripides in the Chrysippus picks up an international proverb (cf 1.311) that went through three phases.

(1) Earth to earth. Here the theme is merely realistic. Gen 3,19 "...Until you return to the ground, for from it you were taken; for you are dust, and to dust you will return (LXX

Xenophanes "For all things are from earth, and in earth all things end":

Koh 3,20 seems almost a translation of Xenophanes, "Everything was from dust, and everything returns to dust": -layrr1 ?« iti ·?'3

rvn ^n

Vg de terra facta sunt et in terram pariter reuertantur. Also in Egypt, although that does not settle the matter of priority, "What comes from

79). See the discussion in George E. Mylonas, Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries; Princeton: University, 1969; p. 270.

82 Euripides frag. 839 Nauck, put together out of several quotations on the basis of the summary in Vitruvius 8 praef. 1. Anapaests for the entrance of the chorus? Quoted eg by Marcus 7.50 and frequently. 83 Xenophanes frag. 27, FYS8 .

". . .•;- .

-' 1 ?«! 317_

, 3

78

earth returns to it again."84 Likewise a fragment of Euripides:85 receives

"Earth begets all things and receives them back again." Levin86 notes that Latin and Hebrew for "man" correspond to cognate feminine words for "earth": homo with

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humus, D"TK with 2: and further links the

7 TT TT-;

,

Indo-European and Semitic stems. Gen. 2,7 shows awareness of the connection, "And Yahweh the God made man of dust from the earth": .- nay 0_

mrr -:^]

Quintilian 1.6.34 while rejecting the etymology shows a feeling for it, *etiamne hominem appellavi [sinemus] quia sit humo natusi*, "Shall we allow man to be so called because he is born of the ground?"

(2) Earth to earth, spirit to spirit. Koh 12,7 (cf 3,21) gives a fuller version, "and the dust returns to the earth as it was, and the spirit returns to God who gave it" (cf Ps 104,29; Job 34,14-15). This works out the double composition of man from Genesis: dust from the earth, breath from heaven. (Horace Carm. 4.7.16 *pulvis et umbra sumus.*) So a fragment of Epicharmus⁸⁷:

yä yäv, ' "Earth

to earth, spirit on high." Behind I Kor 15,42-49 lies a contrast of the man of dust and the man of spirit, although it is not quite explicit.

(3) "Nothing that is born dies." Euripides' verse transforms the original somber proverb by means of the pre-Socratic insight into the perpetual recycling of being. See Anaxagoras: "The Hellenes do not correctly understand coming into being and going out of being (). For nothing comes into being or goes out of it, but is combined out of existing things and is dissolved out of them ()."⁸ Lucretius 2.991ff versifies the whole of Euripides frag. 839,

⁸⁴ Miriam Lichtheim, *Late Egyptian Wisdom Literature in the International Con-text: A Study of Demotic Instructions*; *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis* 52; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1983, pp. 168, 228 (Papyrus Insinger 30.6).

⁸⁵ Euripides frag. 195 Nauck, who compares it with several fragments of Menander.

⁸⁶ SIE 66-71 with references.

⁸⁷ Epicharmus frag. 9, FVSS 23B = Plutarch Mor. 110A. Compare Sirach 40,11 "All things that are from the earth return to the earth, and those that are from the waters go back to the sea"; but the Hebrew (ed. Beentjes) for the second clause has Qllö DHED 1 "And whatever

is from on high returns to what is high." The theme is classical in Greek: Euripides Sup. 533-4 / ' êç yfjv. Similarly in the

ether, Carmina Epigraphica Graeca (ed.

PA Hansen; Berlin: de Gruyter; 2 vols.; 1983) i.106; ii.535, 558.

88 Anaxagoras frag 17, FVS8 vol. ii p. 40; in the testimony for Anaxagoras our a passage of Euripides is cited (FVS8 ii.31.1).

11.5 Summary

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omnibus ille idem pater est, unde alma liquentis umoris guttas

mater cum terra recepit

"All have that same father; and when from him fostering mother Earth has received the liquid drops of wetness..." (Neither poet is clear about the difference between what comes from earth and heaven, since now both are transformed).

Lucretius goes on cedit

enim retro, de terra quod fuit ante, / in terras "For what before was

from earth returns to earth" and paradoxically, for an Epicurean, almost denies the reality

of death in the old sense. Sir Thomas Browne (Hydriotaphia iv) saw the connection, "Or who would expect from Lucretius a sentence of Ecclesiastes?" Ovid, in the long speech which he gives to Pythagoras in the final book 15 of the Metamorphoses, summarizes the changes he has chronicled in the old language: omnia mutantur, nihil interit [Met. 15.165) "all things change, nothing dies"; nec perit in toto quicquam (15.254) "nothing in the whole universe dies." And he applies the same principle to us as pars mundi (15.456-7) who are not only corpora but also uolucres animae. Thus the Greek world (and after it the Roman), even before the Hebrew formulation of the resurrection of the body, achieved some sense of the permanence of life.

11.5 Summary

Both the thunder and the rain of the High God serve a couple of functions in each of three areas.

(1) Creation of the natural order, (a) Thunder is the agent of the High God in his original making of the land: Ps 104,7 "At the voice of thy thunder [the waters] took to flight"; Apollodorus 1.6.2, "Zeus destroyed the remainder [of the giants], pelting them with thunder- bolts." (b) The rain or dew is the fertilizing seed of the High God.

Talmudic "the rain is the husband of the earth" and Hos 14,6 "I shall be as the dew to Israel" run parallel to Aeschylus and Euripides and the Eleusinian cult they suggest.

(2) Creation of a free society, (a) The thunder is the voice of the High God dictating law: so plainly at Sinai (Exod 19,16); also the testimony of Cicero implies that thunder supersedes human law-making. (b) In contrast with Egypt, the rain of the High God makes reliance on irrigation (with its priestly control) unnecessary (Deut 11,10-12, Herodotus 2.13.3; 1.22).

(3) Justice and victory. Above (11.35) we saw that (a) the God of thunder inverts the (unjust) relations of rich and poor. Thus in the

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Song of Hannah (I Sam 2,6-10), the model for the Magnificat (Luk 1,51-53), "The bows of the mighty are broken, but the feeble gird on strength...The adversaries

of Yahweh shall be broken in pieces; against them he will thunder in heaven"; Hesiod Opera 6-8 "Easily he diminishes the proud man and increases the obscure man...Zeus who thunders on high, who inhabits most high dwellings." The High God does this by maintaining the original equitable allotment of arable land which his rain made possible. Compare the statement of Seneca {Nat.

Quest. 2.41) that Jupiter's third weapon "alters the private and public status that it finds," *mutât statum priuatum et publicum quem inuenit*. (b) By rain and thunder the High God defeats the enemies of his people. At Jud 5,21 "the torrent Kishon swept them away," where the agent is "the stars from their courses"; Servius on Aeneid 1.294 (11.238) says that when Romulus was fighting against the Sabines, hot water (*calidam aquam*) broke out from the future site of the Temple of Janus and routed them. Under Samuel (I Sam 7,10) Yahweh "thundered with a great voice" against the Philistines; and we have seen how Italians and Tuscans benefited from the High God of thunder.

Among all the common features of the High God in the ancient Mediterranean societies, his control of the elements is remarkably durable. At one point things seem to be slipping out of his grasp. For Prometheus in Aeschylus' play, Zeus in his control of the elements is the

enemy, for Elijah, Yahweh was not in the wind, earthquake or fire but in the "still small voice" (I Reg 19,12), although the exact meaning of this is ambiguous. But later he resumes command. For Cleanthes (3rd century BC) in his Hymn the keraunos (ie the Fire of Heraclitus?) is the instrument by which Zeus "controls the universal Logos" (vs 12). Jesus somberly affirms the lightning as introducing a time of troubles, like the flood in the days of Noah and the rain of fire in the days of Lot (Luk 17,24-30). But earlier, as we saw in the beginning, he affirmed the mercifulness (Luk 6,36) of the Father in heaven in making his sun rise on the evil and good, and raining on the just and unjust (Matt 5,45). And in Greece the theme of the marriage of heaven and earth, along with the perpetual recycling of matter, provided a ready-made preparation for the novel hope of the resurrection of the body.

Chapter 12:

Divine Kingship, Civic Institutions, Imperial Rule¹

The Mediterranean city-state was a transient political structure. Its institutions emerged under a quasi-divine king: partly as progressive limitation and dispersal of his power; partly from its own necessities, in particular its dependence on a civic militia. Its Canaanite sites, on the rain-watered periphery of the irrigated societies, Egypt and Mesopotamia, during precious centuries held out against imperial advances while they perfected their own institutions. Greek resistance kept Persian power to the eastern shore of the Aegean. But the greatest energy of the city-states went into defending themselves against others of the same kind.

Throughout Greece the independent city-state, whether fully constitutional or under a limited residual kingship, was ended by the rise of new imperial powers with a different structure—Persians and Macedonians. These were Indo-European peoples with no fixed civic base, organized as an hereditary kingship commanding a people's army under an elite officer corps. But while taking away real independence from the old city-states, they left the formal constitutions of magistrates, senate and assembly intact. The literary texts and cultural forms developed under freedom were preserved under a relatively benign imperial overlordship.

In Italy a single city, Rome, passing from a legendary kingship to a Greek-style constitution, while progressively modifying but not discarding its political structures, gradually extended citizenship to the entire peninsula. Beginning in its struggle with Carthage, a wealthy naval power also able to recruit land armies, Rome further extended its power to overseas

"provinces," at first seen as conquered territory under military control, later as new areas of citizenship. As it turned to the East, the successor kingdoms of Alexander—Antigonid, Attalid,

1 Extensive revision of an article in ZAW 105 (1993) 62-86 with the title "From Divine Kingship to Dispersal of Power in the Mediterranean City-State."

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Seleucid, Ptolemaic—were no match for it; but Iran, under successive dynasties, constituted a permanent barrier.

The military success of Rome ended its true civic structure. Ambitious proconsuls, commanding armies with a provincial base, caught the vision of a personal monarchy, going beyond the annual consulate and the collegial authority of the Senate. The Hellenistic monarchs offered an enticing model. Carthaginian generals like Hannibal likely aspired to the same goal, but their political situation at home remains obscure. The name of king, rex, remained unacceptable at Rome, and Julius Caesar was killed partly because he did not dissociate himself from it firmly enough.

Augustus, after full power fell into his hands, consolidated it in a style consistent with Roman tradition. At first he held the quasi-monarchical office, the consulate, in successive years. But later he perceived that all necessary power was available through the offices of the Senate and Assembly: to them he added sacral functions old and new.

Thus a new single rule with political powers and divine sanctions more powerful than those of any previous kingship was created out of the forms of the Republic.

Among many mysteries of the Roman constitution is the fact (Cornell 142) that the king must be an outsider; the patricians were seemingly not eligible. Cornell 148 sees the latter kings of Rome in the guise of Greek tyrants, populist and anti-aristocratic figures. Vergil in his survey of Roman history calls Ancus

Marcius (Aen. 6.816) *nimium gaudens popularibus auris*, "taking too much pleasure in popular favor." In the first act of L. Iunius Brutus (Livy 2.1.9) "he forced

[the people] to take an oath that they would allow no one to reign as king in Rome," *iure turando adegit neminem Romae passuros regnare*.

Cornell 150: "What was truly repugnant to the nobles was the thought of one of their number elevating himself above his peers by attending to the needs of the lower classes and winning their political support."

It was the patricians to whom the name of rex was unacceptable. This suggests that in the kings of Israel and Judah deemed bad by the Deuteronomic editor of Kings we may see populist leaders, practicing the cults that found favor among the people who built "bamoth and pillars and asherim," 0"HtFKl nuSO-l 03 (I Reg 14,23), as over against the official cult of the priestly aristocracy.

In Rome as in Athens, to a late date the old office of the king was kept with largely sacral functions (but in Athens the basileus presided at trials for homicide); the old dual kingship hung on in Sparta even when its power was mostly gone. In Israel a new regal dynasty arose with the Maccabees, continued partly as client kings under Rome,

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partly as a high priesthood. The sentiment of a Davidic kingship remained in strata of the people with no allegiance to Rome, to the high priesthood or to the client kings. The story of Jesus has suggestions—no more—of a failed political Messianic uprising. The opposition between Christ and Caesar arose from the fact that they fell heir to opposite aspects of the old divine kingship.

Moses Finley's valuable but oblique study of ancient politics is helpfully summarized in the Cambridge paperback edition:

Finley...argues that politics come into play only in societies in which binding public decisions are made by discussion followed by a vote. The participants and the voters need not be the whole adult (or male) population but they must extend well beyond the small circle of a ruler (or junta), his family and his intimates. These qualifications narrow the practitioners of politics in the ancient world to the city-states of Greece and to Republican Rome. 2

Those criteria exclude ancient Israel. But if we look beyond the process to the results, Israel has as good a claim as Greece and Rome to the merits arising from their politics: dispersal of power; a demand for justice by

spokesmen for the poor, worked out to some degree in real history; preservation of that history in widely accessible texts. Although the two states of Israel retained kings until their

conquest by eastern empires, their law embodies restrictions on his possessions; Deut 17,16-17 specifies horses, wives and money, perhaps from a bad experience under Solomon. That law at least in theory goes beyond Greece and Rome in providing for periodic manumission of slaves and cancellation of debts; for needs of orphans and widows; for exemption from military service (Deut 20,5-8); for limitations on a scorched-earth policy (Deut 20,19-20).

Unlike Greece and Rome, Israel did not bequeath an adaptable form of political government to the modern world, other than the Puritan theocracies of Geneva and Massachusetts. But it bequeathed a model of a humanistic people, whose virtues, still carried by its physical descendants, are complementary to those of Greece and Rome. During its independence, it retained a kingship with attributes patterned on the High God, whereas Greece and Rome underwent a political evolution with only fading memories of an original divine kingship before written record. But the institutions by which Israel dispersed power under the umbrella of kingship in many ways run parallel to those which Greece and Rome developed to fill the gap left by the lack of kingship.

2 M. I. Finley, *Politics in the Ancient World*, Cambridge: University, repr. 1984; inside front cover.

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Among "Mediterranean city-states" I include legendary ones, Homeric

Troy and the Homeric Achaeans (an ad hoc city); and historical ones, Jerusalem, the Phoenician cities, Athens and Sparta (with other Greek poleis), Rome and Carthage. All from time to time used their city-base to build an extended territory. Troy, Jerusalem and Phoenicia had full kingships; Roman tradition claimed reges; the Achaeans had heroic leaders () and some true kings at home (); Athens (like later Rome) had a vestigial ; Sparta had two hereditary kings with limited powers; Carthage had two annually elected sufetes whom the Greeks called . In Jerusalem, Rome and the Greek states (with their legendary Achaean ancestors) the dispersal of power is clear. Legendary Troy has a well-developed council of elders.

Carthage, whatever its internal freedom, is a special case of a Semitic state that developed a Senate, Assembly and magistrates—like Palmyra long afterwards. The historians of the city have in general not recognized any special status of those which developed an alphabetical literature of self-analysis; Hammond³ says "Nor did [the Hebrews'] cities, particularly Jerusalem, represent any advance in the idea of the city."

A peculiar agreement among the city-states is the ceremonial military

force of 300 men. Gideon (Jud 7,6) reduced the army of Israel to 300 so that the victory would be to Yahweh alone. Sparta and Argos had a battle of 300 picked men each (Herodotus 1.82). The 300 of Sparta may have been the king's personal bodyguard, which Leonidas led to Thermopylae; Herodotus 7.205.2 calls them "the regular three hundred," . Livy 1.15.8 says that Romulus "had 300 armed men whom he called the Swift to protect his person, not only in war but also in peace," *trecentosque armatos ad custodiam corporis, quos Celeres appellavit, non in bello solum sed etiam in pace habuit*. Brutus raised the Senate to the same number of 300 (Livy 2.1.10). There was a supposed conspiracy of 300 against Porcina (Livy 2.12.15). The private army of the Fabii numbered 306, "a notable Senate at any period," *egregius quibuslibet temporibus senatus* (Livy 2.49.4). When Rome demanded 300 hostages from Carthage in 149 BC (Polybius 36.4.6), they were to be "sons of the members of the *synkletos* and of the *gerousia*"-

toù% <> .4 Reflex of sexagesimal (1.307, 11.335)?

3 Mason Hammond (with LJ Bartson), *The City in the Ancient World*; Cambridge: Harvard, 1972; p. 89. Nor is Jerusalem given any special status in Frank Kolb, *Die Stadt im Altertum*; Munich: Beck, 1984.

4 These are obviously separate bodies. The *syngogito?* was larger, for at Carthago Nova (Polybius 10.18.1) captives included two of the and fifteen of

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It is natural to speak of Mediterranean cities in the same breath.

Tertullian's contrast *Quid ergo Athenis et Hierosolymis?* recognizes that they are two of a kind. Aristotle's comparison of the Carthaginian *politeia* to Crete and Sparta (11.100) brings together Semitic and Greek models. Deger-Jalkotzy⁶ observed (cf. 11.91, 152 below) that Homer's Troy was for Greeks the type of

an Oriental city. Priam was a true king, for Troy was (Iliad 2.373). And its features rest on a historical foundation; for Greeks had lingering memories of the Hittite empire. In the Hittite texts "Millawanda" is probably Miletus and the "Ahhiyawa" Achaeans (, Latin Achlul), although the territory meant is unclear, whether the Greek mainland or Rhodes. 7 Further it is plausible to equate Achaeans / Ahhiyawa with the Hebrew "Hivites" (1).8

Most persistent among echoes of the Hittite world in Greek is king Muwatallis II (1295-1272 BC) whose treaty with Alaksandus of Wilusa has reminded many of Alexander/Paris of Ilion/Troy. 10 Stephanus 55.4 records a "Samylia: city of Caria, a foundation of Motylos who received Helen and Paris," , .11 This presumes the travels of Helen and Paris on their way from Sparta to Troy (Iliad 6.290). The founder of Mytilene () on Lesbos is said by some to have been

the . Hence (Diodorus 20.36.5) "senator": in Palmyrene (PAT 0290) np^{piO} = and Rabbinic, where Dlta^{piO} (Exod.

Rabbah 46.4) is incorrectly "senator," elsewhere perhaps "Senate."

5 Tertullian, *de praescriptione haereticorum* 7.9; see 1.161.

6 Sigrid Deger-Jalkotzy, "Homer und der Orient: Das Königtum des Priamos,"

Würzburger Jahrbücher für die Altertumswissenschaft, n. F. 5 (1979) 25-31.

See further her thesis, Sigrid Deger, *Herrschaftsformen bei Homer*, Dissertationen der Universität Wien 43; Wien: Notring, 1970.

7 So Frank H. Stubbings in CAH2 III.2.186. There is a summary of the Ahhiyawa problem as of 1981 in "The Hittites and the Aegean World," *American Journal of Archeology* 87 (1983) 133-143, with contributions by Hans G. Güterbock, Machteid J. Mellink, and Emily T. vermeule; see now Bryce 59-63.

8 For the identification see 1.31-2; and now Othniel Margalith, *The Sea Peoples in the Bible*; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1994.

9 Bryce 13.

10 Translation of the treaty in John Garstang and OR Gurney, *The Geography of the*

Hittite Empire; London: British Institute of Archeology at Ankara, 1959; p. 102; now also by Gary Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*; Atlanta: Scholars, 1996; 82-88.

Discussion Bryce 394.

11 Samylia is an old Anatolian toponym, for it has the same name as Zinjirli, *?0!8 (KAI

216.2), whose king 1(339 "Panamuwa" also has a Carian counterpart in (Meiggs-Lewis no. 32.30) and elsewhere in Anatolia.

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one (variants ,).¹² Lesbos is surely Hittite Lazpas, controlled by king Mursilis II (1321-1295), the father of Muwatallis. ^{1 3} Again, we must recognize Mursilis in Myrtilos (Mup-), charioteer of Oinomaos and of Pelops the Lydian. ^{1 4} The Hittites themselves, Hebrew ""Fin, may appear (1.31) as the (Odyssey with variants and), companions of the Mysian 11.521 Telephos (), who reminds us of the Hittite king Telipinus (1525-1500). On the Hebrew

of the , side Gen 14,1 has one ^Jnn king of "Goyim" (Symmachus) who bears the name four Hittite kings Tudhaliyas (possibly also in Greek). Suppiluliuma I (1344-1322) is known at Ugarit as tpllm mlk (KTU 3.1.16) along with his own king Niqmad, nqmd mlk ugrt (3.1.24). Priam () can be seen¹⁵ as Indo-European "First, " beside Latin primus·, a similar name is borne by Pir'am (3)

Canaanite king of Yarmuth (Jos 10,3). ^{1 6} This chapter falls into four parts. First (12.1) we outline features of an ancient divine kingship in the Mediterranean city-state. But (12.2) from the beginning it was limited by the necessary structures of the state, in particular the power of the citizen militia; and

(whatever the eventual status of the king) it was progressively hemmed in by the threefold structure of magistrates, council of elders, and people's assembly. At the end of the process as the city-state lost

independence,

the old royal ideology reasserted itself in two ways: in Caesar and Augustus (12.3),

¹² Stephanus 465. But Diodorus 5.81.7 says the city was named after a woman of the same name, daughter of Makareus of Achaia.

¹³ Hittite texts cited by Garstang Sc Gurney 95 (note 10 above).

¹⁴ For Myrtilos see Apollodorus Epit. 2.6-9 with Frazer's notes in the Loeb.

Candaules king of Sardes also had the name (Herodotus 1.7.2), and Alcaeus

had a contemporary at Lesbos.

15 Hans von Kamptz, *Homerische Personennamen: Sprachwissenschaftliche und historische*

Klassifikation; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck Ruprecht, 1982; p. 343.

16 Several items here are drawn from the large body of speculations in Richard D. Barnett,

"Ancient Oriental Influences on Archaic Greece," *The Aegean and the Near East: Studies Presented to Hetty Goldman* (Saul S. Weinberg, ed.; Locust Valley, NY, 1956) 212-238.

Hans G. Güterbock ("Troy in Hittite Texts? Wilusa, Ahhiyawa, and Hittite History," pp. 33-44 of M. Mellink, ed., *Troy and the Trojan War ...*; Bryn Mawr, 1986, repr. as pp. 223-228 of *Perspectives on Hittite Civilization: Selected Writings of Hans Gustav Güterbock*, ed. HA Hoffner, Oriental Institute: Chicago, 1997) regards the equation of Muwatallis and Motylos as plausible but unproven. — the therapon of Idomeneus and

perhaps his charioteer (Iliad 23.113), bears the name of an Akkadian "chari-oteer," mariannu (see West, EFH 612); CAD x. 1.2, 81.

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by reappropriating the old prerogatives of Council and Assembly and the sacral powers of kingship; in Christ (12.4), by reaffirming the old sanctity of the Davidic king, now divorced from political and military

power.

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In early texts, the king, real or legendary, is notoriously of divine character, "godlike." For Homer, kings generally are "nurtured by Zeus," (Iliad 2.445), and so in particular Menelaus (7.109). Odysseus is (Odyssey 2.352). Paris, a king's son, is "godlike," (Iliad 3.16); and likewise his father Priam—but only in the book (24) of his

humiliation, an ironic touch which shows the poet much in control of inherited formulas.

Priam was in the seventh generation from Zeus (Iliad 20.213ff) and Achilles the fourth. Rhea Silvia named Mars father of Romulus and Remus

(Livy 1.4.2), *Martia proles* (Ovid, *Fasti* 3.59). Yahweh says of David's son (11.57, 91), "I will be his father, and he shall be my son" (II Sam 7,14), a formula of royal "adoption" (Ps 2,7; 89,26- 27).

Drews maintains that during the age of Geometric pottery (900-720 BC) "the Greek poleis were not ruled by kings"—with the possible exception of Athens;¹⁸ but the *ethnos* of the Peloponnesus retained weak monarchies from an earlier age. He proposes that for Homer *basileus* meant "a highborn leader who is regularly flanked by other highborn leaders" (p. 129). But (p. 101) *anax* in Homer does mean "king"; Nestor is "anax of sandy Pylos" (*Iliad* 2.77), , ὄψ and when Agamemnon is described as "basileus of golden Mycenae" (7.180 etc.) this clearly means "king" also. The weakest

part of Drews' argument is his failure to explain how Homer

formed an idea of kingship when there was no such institution available in his time. Here it is not critically important for us to determine whether the supposed powers of early kingship are historical memories or idealized constructions.

17 The human kingship of Hellas and the Near East is analyzed along somewhat different lines by West (EFH 14-19); its divine coloration is treated EFH 132-

137. I have basically retained my original treatment here.

18 Robert Drews, *Basileus: The Evidence for Kingship in Geometric Greece*; Yale Classical Monographs 4; New Haven: Yale, 1983. His title is however mis-leading since (as he holds) *basileus* in Homer and subsequent poets did not mean "king."

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The early city-states recognized a High God in the sky, and on earth a king of semi- divine character with limitations on his power, while the monarchs of Egypt and Mesopotamia have in principle unlimited powers. Thucydides 1.13.1 contrasts the age of tyrants with an earlier pattern of "hereditary monarchies with fixed prerogatives," . The High God is in charge of rain with all others in the sky; as such he makes

the city-state possible. He is also king over a pantheon of other gods. After the battle of the gods with the Titans (Hesiod *Theog.* 883) the other gods urged Zeus to "reign and rule"

over them, . Henceforth he was "king of the gods," {*Theog.* 886}; Pindar enlarges his title to " great king of the gods," (Olympian 7.34,11.54).

In a beautiful parallel Yah weh is "a great god, and a great king above all gods" (Ps 95,3):

" .?3 ^- mrp ^iia ->3 >19 > LXX , "

," ,

· ,

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Surely this parallel reflects the Old Persian regal formula: Darius at Behistun²⁰ calls himself xsayaQiya vazraka "great king," and Herodotus 1.188.1 refers to the Persian monarch in

general as ò .

In the West Semitic world the High God is "Master of the heavens": in Phoenician DO[®]

(KAI 4.3, Byblos), in Aramaic piati^m (KAI 202 passim and often); Philo Byblius . the mouth of Nebuchadnezzar).

Likewise Hesiod Theog. 71 ' "And [Zeus] is reigning in heaven";

Euripides Iph. Taur. 749 ' "the lord of heaven, holy Zeus" (West, EFH 108).

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The kingship of the High God might seem only a projection from the status of the human king. But the opposite may be the case: fading memories of a legendary absolute human kingship were reinforced by the ongoing cult of God. Here then I outline the powers of the Mediterranean king as far as they run parallel to the attributes of the High God. Ideally

each item will show that an attribute is possessed by a Semitic and classical High God, and by a Semitic and classical king or his successor. Many of the materials are treated elsewhere in these volumes; here we review them in a new context.

19 See my article "Kingdom of God," *The Encyclopedia of Religion* (New York: Macmillan, 1987), viii.304-312 (with addenda xvi.482), esp. viii.304-5. Jerome iux. Hebrew peculiarly translates the first claiisequotiatn fortis et magnus dominus.

20 Kent 116 .

21 FGH 790 frag. 2.7.

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In two features, by the nature of the case, absolute attributes of the early king are not shared by the High God. (a) He has special inviolability: "It is a fearful thing to kill one of royal descent" (Odyssey 16.401-2), *yévoç*

/; so II Sam 1,14 "How is it that you were not afraid to put forth your

hand to destroy the anointed of Yahweh?"²² (b) A king in his youth kills a giant:²³ David kills Goliath; Nestor remembers killing Ereuthalion (Iliad 7.133-

160). At Iliad 7.135 Nestor says that the combat was "at the streams of Iardanos," . This river-name,²⁴ which also lies behind the Palestinian Jordan, marks the theme as from epic repertory.

12.1.1 The king, like the High God, owes his power to the fall of a previous dynasty²⁵ At Ugarit, Baal

after his death and resurrection may take over the functions of the older god El, although the texts do not affirm this unambiguously. Before Yahweh could proceed with creation or history, he had to slay the sea dragon, variously named; only after he crushed the heads of Leviathan, it seems, did he establish "light and the sun"

(Ps 74,14-16). Kronos castrates his father Ouranos (Hesiod, Theog. 180-181, see 1.78-79), and Zeus in turn overcomes his father Kronos in a strangely

censored struggle (cf. Theog. 73). The dynastic transition from Saul to David is Yahweh's doing: Samuel says to Saul, "Yahweh has torn the kingdom of Israel from you this day, and has given it to a neighbor of yours, who is better than you" (I Sam 16, 26-28, cf. 28,17); and likewise from David to Jeroboam (I Reg 14,8; II Reg 17,21). In legend the Spartan kings owed their power to the takeover of the

Peloponnesus by the Dorians with the Heraclidae after the fall of Troy (Thucydides 1.12.3). After Cyrus conquered Astyages the Mede, the Persians held that "Zeus gives the Persians hegemony," Zeus (Herodotus 9.122.1).

12.1.2 The king, like the High God, controls fertility We saw

(11.64-66) that thunder is the voice of the High Gods Yahweh, Zeus, and Jupiter. Shamanistic figures imitate thunder and lightning

22 So Cyrus H. Gordon, *Before the Bible: The Common Background of Greek and Hebrew Civilizations*; London: Collins, 1962; 255.

23 Hugo Mühlestein, "Jung Nestor jung David," *Antike und Abendland* 17 (1971) 173-190.

24 See 1.34 and 11.207.

25 The "succession myth" is now treated in detail by West, EFH Chapter 6.

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(11.171): Salmoneus (Apollodorus 1.9.7) claimed to be Zeus, and produced thunder and lightning in his chariot; the trumpets and torches of Gideon's men seem mimetic of thunder and lightning (Jud 7). Related words (,

TS1 ?) mean both "torch" and "lightning" (11.67, 171). Samuel through

Yahweh calls up thunder and rain out of season (I Sam 12,17). In a beautiful parody, Aristophanes (*Acharnians* 530-

531) says that "Then in wrath Olympian Pericles made lightning, made thunder, created confusion all over Hellas":

Milton picks up the exact phrase (*Paradise Regained* 4.270) of Greek orators generally "and fulmin'd over Greece."

The High God whose voice is thunder also more gently brings the rain on which the crops depend (II.8-9). The non-agricultural Cyclopes still rely on wheat and barley (along with the vines), "and the rain of Zeus increases [all these] for them," (Odyssey 9.111). Yahweh says "And I will give the rain of your land in its season, the former rain and the latter, that you may gather in your grain and wine and oil" (Deut 11,14). Odysseus compares Penelope to a blameless king by whose justice "the black land bears wheat and barley" (Odyssey 19.114). Job as a near-king

presumes that if he has improperly used land, he can confidently say, "let thorns grow instead of wheat, and stinkweed instead of barley" (Job 31,40). And in the days of the just Israelite king there will be "abundance of grain in the land" (Ps 72,16).

This quasi-magical view of the king's powers rests on his kinship with the High God who controls rain and fertility of the land.²⁶

The king's power over fertility extends from the natural to the human world, so that the king, like the High God, is the father of heroes. It seems natural to us that the king is allowed sexual license and thus becomes the father of many; but for the ancients this is no less a sacral function than his power over the fields. His return from battle as victor also celebrates his sexual prowess (11.259). If the king can no longer beget heroes he is no longer king. So (1.67), if we take I Reg 1,1-5 in sequence, the pretext for Adonijah's claim to the throne is that David cannot have relations with lovely Abishag. There are hidden indications that the God of Israel fathers heroes. Perhaps the original conception of Samson was when a "man of God came to me [Manoah's

26 Vergil calls Augustus "author of crops and powerful over the seasons," *auctorem frugum tempestatumque potentem* (Geor. 1.27), perhaps following a Hellenistic model (Mynors ad loc.).

...

KÚvocs . King Ahiram of Byblos or a predecessor sat on

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wife]" (Jud 13,6, cf. 11.166). The "sons of Elim" (11.54) or the "sons of Elohim" (Gen 6,2) may have been seen more literally as procreated by the High God. The Hebrew writers and editors downplayed indications of divine paternity. Thus the son of Rehoboam king of Judah is called "Yahweh is my father" at II Chron 13,20-21; Kings (I Reg 14,31; 15,1-8).^{2^}

Notoriously Zeus is the father of many heroes by mortal women: of Heracles by Alcmena (Hesiod Shield 56); of Sarpedon by Laodamia (Iliad 6.198); and a multitude of others.

Hesiod lays out his paternity of the gods; for Homer (Iliad 1.544) Zeus is the "father of men and gods,"²⁸ combining the attributes of Yahweh with respect to men and to the "sons of Elim."

Just as notoriously Israelite judges and kings from their harem beget a company of sons. Gideon had 70 sons (Jud 8,30); David had six by as many wives (II Sam 3,2-5), with eleven more at II Sam 5,13-16; Solomon had 700 wives and 300 concubines (I Reg 11,3), although no catalog is given of his sons. Deger-Jalkotzy²⁹ sees Priam's kingdom as an Aegean

outpost of the Oriental realm with its harem. Priam tells Achilles (Iliad 24.495-6) that he had 50 sons, 19 by Hecuba alone.

Hector boasted (5.474) that he could support the realm just with his brothers-in-law and brothers, , where the latter presumably includes half-brothers. The concubine is known by a common name; and the act by which a son claims his father's throne is to "go in" to the concubine (1.65-70).

12.1.3 The king like the High God is associated with animals The king, like the High God, is enthroned on griffins. 30 We saw (1.85-

87) that and "cherub" (23) must be the same word; structurally they are identical, each can represent a lion with the head and wings of an eagle. Yahweh "rode on a cherub and flew" (Ps 18,11) and sits on cherubim (I Sam 4,4); the cherubim of the sanctuary are described at I Reg 6,23. Aeschylus (PV 803-4) calls griffins the "dogs of Zeus,"

2 7 Besides the adoption-formula of the Israelite king (II Sam 7,14; Ps 2,7), for God as father see Deut 32,6; Jeremiah 3:19; 31.9; Exodus 4:22; Isaiah 63:16; Mal 2,10.

But Weinfeld (Promise of the Land 241) considers David's sonship a "forensic metaphor."

2 8 A Sumero-Akkadian bilingual hymn to Sin the moon-god addresses him " father begetter of gods and men" (ANET3 385). 2 9 11.85

above, note 6; also 11.152 below. But note Said's caution against assum- ing a uniform "Orientalism," 11.286.

O

3 0 This theme could be profusely illustrated with works of art.

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a griffin or "cherub" throne, shown on his sarcophagus; in the theater of Athens the priest of Dionysos sat on a throne with a relief of griffins fighting men. The throne-room of Knossos has two griffins (improved by Sir Arthur Evans) flanking the throne.³¹

Likewise both king and High God are identified with a bull. At 1.194-5 we discussed the status of the High God as a bull. Of Joseph it is said, "his horns are the horns of a wild ox"

(Deut 33,17, cf. 1.198); at Iliad 2.481 Agamemnon (1.192) is like a bull. The old names both of the bull

and its horn are the most undeniable and ancient contacts between Indo-European and Semitic.

Also the king, like the High God, is seen as a lion. At Amos 3,8 the voice of Yahweh is like a lion's roaring. Hosea 13,7-8 (II.3) has Yahweh act as a leopard, a bear, and a lion, "I will devour them like a lion." Heracles, who bridges the characters of gods and men, after killing the lion of Kithairon "dressed himself in its skin and used its gaping mouth for a helmet" (Apollodorus 2.4.10) —as he and Alexander are represented in art. In the song of Jacob "Judah is a lion's whelp" (Gen 49,9), and so Gad and Dan in the song of Moses (Deut 33,20-22). The Apocalypse adopts this

as a title of the Christ, "the Lion of the tribe of Judah" (Rev 5,5), in our own century the proudest boast of the kings of Ethiopia. Homer compares the Achaean kings to a lion: Menelaus (Iliad 3.23),

Diomedes (5.161). The Mediterranean names of the "lion" are related, though of varying form (1.340).

12.1.4 The king like the High God has his seat on the citadel Not merely may Zeus have his temple on a citadel (1.159-160): his golden throne is on Olympus (Iliad 8.442-3), it is "the seat of the gods," ἔσος (Odyssey 6.42); the "golden house of Zeus" (Euripides, Hipp. 68) must be Olympus. Not merely is the "house of Yahweh," 3 (I Reg 6,1) on the citadel: his home is on a mountain, where he "sits on the throne of his holiness" (Ps 47,9);

"...on the mountain of thy inheritance, the place, Yahweh, which thou hast made for thy seat" (Exod 15,17, cf. Ps 68,17): m/p n"?ya ^fob»'1? pi p ^ in a

Levin (SIE 145), bridging the difference in the root-consonants, compares the two words for "seat," (stem -) and rQtff; with Exod 15,17 we may then compare the Homeric formula

"the seat of the

31 Anna Maria Bisi, *Il Grifone: Storia di un motivo iconografico nelP antico oriente mediterraneo*; Univ. di Roma—Centro di Studi Semitici, Studi Semitici

13 (Roma 1965) Tav. VII. (She doubts however that the Biblical cherubim are griffins, pp. 70-71.)

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gods, steep Olympus" (Iliad 5.367) , . Alternatively Hebrew may speak of the "house of God," •""1?!* 3, where may have been a true plural; at one time it was sometimes in Shiloh other than the (Jud 18,31); Micah had one such (Jud 17,5); Bethel (Gen 28,17) "is none house of God (LXX οΤκοç), and this is the gate of heaven":

no. fi?

nioœ'n nytf nn mn'4?« rva-Q« ^

Plato (Phaedrus 247A) says that, when the other Olympians go out, Hestia the homebody alone

remains "in the house of the gods," where is of course a true plural.³² So of the

,

pretender Heylel or Lucifer, " I will set my throne on

high, I will sit on the mount of assembly..." (Isa 14,12-13). Of human kings, the "house of

Priam in Troy" (Iliad 22.478) is on the citadel (7.345-346). The house of a Roman king may have been on the Palatine, where later the Imperial "palaces" stood.

Solomon's palace (I Reg 7,2) stood on the citadel south of the Temple.

The house of both gods and kings is surrounded by a precinct with a common name: templum, , 30 (11.222).

12.1.5 The king gets the best cuts of meat in the sacrifice Here the king (who

may conduct the sacrifice, 1.200) comes out better than the god, who is mostly fobbed off with inedible parts (1.183-5).

When Adonijah sacrifices, the guests of honor are David's sons, Joab the chief of staff, and Abiathar the priest (I Reg 1,25); surely the pretender was served first. At a Homeric banquet Agamemnon "honor-ed Ajax with the long steaks from the back" (Iliad 7.321). Herodotus (6.56) among the privileges of the two kings of Sparta includes their receiving "the hides [for leather,

1.213] and the backs [for meat] of all sacrificed animals."

12.1.6 The king, like the High God, goes to war for his people Thus the king is armed

cloud (Isa 19:1) or on the cherubim (Ps 18:11). "For behold, Yahweh will come in a cloud, and his chariots like the storm-wind" (Isa 66,15); his chariot (hardly distinguishable from himself) is described at Ezek 1. At Iliad 13.21-27 Poseidon drives in his chariot across the waves; so Euripides Andromache 1011-1012, also of Poseidon, "And you of the Sea who drive a chariot of gray mares over the sea." Likewise the kings of Israel and Judah went out to war, each in his chariot (II Reg 9,21); as the Achaean and Trojan heroes constantly.

12.1.7 The king, like the High God, determines justice for his subjects Above (11.32-35) we discussed the Israelite and Greek High Gods as guarantors of justice. The theme hardly appears with the historical

33 But note Anacreon 3.8 (PMG 177) of Artemis ^ (West EFH 553, 227).

West further (EFH 154) cites Beowulf 610, 1832 folces hyrde "folk-herd, shepherd of the people."

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kings of Israel or Judah: they mostly did not warrant it; and it is mostly reserved for the ideal future descendant of David. Thus (Isa 11,4) it is said of the "shoot of Jesse" that "with justice he shall judge the poor."

So "he shall reign as king and deal wisely, and shall execute justice and righteousness in the land" (Jer 23,5 = 33,15); "May he judge thy people with righteousness, and thy poor with justice" (Ps 72,2).

Similarly it is almost unique when the poet says of Sarpedon that "he defended Lycia by his just pronouncements" (Iliad 16.542). More

typical is the theoretical definition of monarchy, Iliad 2.204-206 "Let there be one ruler, one king, to whom [Zeus]...has given a scepter

and judgments (themistas) by which he expresses his counsel": ...

, irais

,

Hesiod has a critique of current (Opera 263-264, 11.27): "Gift- eating kings, make straight your words, put crooked judgments altogether from your thoughts."³⁴

12.1.8 The king's power in theory may be limited only by the High God We may summarize the godlike character of the king out of Grotius (1.4-5), who in his *De lure Belli et Pads* (1625) more than any other author before or since takes the Hebrew Bible and classical authors with equal seriousness as indications of actual political structures. For kings "not subject to the will of the people even taken in its entirety" [reges qui populi etiam universim sumti arbitrio non subsint, 1.3.7.8) he cites I Sam 15,1 where Yahweh through Samuel anoints Saul as king over Israel; Horace Carm. 3.1.5-6

Regum timendorum in proprios greges,

reges in ipsos imperium est lous

"The power of kings who are to be feared is over their own flocks; the

power of Jupiter is over kings themselves"; and a saying of Marcus

Aurelius, "for only God can judge about absolute rule , "

35 For such rule Grotius

(1.3.20.1) adopts the coinage of Aristotle (Pol. 3.10.2, 1285b36)

34 At Iliad 16.387-388 the making of "crooked judgments" is on the contrary ascribed to a plurality in the Agora.

35 Dio 71.3.3, printed as Saying no. 10 in the Loeb edition of Marcus by CR Haines (1930) p. 364.

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"absolute monarchy" and of Sophocles Antig. 1163 .36

12.1.9 Names of the "king"

The comparison of the Israelite and Hellenic "king" suggests a phonetic comparison

of (cf. genit. plural favapov³⁷) and "ʾ.³⁸ For the first consonant: w and m interchange in Akkadian, see Yamani for Hebrew]V " Ionian"; within Hebrew, 103 and "p]liC (Aramaizing) "purple"; Indo-European w corresponds to Semitic m in the

enticing parallel of English water (with Hittite uatar) and Hebrew "ltpO. Indo-European corresponds to Semitic / in the words for "snow," eg

Russian CHer and a"7B>'.³⁹ For the vowels (and an old genitive dual ending) see ANAKOIN*0 with presumed Arabic malikayn "of two kings"; in the Quran the similar word for "messenger" with two vowels loses the inner glottal stop of Heb. ʾ, and is actually attested in the genitive dual Quran 7.20 malakayn[i] "of two angels."⁴¹ is linguistically isolated, for Phrygian fANAKTEI (1.175) appears only to reflect the Greek in Hebrew no word but wa "and" begins with w-, if wanak- came in from the west, the first consonant would have to become another labial (Levin). Bold as this proposal seems, the phonetics are so neat that it deserves consideration as

we look at the connections among the names of "Mediterranean" institutions.

36 Barbeyrac ad loc. (in the edition of Grotius by William Whewell, Cambridge: University, 1853, i.146) elegantly notes Faciunt enim...Tragici regnum Theba-nutn simile regttis Phoenicum, urtde orti erant "The tragedians give the Theban monarchy the same [absolute] character as the Phoenician monarchies from which [in the legend of Cadmus] the Thebans sprang."

37 IG 4.564 (Argos).

38 See our discussion in Brown-Levin "The Ethnic Paradigm..." 75.

39 For the interchange of « and / see further: (a) Latin nōmen "name" with Hittite laman-, (b) /

"nitre" with Hebrew 1] and Egyptian «fr (1.241); (c)

Hebrew riStpVnStS'J with "wine-hall" (1.141); (d) Latin templum (>*tem- lum) with and 30 "precinct" (11.222); (e) with yHFUOS Dan 3,5 "musical instrument"; (f) Herodotus 1.74 with Akkadian Nabu-Naid; (g) / "chest," cf the Cypriote place-name "]]~13 (KAI 43.9), modern Larnax; (h) Latin pampinus with ; "vine" (1.136); (i) with 333 "steal" (11.18).

40 IG 3.1.195: Attica, Roman period, hexameter verse on an altar of Castor and Pollux, ANAKOIN TE

41 Satan tells Adam and his wife that their Lord warned them from the tree lest they became "two angels."

12.2 Structure of the city and dispersal of the king's power

12.2 Structure of the city and dispersal of the king's power

Before the Mediterranean city-state could do anything else, it had first of all to survive. Since it was not part of a larger imperial power, its citadel and wall could only be defended by a citizen militia; with the availability of iron, every able-bodied man must have a weapon in his hand. As in Switzerland today, the soldier's weapons and armor were his personal property, we hear little of an armory from which they were carefully issued by the State. David has no bronze armor, and when he is loaned Saul's he cannot deal with it (I Sam 17,39). Men were rated by the level of the equipment they could afford to provide (1.25). In Rome, Cicero notes (Rep. 2.40), "Servius named the lowest class 'proletarians,' on the grounds that from them, it seemed, [only] offspring could be expected," [Servius] proletarios nominavit, ut ex eis quasi progenies...expectari uideretur, Gellius 16.10.13 does add that in times of crisis "arms were given them at public expense," armaque eis sumptu publico praebebantur. Servius Tullius was credited with reorganizing Roman citizens in "centuries" (Livy 1.43, Cornell p. 199): apparently both to strengthen the army and to give the rich a near- monopoly of the vote. Cornell p. 189 refers to "the context of an ancient city, in which military service was not the specialized preserve of a professional group, but on the contrary was an integral function of citizenship"; see our discussion 1.26, 236; II.5.

In Athens a knight or was drawn from the class of those "who could raise horses," (Aristotle Ath.

Pol. 7.4) by having enough high-quality farm land. Perhaps in the distant past the same was true of the Roman eques. But at the earliest period we can reach, many but not all such were assigned equi publici (Livy 5.7.5), and it was a punishment to serve equis priuatis (Livy 27.11.14). In Israel perhaps Solomon begrudged subordinates land to raise horses, and cavalry mounts were provided by the state (I Reg 10,26-29). But throughout the Mediterranean in the historic

period until Alexander, while horse-ownership remained prestigious (II.6), infantry arms decided battles. However strongly men adhered to the civic god or gods and their agent the king, effective power in the state lay with the militia; its members were identical with the citizen body, and its fighting power meant that it could not be simply ignored.

The one exception to the identity of soldier and citizen was the body of men too old to fight or even to command, the "elders." But they had previously fought, and had since then

reflected on the conditions for the state's survival. They were the repositories of society's wisdom. The army was only itself when it was mustered in force; and so a gathering

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of the citizen body, which was nothing more or less than a mustering without arms, must also be in force. That was not the case with the elders; a deliberative body drawn from among them could afford to be representative. Among them,

the prestige of wealth or aristocratic de-scent meant more than in battle, where

all were at equal risk of their lives, whatever their officer or line status. Thus the social divisions of wealth and influence, minimized in the army or citizen assembly (except as skewed in Rome), were maximized in the council of elders.

Therefore the mere fact that a city existed, and had managed to survive over the years, implied of itself that it was structured by a citizen assembly and a council of elders. In the Iliad the besiegers acquire nearly as much civic structure as the besieged. When the Achaeans arrive, "[the Trojans] were holding an assembly at the gates of Priam, all gathered together, both young men and elders" (2.788-9)

Here the elders join the citizen body. But when the army goes out to fight, the elders remain (3.146-150): "those around Priam (') ...the elders of the people were sitting at the Scaean gates, withdrawn from war by old age , but excellent counselors, like cicadas..."

, , ' , ...

suggests again that the elders are an agency of the people rather

than fully independent; Philo⁴² uses the same word of Jewish elders.

Earlier Agamemnon had commanded the heralds "to call to an assembly () the flowing-haired Achaeans" (Iliad 2.51). But prudently "first he held a council of the great-hearted elders" (2.53):

The Achaean "elders" were mostly younger than the Trojans, for they served as commanders, although perhaps we should think of some as purely deliberative. It is hard to believe that in both cases the poet did not have in mind a city of his own age with a Boulé of elders and an Agora of the people at large.

Although an assembly of the gods can be either limited or inclusive, the same language is used in any case. Just as Hector "made an assembly" () of the Trojans (8.489); so Zeus "made an assembly of the gods," (8.2), where only

42 Philo de uita Mos. 86 (LCL ed. vi.320).

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Olympians appear (11.54,66,105). A more representative assembly including rivers and nymphs is spoken of also after the human pattern as (20.4, 16) "to the agoré". The Olympians do not act as an inner Senate or executive committee for the larger body.

We are not to think of either body at the early period in the modern sense as ordered by a constitution with fixed times of meeting and regular officers; they gather on call, from the structure of the state, as need arises. So in the crisis of the Israelite state at the death of Solomon (I Reg 12,3) Jeroboam "and all the assembly of Israel" came to Rehoboam, ^iOfo1.

"^, LXX (MS "") , Vg omnis multitudo, Luther die ganze Gemeinde, asking for concessions.

Then "king Rehoboam took counsel with the elders" who had stood before Solomon his father (I Reg 12,6)

tng-rrrn« Dinrn ^ in-yi ,

LXX

who advise conciliation. But instead he follows the advice of the hot-headed "young men"

(D'*7<? ! !L' 12,8) who had grown up with him, and splits the state. These seem a temporary party, for elsewhere just people and elders appear. Ruth 4,11 "Then spoke all the people who were at the gate and the elders, 'We are witnesses'" (where we would expect the elders rather to be at the gate):

what? •"•Dp-rrn "lytf? ~iç?t< Dürrns ·'· Ps 107,32 gives the contrast we would expect: "Let them extol [God] in the assembly of the people,

and in the session of the elders praise him," •im' p'pr D^gr atfiain •y-'^nipa. -maa'-pi LXX
... . Joel 2,16 has par-allel

phrases including "gather the people; sanctify the congregation; assemble the elders":

apr-nap irip

but it is not clear which are equivalent. More common is "elders of the people," DUrpjpr
(Lev

4,15 etc.), Vg seniores populi, as if they were agents of the people as a whole like the Trojan
—an exact equivalent!

In the historical period, it is taken for granted in the West that decisions are made by the
council of elders and the assembly of the people.

In Latin and Greek the name of the "old man" gives a name to the council: senex makes
senatus, makes . From the 5th century BC on, Athenian documents begin "It

was decided by the Council and People," TEI TOI (in later spelling).43 Many sources (eg
Aeschines 3.125) show that

Vg senibus, Luther hielt ein Rat mit den Ältesten,

43 Eg Meiggs-Lewis no. 71 (424/3 BC).

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any measure to be approved by vote () of the Ekklesia of the people first must have
preliminary approval () of the Boulé; the traditional formula however hides the reality that
the People was more influential. In Rome Cicero attests to the parallel formula Senatus
populusque Romanus (eg pro Piando 90), which here hides the opposite reality that true
power lies in the Senate.

While Greek and Roman writers attest (below) that Carthage similarly had a senate

and assembly, no formula yet discovered in its very numerous Punic inscriptions thus
reads; nor is even a plausible word for "Senate" or "senator" attested. But in a bilingual
from Lepcis

(KAI 126, cf. 119) of AD 92, "before the nobility of Lepcis and the people of Lepcis,"

[•]pa'pN osn ^pa1?« Km« -oa1? corresponds to ordo et populus. 44 Palmyra picked up the institutions of a Greek city: thus a lost equestrian statue has a bilingual dedication of AD 171 (PAT 2769) "by decree of the

Boule and Demos,"

DOTI «'PU •31 3 where the Greek differs slightly [][] but elsewhere

the exact formula appears⁴⁵ . Probably both bodies did

vote, since the Tariff (PAT 0259) begins differently, K^U with no mention

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Rabbah 6.4 a king has two governors ("pantûlSR =); "whenever the city governor goes out, the council and people (^) go out with him."

Aristotle (Pol. 2.8.1 = 1272b27) compares the constitutions of the Carthaginians and Laconians (and Cretans), although the points of comparison are not fully clear. Elsewhere [Pol. 2.3.10 = 1265b36-40) he quotes others as holding that the Lacedaemonian (Spartan) constitution has elements of monarchy in the kingship, oligarchy in the elders, and democracy in the ephors; and this must be his analysis of Carthage as well. For (2.8.2 = 1272b37) he says that the "kings" and gerousia at Carthage correspond to the kings and elders at Sparta; and (2.8.3 = 1273a8) that either kings or elders at Carthage can refer matters to the demos. Anyway this is the understanding of Polybius 6.51.2, who lists the characteristics of Carthage as the kings, the aristocratic and the people, multitude.

Aristotle never suspects that the

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44 W. Huss, "Der Senat von Carthago," Klio 60 (1978) 327-9. He cites Livy 34.61.15 seniores ita senatum uocabant. But pr is unattested in the Punic inscriptions. Further discussion at Sznycer (11.108 below note 68) p. 66.

of the demos. A Midrash has the same loanwords: at Gen.

45 Eg IGRR 3.75, Claudiopropolis, 2nd century CE.

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Carthaginian "kings" are really the annual suffetes, and more comparable to the Spartan ephors.⁴⁶

Polybius (6.11.12) sees the Roman constitution as composed of the same three elements: monarchic in the power of the consuls (), aristocratic in the power of the Senate (), democratic in the power of the people (of many). So Cicero (de rep. 2.41) considers Rome, like Carthage and Sparta, balanced among three powers, *regali et optimati et populari*. The Roman chancery assumed that any city or people it dealt with had a proper government of magistrates, Senate and people, just as the United Nations today assumes that we are all organized as sovereign nations; and very likely then as now governments accommodated themselves to what they had been told was the correct pattern. Thus in 47 BC Caesar writes to the "magistrates, council, people of the Sidonians" (Josephus AJ 14.190)

; and Claudius in AD 45 to the "magistrates, council, people of the men

of Jerusalem" (AJ 20.11), - . Here then in sequence we consider the parallel features in these three structures: magistrates (12.2.1), the council of elders (12.2.2), the assembly of the people (12.2.3).

12.2.1 The highest state office comes to be shared collegially by two men When

the functions of the king are taken over by one or more officers in Greece, Rome and Carthage, this in itself suggests no relationship.

Livy 1.8.3 says that among the Etruscans a "king" was created by vote of the twelve peoples (*ex duodecim populis communiter creato rege*), but the political realities are at present impenetrable. What does suggest a relationship is

when the officers are precisely two in number and share their office collegially rather than with distinct functions. At Rome the tradition briefly has two collégial kings, Romulus and Titus Tatius the Sabine (Livy 1.13.8), replaced by two annually elected consuls.⁴⁷ Sparta had two hereditary kings who held office

for life (Herodotus 6.51-9), supposedly descended from twins, with the family of the first-born twin Eurysthenes having the preeminence. Aristotle

⁴⁶ For the Carthaginian constitution see Stéphane Gsell, *Histoire Ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord*, t. II (Paris: Hachette, 1918) 183-233; Werner Huss, *Geschichte der Karthager*; Munich: Beck, 1985, 458-466.

⁴⁷ Livy 2.1.7 says that liberty arose "more from the fact that the consular power was made annual than that anything had been subtracted from royal authority," *magis quia annuum Imperium consulare factum sit quam quod deminutum quicquam sit ex regia potestate* .

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(Pol. 2.8.2) compares the kings at Sparta and Carthage: but mentions neither the point of similarity, that each were two; nor of difference, that the Punic "kings" were elected for a year only, but the Spartan as hereditary served for life.

For at Carthage the persons called "kings" by the Greeks (since Herodotus 7.165-6, who has a "king of the Carthaginians," ie , surely mp'jOlQU or Hamilcar [Excursus F below]), were chosen annually. 4 It is doubtful that there was ever a lifelong hereditary kingship there as at Tyre. 49 The two were called by the Carthaginians "judges" (DtaatB) and by the Romans sufetes (Livy 28.37). Some Punic inscriptions are dated "in the year of the suffetes M and N."

Thus KAI 77 "in the year of the suffetes Adnibaal and Adnibaal son of Bomilcar,"

mp'poi a ^ Sinai s otaats» im (It has been much discussed⁵⁰ why the first judge is given no patronymic.⁵¹) And so a partly

illiterate Latin inscription from North Africa under Hadrian (CIL 8.12286) is dated anno sufetum (H)onorat[i]

Fortunati [f(ili)] ... et Fl(aui) Victoris Similis If (ili)]. At CIS 1.551 0 (discussed in Excursus F) they are not called suffetes:

[n]-intsi)-Q fo mmn ^snri K oüuüob n » n^ufa] 31 3

"In the month [P]clt of the year of Eshmunamas son of Adnibaal the rab and Hanno son of Bostar son of Hanno the rab." It seems less likely that the two suffetes are

designated rab than that the genealogy

48 So Zonaras 8.8.2 "annual rule," and Nepos Hannibal 7.4, cited 11.103.

49 Our only account of early Carthage is in the late epitomator Justin, who cannot be relied on for constitutional details; for Justin, the great founder of a Carthaginian dynasty was Mago, whom he calls imperator (18.7.18-19); his predecessor Carthalo was "accused of seeking the kingship," adfectati regni accusatus. Even if the legend that Carthage was founded by a queen Dido (Timaeus FGH 566 F82, cf. 1.336) was historical, the monarchy

cannot be shown to have survived her death. Carthage always maintained close ties to Tyre; in 162 BC a Carthaginian ship took first-fruits to Tyre (Polybius 31.12.11-12) shortly before the final fall of Carthage. And the closer the ties of Carthage to Tyre, the less likely it would have been to set up an alternative kingship. W. Ameling (*Karthago...*; Vestigia 45; München: Beck, 1995; 67-97) thinks there were actual kings at Carthage; but the absence of "1*70 from the inscriptions is decisive.

50 Werner Huss, "Zu punischen Datierungsformeln," *Welt des Orients* 9 (1977/8) 249-252.

51 Forms of this annual dating are further attested at KAI 80, 81 (twice), 96; CIS 1.4824, 6053.

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of each is carried back until a rab is reached; I presume (11.125) that the rab designates a general. Krahmalkov⁵² feels that CIS 1.5632, which he considers very old, chronicles the actual introduction of the office of suffete:

[n]toinnipa otas» [...]·? » mo m

"In the twentieth year of the [rule?] of the suffetes in Carthage." This is one of the rare texts containing the actual name of the city of Carthage (for others see II.108).⁵³

Drews⁵⁴ held that the Spartan dual kingship was an adaptation for lifetime tenure of the Semitic pattern at Carthage and perhaps at Tyre as well. Roman historians saw the more obvious parallelism between the two annually elected magistrates at Rome and Carthage: so Nepos, Hannibal 7.4 *ut enim Romae cónsules, sic Karthagine quotannis annui bini reges creabantur* "as the consuls at Rome, so at Carthage every year two annual' kings' were created." By Livy 3.55.1 and Varrò *de lingua latina* 6.88 the consuls are called *iudices*, "judges." Hence R.

Yaron concluded⁵⁵ that the Roman consulate was modeled on the Carthaginian pattern.⁵⁶

But the opposite may have been the case. The Phoenician colonies, which eventually turned into cities, were in a unique situation for West Semitic civilization. Practically they were independent powers, engaging in trade and war, facing internal strains and dissension; but sentimentally they were still attached to the Phoenician homeland with its kings. Thus there is no clear evidence that they developed an autonomous kingship; and in

the vacuum thus created, it seems equally possible that they developed magistrates after the pattern in Greece and Rome, where kingship (in contrast to Phoenicia) early faded out.

However in some sense the Carthaginian suffetes must be inheritors of the old Canaanite pattern represented by the Hebrew book of Judges

5 2 C. Krahmalkov, "Notes on the Role of the Sôftîm in Carthage," *Rivista di studi phoenici* 4 (1976) 153-7.

53 But the iudicum ordo Carthagine (Livy 33.46.1) appears to be a body of regular court-judges.

5 4 Robert Drews, "Phoenicians, Carthage and the Spartan Eunomia," *AJP* 10 0 (1979) 45-58). pp. 343-35 7 in A.

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Essays in Legal HistoWraytfsornD(aevdi.d),D5a5uRbe.,YEadroinb,u"Srgehm:itic Elements in Early Rome, Daube Noster:

Scottish Academic, 1974.

5 6 Previously we noted proposals that the name Rôma itself might be the Phoenician form of Heb. "high" (1.24); and that the temple of Heracles in the Forum Boarium at Rome might have been

a Phoenician foundation (1.219-221).

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(••«tpa'0'), although there is no indication that any of those served at the same time or collegially. In an interim period in the history of Tyre, Josephus {c. No. 155-158)⁵⁷ records a series of "judges" (), including a period of six years when two judges served. After Alexander judges continued in the Phoenician homeland. About 200 BC the Sidonian Diotimus won the chariot race at the Nemean games, and the city honored him with a statue and inscription:⁵⁸ followed by twelve lines of elegiacs in , Doric. He is a judge, "judge," perhaps in some sense a EEfttf. It has been suggested⁵⁹ that II Chron 19,11 is a parallel to the and a governor with separate functions. dyarchy of suffetes; but there it is a matter of a

priest The closest Hebrew parallel to the Roman dual consulate, the Punic sufetes, and the Spartan dual kingship, is the dual kingship in Jerusalem and Shechem after the death of Solomon; for it seems that both kings of "Judah" and "Israel" claimed to be the true king of one people, or were thought

of as joint kings over it.

No text explains the origins of the dual magistracy in Carthage. In Rome, Gantz points out that both the first "consuls" (as later re-membered) were Tarquins: L. Tarquinius Collatinus (Livy 1.60.4) and L. Iunius Brutus, son of Tarquinia a king's sister (Livy 1.56.7) and of M. Iunius (Dionysius Hal. 4.67.4). Gantz observes (p. 548):

Livy seems not to notice the paradox inherent in the fact that the first two consuls of the Roman Republic after the expulsion of the Tarquins were themselves Tarquins. Nor does he remark that these courageous founders of the new government, Brutus and Collatinus, were precisely the Tarquins next in line for the throne after Superbus and his sons had been driven out.

...Together the two of them engineered a revolution whose goal was not, I think, the abolition of the monarchy, but rather the seizure of it.

But anyway Roman annalists remembered them as the first of a new order rather than the last of the old. When Collatinus was forced to resign, P. Valerius Volesi filius (Publicola) was elected to

take his place (Livy 1.58.6, 2.2.11); his name may stand in an archaic inscription from Satricum, POPLIOSIO VALESIOSIO.⁶¹

57 = Menander Ephesius frag. 7 Jacoby FGH 783.

58 L. Moretti, *Iscrizioni agonistiche greche*, Studi pubblicati dall'Istituto Italiano per la Storia

antica 12; Roma: Signorelli, 1953 no. 41 p. 108.

59 By Lipinski in DCP 429 and elsewhere.

60 T. Gantz, "The Tarquin Dynasty," *Historia* 24 (1975) 539-554.

61 *L'Année épigraphique* 1979.136. 61 It is a dedication by Valerius' *suodales*, "comrades"; Cornell 143 sees him as in a class of *condottieri*, leaders of

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12.2.2 The council of elders may be "sitting at the gate," and may be thirty in number or contain such a subgroup While

in time the council of elders absorbs many of the functions of the godlike king, originally it is a perquisite of the king shared with the High God. Micaiah sees Yahweh on his throne, and the host of heaven standing on his right and left (I Reg 22,19-23); "God has taken his place in the council of El; in the midst of the gods he holds judgment"

(Ps 82,1)—a Psalm where (as occasionally elsewhere) •" <? substitutes for expected ; ta'stf.; erf?

••'rT^s . Further, "[Who] is like Yahweh among the sons of Elim? a God

feared in the council of the holy ones?" (Ps 89,7-8): ••0" _1103 ^ .?{<

••"??< ""333 1? noi.; It is also "the council of Yahweh" (Jer 23,18), "the council of Ēlbah"

(Job 15:8). Although his superiority is emphasized, "Who is like you, Yahweh, among the Elim?" (Exod 15,11), nevertheless his colleagues were on hand when he raised up the wave of the Exodus; and when he thunders, those "sons of Elim" (Ps 29,1) give him praise. At Deut 32,43 the Hebrew has lost at least two lines preserved in the LXX, "You heavens, rejoice with him; and let all the sons of God bow down before him," , , , . So in Ugaritic62 , 'dt il m "assembly of the gods," cf. Ps 82,1 ^-niV? ; KTU 1.65.3 mphrt bn il "assembly of the sons of

El"; KAI 4.4 "the assembly of the holy gods of Byblos," D2Hp We saw above

"house," Olympus, awaiting his arrival. We also saw (11.66) in Seneca (Nat. Quest. 2.41) from Etruscan traditions that Jupiter has two levels of council,

consilium, which he must consult before launching a second- or third-degree missile (it is unclear whether either includes the other).

In Israel a deliberative group of elders sits in the gates of any given city. Of the wise woman it is said "Her husband is known in the gates, when he sits among the elders of the land" (Prov 31,23): }

H*P3prn? ? ini]

private armies, among whom he counts Appius Claudius, Cn. Marcius Coriolanus, Lars Porsenna.

62 KTU 1.15.II.7 = UNP 24. Further discussion of these texts at West, EFH 177,

« npa ^rrny a L XX ò ,

(11.99) how (Iliad 8.2) Zeus "called an assembly of the gods," . Earlier (Iliad 1.534) the others are in their seats at his 355.

'PK mnsa .

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Job boasts, "When I went out to the gate of the city...the elders rose and stood" (Job 29,7-8). The rebellious son (Deut 21,19, cf. 22,15; 25,7) is to be brought "to the elders of his city, even to the gate of his place": io'pa lyti-ix,} i- ri? ^pr 1 ?« Amos (5,15, cf. 5,10.12) cries out "establish justice

in the gate": taatfo -iraní

These elders are obviously an inherited body, supplementing the king's authority, whether the city is Jerusalem or another.

In Troy—for Homer a model Oriental town—the council as we saw (11.98 above) sits at a gate: at the gates of Priam, (Iliad 2.788); at the Scaean gates (3.148-9), when the met by themselves. Livy in Book 1 assumes a class

of patres under the kings, and calls them senatus when the last king is expelled. Thereupon the Senate becomes the dominant power in the state, providing from among its number the annually elected consuls (originally praetores, Livy 3.55.12) who take the king's place.

In the rhetra supposedly given to Lycurgus by Delphi at Sparta (Plutarch Lyc. 6.1) he is told to set up "a gerousia of thirty including the archagetai,"

where Plutarch interprets the archagetai as kings. The Roman people once had three tribes divided into ten curiae each. 63 We saw above (11.84) that at Carthage within the larger senate or there was a smaller body or . Draws⁶⁴ marshals evidence that the smaller body had thirty members. Livy 30.16.3 says that in 203 BC the Carthaginians sent for negotiation triginta seniorum. principes id erat sanctius apud illos consilium maximaque ad ipsum senatum regendum uis "thirty leading members from the elders; this group was a more influential council among them, a strong force in directing the Senate itself." It would be

natural to identify it with the . Elsewhere also committees of thirty are mentioned (Livy 30.36.9; Periocha 49). At Polybius 1.87.3 the Carthaginians choose "thirty men of the gerousia," ... ; either this is the whole body, or inaccurately he uses here for the . Anyway a fragment (CIS 1.3917) of the sacrificial tariff (KAI 74)⁶⁵ fills out its initial line to create a complete text: 00 ·?!?

7 ÜVÍV XJtO ;0K 00 173

6 3 Livy 1.13.6; Cicero rep. 2.14; Festus 113L; Cornell 114.

6 4 Fn 5 4 above, 11.103.

6 5 Latin "tariffs" from North Africa list seven to nine sacrificial animals offered

to several divinities, always by a sacerdos Saturni-, CIL 8.8246-7 27763 ; E. , Lipiński (ed.), Carthago; Studia Phoenicia 6; Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta

12. 2 Structure of the city and dispersal of the king's power 1 0 7

"Table of the tariffs set up by the thirty men in charge of the tariffs."

Committees of thirty then were standard at Carthage, and perhaps the Senate had a central committee of thirty. Drews assumed that it was the pattern for the gerousia of thirty at Sparta; but again, since it was the Phoenician colonists who had to be the innovators, perhaps they were dependent on Greeks.

When the messenger from Claudius came bringing his letter to the "magistrates, boulé and people of the men of Jerusalem" (Josephus AJ 20.11, p. 11.101), if he had three copies, to whom he delivered the copy for the boulé ? Perhaps it was intended for the Sanhedrin, in effect

the Hellenistic Senate of Jerusalem. Under the Maccabees (II Makk 14,5) there was a in Jerusalem (cf. Josephus AJ 14.167); at 20.20 Josephus calls it . It probably continues what earlier is called the (Josephus AJ 12.138). Mishna Sanh. 1.6 calls the

body in Jerusalem the "Great Sanhedrin," ^} ·30; being of 71 members it was identical with the "| 1 (M. Sanh. I.5).⁶⁶ Hebrew "·~]0 is then a loan of long standing; note its accurate record of the unwritten internal Greek b. At BJ 2.331 (cf. 336) by

Josephus must mean "the high priests and the Sanhédrin." At BJ 5.532 one Aristeus from

Emmaus is "scribe of the Senate," ; a session of the Sanhédrin (Mishna Sanh. IV.3) had two "scribes of the judges," *scribae iudicum*. Act 5,21 is a unique witness to two bodies of elders at Jerusalem, "the Sanhédrin and the whole [evidently larger] gerousia." of Arimathea (Mark 15,43) was an "a respectable member of the Boulé." The same word went into Palmyrene in a bilingual of AD 161 (PAT 1373) referring to a "senator" of Antioch, 121*73 = parliamentary

12.2.3 The assembly of the people has a spokesman with sacral immunity Above (H.40-42) we

saw the extent to which Hebrew prophet, Hellenic reforming poet, and Roman tribune of the people have parallel immunity. In Rome the plebs felt to be a state within the state; Livy 3.19 has a consul claim that the tribunes have made the plebs "like a part broken off from the rest of the people, your own fatherland, a separate

2 6; Leuven: Peeters, 1988; p. 21 7 no. 53. See DCP 440; DW Baker, "Leviticus 1-7 and the Punic Tariffs: A Form Critical Comparison," ZAW 99 (1987) 188-197.

66 Classically appears in various connections: Diodorus 16.41.1 so names the Phoenician council at Tripolis before Alexander; Polybius 1.11.1 so names the Roman Senate, and 1.31.8 the Carthaginian.

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republic," *partem uelut abruptam a cetero populo uestram patriam peculiaremque rem publicam*. From time to time the plebs was thought to "secede" to its own

territory, plebs...secessit in laniculum (Livy Per. 11), although it is hard for lack of contemporary records to divine the underlying political realities.⁶⁷ What is plain is

that the plebs was something less than the full body of citizens: its secession did not leave Rome without population. Cornell (339 etc.) insists that many or most Roman citizens were originally neither patrician nor plebeian; those names marked fixed points on a broad spectrum of social statuses.

In Athens the *ekklesia* became the dominant power in the state, with the archon and other magistrates chosen by lot. In Israel any formal role of the people or QV is hard to document. Here again Carthage, partially anticipated by the Phoenician cities, is assimilated to the Greco-Roman pattern. Sznycer⁶⁸ finds three categories of Phoenician/Punic texts in which DS? "people" has such a formal sense as to suggest the meaning "assembly."

(a) "People" as validating an era in dates. Thus in an inscription of Umm el-'Amed (KAI 18) "In the year 180 [of the Seleucid era = 132 BC] of the lord of kings [Antiochus VII], year 143 of the people of Tyre": DA '? nts 143 ' « "People" must refer to a body that came into being at a definite date.⁶⁹ (b) "People of

1

? l80 nt n inscriptions from Carthage⁷⁰ are dedications by persons designated as *pit* which may end in DU OÖIPO1 ?. They may refer to manumissions; the noun OÜITO is also obscure, but the general sense

should be "by decree of the people of Carthage." This is the only series of texts other than CIS 1.5632 (11.103) where the name of Carthage appears in Punic texts. Whatever the translation, the phrase DU suggests an organization of the people. (c) People of another country, state, island. These come from Carthage proper, North Africa, and Sardinia; they are dedications by a man who is always from a different place than the site of the stone. Thus CIS

67 Sallust (Cat. 33.3) has a dissident writing: *Saepe ipsa plebes, aut dominandi studio permota aut superbia magistratuum, armata a patribus secessit*; "Often the plebs themselves, either moved by the desire to rule or by the insolence of magistrates, have seceded under arms from the patricians."

68 Maurice Sznycer, "L' 'assemblée du peuple' dans les cités puniques d'après les témoignages épigraphiques," *Semitica* 25 (1975) 47-68.

69 Similarly of the "people of Tyre" KAI 19; of the "people of Sidon," ps DU1 ? in a bilingual from the Piraeus (KAI 60); of the "people of Lapethos," BB1 ? DU1 ? (KAI 43); see Strabo 14.6.3.

70 CIS 1.269-291, 4908-9; most fragmentary in part.

Carthage." An enigmatic series of

12.2 Structure of the city and dispersal of the king's power

1.3707 (from Carthage) "Adnibaal son of Shaphat who⁷¹ belongs to the people of Rosh Melqart": mp^a a] amm tast o[^]

mp^a a appears on Punic coins from Sicily (Cephaloedium or Heraclea Minoa⁷²). An African seamount Mercuri promunturium (Livy 29.27.8, Pliny 5.24) seems to have the same name;⁷³ and this raises the question whether Mercurius is elsewhere a Latinization of Melqart.⁷⁴ As the Roman plebs constituted a state within the state, so in a sense did women, youth and slaves

(1.246-9). Slaves were a kind of collectivity with rights exercised on the annual Saturnalia: so Ausonius 7.23.15 defines the Saturnalia as the festaque seruorum cum famulantur eri "the festival of the slaves when their masters wait on them at table."

In the same place we discussed the legendary formation of Jerusalem, Rome and some Greek cities of the West by a community of slaves.

12.2.4 The sacral functions of the king (by whomever exercised) survive his political power
The Maccabees called

themselves "high priest" until John Hyrcanus (134 BC), and the Romans saw it in their interest to maintain the Jewish high priesthood. Athenian tradition records a long list of kings; at an

uncertain date, it held, their political prerogatives were taken over by a polemarch () and then an later enlarged by six more to a total of nine (Aristotle, Ath. Pol. 3). So throughout

,

the history of Athens there was a basileus, "we always have kings," yàp

(Plato, Menexenus 238D). By the fourth century BC he dealt mainly with homicide and a range of religious matters, and was annually chosen by lot (Ath. Pol. 55.1); he often appears in the orators (eg Antiphon 6.38). 7 5 Livy (2.2.1) says that in the first year of the Roman republic the sacred functions previously

71 I am unclear whether tSK is "man" or the relative, Heb. its . 72

B. V. Head, *Historia Numorum*; 2nd ed., Oxford 1910, 136. For Rosh Melqarth see DCP 378.

73 So perhaps the "mound or tomb of Mercury," tumulus Mercuri (Livy 26.44.6) at Carthago Nova of Spain. See Excursus G below.

74 Another such is CIS 1.5606 with DÜTK Dm »K where D^Srn appears at KAI 64 and is the island Enositi of Pliny 3.84 and the "island of hawks" of Ptolemy 3.3; cf Heb. : "hawk" (Job 39,26); cf further DCP 153.

For these texts see also J. Teixidor, "L'assemblée législative en Phénicie d'après les inscriptions," *Syria* 57 (1980) 453-464.

75 Drews, Basileus, is uncertain whether that historical magistrate the Athenian basileus really (as Aristotle believed) is the inheritor of older sacral functions.

But Aristotle *Ath. Pol.* 3.5 attests the "union" () and marriage of the king's wife to Dionysus. She was the (Ps.-Demosth. 59.74).

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filled by the kings were turned over to a *regem sacrificolum* "king of the sacrifices," made subordinate to the *pontifex* so as not to hamper liberty. The *rex sacrorum* was forbidden political office (Livy 40.42.8).

Down to the times of Cicero (*de domo* 38) there continued to be such a *regem sacrorum*. Another such is the *rex Nemorensis* at Nemi made famous by Frazer (Suetonius Gaius 35.3), who must be a fugitive slave that has killed his predecessor.⁷⁶

12.2.5 Taboos are laid on the king and on the priest of the High God With

the law of Moses, we compare (1.205) regulations on the *flamen Dialis* or priest of Jupiter (Aulus Gellius, 10.15.19-25). (a) Yeast. "No cereal offering (30) which you bring to Yahweh shall be made with leaven" (Lev 2,11); "It is not permitted for the *flamen* to touch flour mixed with yeast (*farinam fermento imbutam*)." (b) Corpse. "[The high priest] shall not go in to any dead body" (Lev 21,11); "[The *flamen*] never enters a place where there is a tomb; he never touches a corpse (: *mortuum numquam attingit*)." (c)

Nakedness. Aaron and his sons have linen tunics (Exod 39,27) "to cover the flesh of their nakedness...lest they bring guilt on themselves and die" (Exod 28,42-43); "The *flamen* never takes off his inner tunic except under cover, lest he be naked under the sky as if under the eyes of Jupiter" (*tunica intima, nisi in locis tectis, non exuit se, ne sub cáelo tamquam sub oculis louis nudus sit*).⁷⁷

Other restrictions on the High Priest appear at Mishna Sanhedrin II, followed by privileges and restrictions attached to the king, based on Deut. 17,16-20.⁷⁸ "The king can neither judge nor be judged, he

⁷⁶ For the "king" of Nemi see further Strabo 5.3.12, Servius on Aen. 6.136.

⁷⁷ The words for "tunic" in these passages (3, tunica) are probably related.

⁷⁸ Whatever old materials this chapter contains, in its present form it is remarkably Latinate. (a) Thus

(Sanhédrin II.1) at a banquet the high priest, unlike the people, sits on a stool (*?030): this is Latin *subsellium* "bench," especially as reserved for the Senate (Cicero Phil. 5.18), through the Greek intermediary (papyri & inscriptions, also in Hermas Shepherd Vis. 3.1.4), evidently in the form (LSJ). (b) The king lives in his *pirita* (Sanh. II.3), from *praetorium* with dissimilation and perhaps an echo of *palatium*; the Peshitto of Act 23,3 5 for more correctly has *pit*²¹³³. (c) The king may "heap up silver and gold" (Deut. 17,17) only to cover his soldiers' pay, *ôJOBK* (Sanh. II.4 MS Kaufmann), from *ôycoviov*, "pay" (but *obsonia* Pliny Jun.

Epist. 10.118. 2 is "pension"). So the Peshitto of Luk 3,1 4 for has *prniOBN*; the soldiers that John Baptist met were of Herod Antipas, who how-ever ran his little militia in Roman style. — Thus the Mishna's idea of the king is colored with more recent memories of the Roman procurator of Judaea. For all these words see Samuel Krauss, *Griechische und lateinische Lehnwörter im Talmud, Midrasch und Targum*; vol. II; Repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1964.

12.3 Restoration of divine monarchy under Rome

cannot act as witness and others cannot bear witness against him....

None may marry his widow....None may ride on his horse and none may sit on his throne and none may make use of his sceptre.⁷⁹ None may see him when his hair is being cut or when he is naked or when he is in the bath-house." Thus "the cuttings of the hair and nails of the Dialis must be buried in the earth under a fruitful tree.

" Shortly before his death Alexander the Great executed a deranged man who had sat on his throne (Plutarch

Alexander 73-74).

12.3 Restoration of divine monarchy under Rome 12.3.1 Titles of the Emperor At first there was an

effort, in spite of antipathy to the title rex, to assimilate the new power of the Caesars to the old Roman kings. We all know how Antony says {Julius Caesar III): You all did see, that on the Lupercali, I thrice presented him a Kingly Crowne, Which

he did thrice refuse....

It was actually a diadem (Suetonius Julius 79.2-3). Was it the influence of Caesar's eager adherents, or disinformation spread by the conspirators themselves, that the Sibylline books affirmed "the Parthians could only be conquered by a king," Parthos nisi a rege non posse uincīim Cicero (Phil. 2.85 -87) describes the offer, and adds that M. Antonius made an entry in

the Fasti: C. Caesari dictatori perpetuo M. Antonium consulem populi iussu regnum detulisse; Caesarem uti noluisse.

"Marcus Antonius the consul by command of the people offered Gaius Caesar, perpetual dictator, the kingship; Caesar refused it."

Initially Octavian wished to be called "Romulus," but then saw that this created the suspicion he was aspiring to kingship, , and settled on "Augustus" (Dio Cassius 53.16.7). Still, in the Greek East, used to kingship, the Emperor is occasionally called .

Josephus (BJ 5.563, cf. 3.351) "the kings of the Romans (o!... ') always honored and adorned the temple." Appian Bell. Civ. 2.86 Hadrian calls ' ; and so at IGRR 4.341 (Per-gamum) Hadrian (probably) is . Then see I Pet 2,17 (cf 2,13) "fear God, honor the king," ,

79 For throne and scepter as attributes of royalty see 1.276, 11.334.

80 Cicero (de div. 2.110-112), writing after the Ides of March, begs the Quin-decemviri ut quiduis potius ex illis libris quam regem proférant "to bring anything at all out of the [Sibylline] books other than a king. "

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Timote And further Joh 19,15 (1.263) where the chief priests say "We have no king but Caesar"; Act 17,7 "They are acting against the decrees of Caesar (), saying there is another king (), Jesus." The fixation of Midrash on a "king of flesh and blood," "IED "[^O, can hardly refer to anybody but the Emperor (mostly in Byzantium).

Julius Caesar stayed in power through continued holding the office of dictator, eventually as dictator perpetual, as well as the consulate; but Octavian consistently refused the office of dictator (Dio Cassius 54.1.3, if the office then indeed existed). After the battle of Actium (31 BC)

Octavian was consul annually until 23 BC, when he resigned the office.

He claims that in 27 BC (Res Gestae 34) *rem publicam ex mea potestate in senat[us] populique Romani arbitrium transtuli*, "I transferred the state from my own control to the will of the Senate and the Roman people"; this was the first of two settlements, at which time he received the title Augustus. Dio (53.17.4) at his later date regards the normal title of the Emperor as just that, *imperator* (in his Greek); Augustus only refers to the 21 occasions when he was saluted as emperor (RG 4). He has in fact no standard way of referring to his status; when he is least self-aware he records the Temple of Janus as having been closed thrice *me principi[pe]* (RG 13) "while I was princeps." This was something both less and more than the title *princeps senatus* which he held for 40 years since 28 BC (RG 7).

12.3.2 The proconsular authority The heart

of Augustus' power, that which he received through membership in the Senate, is not attested in a fully satisfactory manner in contemporary sources. Dio 53.32.5 says that in 23 BC the Senate gave him once for all ... , which must be in Latin *imperium proconsular*; perhaps he had held something of the sort in the years after 27 BC. For in 27 BC (Dio 53.12, cf. Strabo 17.3.25) he had divided the provinces into imperial and senatorial, retaining for himself the principal provinces in which there were standing armies;

his new power was the grant of authority over those.

At Tacitus Ann. 1.3 Tiberius becomes *films*, *collega imperii*, *consors tribunicae potestatis* "(adopted) son, a colleague in his imperium, sharing in his tribunician power"; here *imperii* should refer to Augustus' full power.⁸¹ Dio 53.32.5 also appears to say (although the

⁸¹ Later in the Annals Augustus seeks the proconsulate *imperium* for Germanicus (1.12), and Claudius for Nero (12.41), but these may be ordinary provincial commands.

12.4 Restoration of divine monarchy under Rome

language is vague) that Augustus held in addition a superior authority over the governors of the Senatorial provinces, which moderns call an *Imperium maius*, a phrase apparently unattested in Latin. Under the Republic former consuls in the status *pro consul* were the normal governors of the provinces. Thus, while the honorary annual consul-ships were restored to the Senate, practical control over the far-flung provinces and the armies quartered there fell to him through the *proconsular* authority.

12.3.3 The tribunician power

The office of *tribune* (11.41) had come down to the late Republic invested with a *sacral immunity*

for its holder. At some point in his career (it appears) Octavian had been offered the bundle of privileges associated with the *tribunate*, but at first made no use of it.⁸² In 23 BC the *tribunicia potestas* was made both perpetual and annual (RG 10, Dio 53.32.6). As a result

his person was *sacrosanct*; and by assuming the powers of the office he fell heir to the legislative privileges which the *tribune* proper had exercised on behalf of the *plebs*.

(Technically he was not actually a *tribunus*, an office reserved for *plebeians*.) From 23 BC on the annual *Fasti* are marked by the years of Augustus' *tribunician* power—and also by that of his designated successor. It is a special irony of history that the office intended to empower the *plebs* over against the Senate and magistrates became the primary personal bulwark of a new monarch.

12.3.4 Sacral offices of the Emperor Augustus

Augustus was made *pontifex maximus* in 13 BC upon the death of the triumvir Lepidus (RG 10). (The Vulgate of Joh 18,13-24 [but none of the other Gospels] translates of a specific Jewish high priest as *pontifex*.) In 2 BC Augustus records (RG 35) that "the Senate and the equestrian order and the whole Roman people" called him *pater patriae*, "father of the fatherland." Below (11.231-233) we discuss the great founding event of his new age, the *Ludi Saeculares* in 17 BC.

Augustus' adoptive father Julius Caesar (like Augustus after him) was ascribed a formal cult as *divus* "deified," and Halley's comet conveniently appeared at his funeral games

(Suetonius Div. Jul. 88). Thus the *sacral* offices, which both at Rome and Athens continued under the name of the old monarch, were added to the new monarch.

⁸² I cannot easily document such an occasion.

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12.4 Christ and Caesar

Jesus is often called "son of David," in particular at what is called (11.254) his "triumphal entry" into Jerusalem (Matt 21,19, but not in the other Gospels). Pilatus is put up by the Jerusalem authorities into asking Jesus "Are you the king of the Jews?" (so all four Gospels); and so marks his title (in three languages, Joh 19,20). John, among other good pieces of tradition which he may not fully understand, records that after the feeding of the five thousand Jesus is aware that a movement is afoot "to make him king" (Joh 6:15). We saw (1.262-3) how both the God of the Decalogue and the Roman Emperor ("Caesar"), in the line of the old loyalty-oath, demanded exclusive allegiance; and how the chief priests remind Pilatus of this, "We have no king but Caesar" (Joh 19,15). Then in the first century titles develop which more and more mutually assimilate the statuses of Christ and Caesar.

12.4.1 Evangelium, "good news"

The letter of Paulus Fabius Maximus the proconsul of Asia, about 9 BC (together with decrees of the koinoti of Asia), is the principal testimony for , "good news," in the Imperial cult. 83 The first decree has (ii. 40) "The birthday of the god [Augustus!] was the beginning for the world of the good news that exists on his account," ' [] . The supplement seems certain in view of the final] since day appears throughout the text (eg at ii.51). We have fragments of a Latin version, but not of this phrase, and it is hard to guess Latin for .84 The word recurs with at Mark 14,9 "wherever

the good news is proclaimed in all the world," where . In the Vulgate it is transcribed simply euangelium; and so occasionally in the Peshitto, Mark 1,1 along with "beginning," , Vginitium euangelii, Pesh ' 2>K~I. Then into Quran 3.65 cX^iifj attawrātu wal'injilu "the Torah and the Gospel."

In a text omitted from some editions of Bab. Talmud Shabb. 116a the

83 Robert K. Sherk, *Roman Documents from the Greek East: Senatus Consulta and Epistulae to the Age of Augustus*; Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1969; no. 65, p. 328; OGIS 458.

84 A papyrus of AD 238 records the writer's pleasure at the [] "good news" that the son of Maximinus Thrax has been proclaimed Caesar: A.

Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten ...*; 4th ed.; Tübingen: Mohr, 1923, 314.

85 Cf. Jastrow i.27 and SVMB ii.379.

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Greek is tendentiously distorted as TP[^]-pK "idol-scroll" and "p[^]-py "sin-scroll." Scholars differ how far the NT usage has an Imperial flavor.

Knock⁸⁶ austerey thinks euangelion simply "the obvious Greek word both for [an Emperor's accession] and for the news of the birth of Jesus."

But Sherk⁸⁷ writes:

Augustus was , the savior of a war-torn and shattered world, the hope for the future, the bearer of . A title and an expression, these are keys to an understanding of the religious movements which were then taking shape.

12.4.2 "Savior of the world"

In an inscription from Myra of Lycia⁸⁸ Augustus has the titles "Divine Augustus, son of a god, Caesar, 'emperor' of land and sea, the benefactor and savior of the whole world," utò[v]

This text is exceptional, perhaps

unique, in making Augustus diuus apparently during his lifetime. Already in 196 BC, Chalcis set up a cult to T. Quinctius Flamininus for his proclaiming Greek liberty; it was still going on in the time of Plutarch, who quotes from the hymn in honor of "great Zeus, Rome, Titus, and the faith of the Romans"

(Plutarch Flam. 16.4), ' ' ' , ending " savior Titus!" Luk 22,25 Jesus correctly notes that the great ones of the nations are called Benefactors, , Vg benefici. In the Greek of the Rosetta Stone⁸⁹ earlier rulers, Ptolemy III and his sister Arsinoe, had the titles "Savior gods, Sibling gods and Benefactor gods," . Philo {Leg. ad Gaium 148, LCL . 174) calls Augustus , but not as a full title.

in various forms is standard for the emperors after Augustus; see the summary by Koester.⁹⁰ A resolution from Narbo of Italy⁹¹ on Augustus' birthday (in agreement with Paullus' letter) has a related formula: Villi K(alendas) OCTOBR(is) QVA DIE

⁸⁶ AD Nock, *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World*, ed. Z. Stewart; 2 vols.; Cambridge: Harvard, 1972; i.81.

⁸⁷ Op. cit. (note 83 above) p. 337.

⁸⁸ Ehrenberg-Jones 72.

⁸⁹ OGIS 90.4, 196 BC.

⁹⁰ Craig R. Koester, "'The Savior of the World' (John 4:42)," *JBL* 109 (1990) 665-680.

⁹¹ ILS 112A, AD 12/13; Ehrenberg-Jones 100.

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EVM SAECVLI FELICITAS ORBI TERRARVM RECTOREM EDIDIT "September 23, on which day the good fortune of the age brought [Augustus] into being as the ruler of the world." Propertius 4.6.37, describing the battle of Actium, calls Augustus mundi seruator, but this is not a phrase of the imperial cult. At Joh 4,42 (cf I Joh 4,14) the Samaritans know that Jesus

is truly "the savior of the world," , Vg saluator mundi.

12.4.3 "Son of God"

The Imperial title diui filius "son of the deified one" is regularly transcribed in Greek . The NT agrees in the Greek with a different connotation. At Joh 19,7 where the (Jews? Judaeans?) say "because he made himself the son of God," uìòv , Vg filium dei, Pesh RrÒNI 3, Pilatus is afraid because the Greek sounds like an Imperial claim. Again most MSS of Mark 1,1 have "Son of God," uioO In the neo-Punic of Lepcis (KAI 120, 8 BC)

Augustus is D^N 13. .

At Palmyra in the adulatory East, Hadrian even during his lifetime is (PAT 0305) []

= 1?« ^

.

12.4.4 "Lord"

Festus thus refers politely to Nero, "I have nothing certain to write to the Lord ()," Act 25,26, Vg domino. So it is mere politeness when Pliny the Younger writes to Trajan ago gratias, domine (Ep. 10.6). The Hellenistic monarchs were so addressed, in particular Herod the Great in Batanaea (OGIS 415). Cassius at Rhodes after Julius' assassination was addressed as and replied "Neither king nor lord, but slayer and chastiser of a king and lord" (Plutarch Brut. 30.2).

Augustus prudently refused the title dominus (Suet. Aug. 73), although in papyri⁹ he is occasionally addressed as . The identity = dominus is formal in a bilingual inscription under Trajan (IGRR i.1207) where AVG[VSTI] DOMINI N[OSTRI] =

Polycarp of Smyrna, bishop and martyr, refuses to say

"Caesar is lord" (Martyrdom of Polycarp 8.2). Domitian asked to be called dominus et deus noster (Suetonius Dom. 13): Martial in a frivolous context (5.8.1) refers to an edictum domini dei que nostri, but under Trajan rejects the title (10.72.8). And so at Joh 20,28 Thomas apparently makes a deliberate reference to the title, ò where Vg dominus meus et deus meus, Pesh. \Y7K1 -HO. In Old

92 Eg BGU 1200.11.

12.4 Christ and Caesar 117

Aramaic a king (KAI 216) calls himself "slave of Tiglath-Pileser, Lord of the four quarters of the earth": ·?3 « ^^ 12V In Palmyrene

(PAT 0291) Septimius Odainath is "illustrious

consul (), our lord":

po -mi]

Aretas of Nabataea (II Kor 11,32) has the titles (CIS 2.201) "our lord Haretath, king of the

Nabataeans, lover of his people": $\text{noy Dm ltnj} -^{\wedge} \text{o nm n}^{\wedge} 1 ?$

In the NT of God or of Christ comes out in Latin *dominus* and in Syriac $\text{K}^{\sim}\text{I}^{\circ}$; in all three languages the usage echoes the Imperial mode of address.⁹³ Furthermore the words for "lord"

moved back and

forth among the languages. *Domine* vocative becomes Rabbinic . *kyriobe* becomes "Sir"⁹⁴ and in Church usage enters Latin. Thus Rabbinic and at the commemoration of the departed in

in the Itin. Egeriae 24.S liturgy of Jerusalem: Et

the

95

diacono dicente singulorum nomina semper pisinni plurimi stant respondentes semper "kyrie eleyson," quod dicimus nos miserere Domine.

"And as the deacon speaks each individual name, many children (*pisinnus*, a very rare nursery word) stand responding each time *Kyrie Eleyson*, or as we say 'Lord have mercy'."

Above all the Aramaic came to be known. Paul writes to Corinth, without word-dividers, (I Cor 16,22), and so *Vg maranatha*; the phrase also appears at *Didache* 10.6, perhaps independently. Evidently the Aramaic and its meaning were familiar to Paul's correspondents. The word-division is not quite certain, and the Syriac interprets $\text{]O m}^{\circ}\text{äran}$ 'etä "our Lord has come." It seems better to interpret with Rev 22,20 "come, Lord Jesus" (also at the end of a book) and divide $\text{]}\sim\text{I}^{\circ}\text{O m}^{\circ}\text{ära na tä}$. Still today a Beirut mother calls to her boy in Lebanese colloquial Arabic ta' "come" (but to a girl tay).

We saw (11.71) that the god of Gaza was known as *Marnas*. Since the pagans under Porphyrius (bishop of Gaza AD 395-420) believed (Marcus Diaconus op. cit.) that "Marnas was god of the rains," , it is natural to take his name as a title "Our Lord." Philo Flaccus 36-39 (LCL ix.322) tells the story of the

⁹³ See the lengthy article by Foerster in TWNT/TDNT iii with subtle distinctions. ⁹⁴ Texts in Krauss (note 78 above) 287, 539.

⁹⁵ Ed. P. Marval, *Sources chrétiennes* 296; Paris: Cerf, 1982, p. 240.

Chapter 12: Divine Kingship, Civic Institutions, Imperial Rule

mock coronation (AD 37 or later) of the lunatic Carabas by the Alexandrians: they hail him as which Philo states to mean "among the Syrians," . It was the mob's way of mocking the state visit of Herod Agrippa (I) "the Syrian." Carabas is given substitutes for diadem, cloak and sceptre: , , . Compare Matt 27,28-29 with the same three items: the scarlet robe, ; the crown of thorns; and the reed in his right hand.

Thus both Caesar and Christ look back to ancient kingships. Octavian at first wanted to be called Romulus; and built his military powers on the (pro)consulate, the successor office to the regal. Jesus is called the "son of

David." The dominion of each is extended from a city to the world; each is its savior, ; the birth of each begins good news, to the world. Each is dominus et deus, each (in Greek) is "son of a god." Each has exclusive claims made for him; the two are set against each other as objects of commitment. Here the comparison ends. Augustus achieved more power than any civic king dreamed of; Jesus' claim is through the renunciation of power.

Between them the parabola from monarchy to constitution to monarchy is worked out in fully contrasted ways.

Excursus F: Hamilcar Barca and Hannibal in Punie

The recent "prosopography" of Carthaginians by Klaus Geus lists 160 historic persons—solely as attested by Greek and Latin sources—with relatives, biography, sources and bibliography.¹ Volume I of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum* has now exceeded 6,000 inscriptions, the vast majority Punic inscriptions from Carthage with one or more personal names each; the names of men and women in them (and elsewhere) have been completely listed by Frank L. Benz, with grammatical analysis.² The names of North-African men and women from Latin literary sources and inscriptions have been gathered by Jongeling,

1

Klaus Geus, *Prosopographie der literarisch bezeugten Karthager*; *Studia Phoenicia* 13; *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 59; Leuven: Peeters, 1994. This work, done by a student of Werner Huss,

replaces all previous lists of historic Carthaginians, in particular those scattered through PW, and the entries (not claiming completeness) in DCP. It ends with the destruction of Carthage in 146 BC. It is initially confusing that rejected entries appear eg as "^aHannibal (8)" prefixed to the bona fide entry

"Hannibal (8)" without an asterisk. Further limitations: no list of abbreviations of modern works and journals; omission of Carthaginians known only from Greek or Latin inscriptions (eg a second Synalos noted p. 20 3 note 121 7 from IG II/III 2 41 8 [=SIG3 321] but not entered); omission of Punic inscriptions, and no review of Punic equivalents.

Geus prudently resists efforts to combine data for persons of the same name except where clear evidence shows identity. Hence his numbered entries may in the future be supplemented by new data or combined by new arguments, but are unlikely to be broken up; his numbering will undoubtedly become standard

and is here so treated.

2 Frank L. Benz, *Personal Names in the Phoenician and Punic Inscriptions: A Catalog, Grammatical Study and Glossary of Elements*; Studia Pohl 8; Rome: Biblical Institute, 1972. The informal typescript format does not detract from the high accuracy and usefulness of this work, which includes attestations from the entire body of Phoenician; Punic and neo-Punic from elsewhere than Carthage; and inscriptions from Carthage presumably later than 146 BC.

Above all Chapter IV, "Glossary of Name Elements," includes a very full listing of Latin and Greek equivalents, both from literary texts (there making a link to the work of Geus) and Latin and Greek inscriptions (nearly all after 146 BC). Some of Benz' equivalents (mostly followed by Geus) are here

questioned—very largely on the basis of data which he himself provides.

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with a proposed Punic original wherever appropriate. 3 It is natural to look through the Punic inscriptions to see if any persons known from Greco-Roman history likely appear in them. But the material presents formidable obstacles. (1) Not all the equivalences between Punic and Greco- Latin names proposed by these sources will stand up under scrutiny. (2) Geus' 160 historical figures among them include only 25 different Punic names

(p. 3, besides some Greek and Libyan); the most common names in the CIS according to Benz' lists appear nearly a thousand times.

Thus a heavy burden of proof is placed on identifications. (3) The study of the Punic inscriptions as historical texts is still in its infancy.

These three tasks are incumbent on us, to which a beginning is made here.

(1) The true Punic equivalents of Carthaginian names attested in Greek and Latin texts must be determined. Here I propose to change the now conventionally received Punic equivalents for Hamilcar the great (no. 9 of Geus) along with his surname Barcas, and for his son Hannibal the great (no. 9)—along with all others given the same names in Greek and Roman history.

(2) Criteria for identification of historical figures in the Punic texts need to be set up. Since men's names are so few and so often repeated in Carthage, the bare minimum requirement for equivalence of a Punic inscription and a Greco-Latin stemma is agreement of grandfather, father and son, "A son of son of C." Even that falls short of demonstrative without other corroboration. Furthermore, an eldest son is regularly named after his grandfather by "papponymy," "A son of

son of A," as both the inscriptions and the Greco-Latin history attest (1.120). I Chron 5,35-36 among the descendants of Zadok the priest attests an Azariah () father of Johanan (•pjli•') father of Azariah; Eshmunazar ("irijJOE«) king of Sidon (KAI 14.14) was son of Tabnith (3) [and of his sister (!) Immc astart ()] and grandson (pp) of Eshmunazar.

At Mark 1,19 John () of Capernaum is the son of ; an inscription from the Capernaum synagogue (CIJ 2.982) honors "Al-phaeus son of Zebidah son of Yohanan," ~3 ". Here we seem to have a later record of the actual Gospel family, with Alphaeus as a younger son.—In such cases we would like to have four generations with agreement in the great-grandfather as well.

(3) Potentially historical texts need to be located. The requirements of (2) will be relaxed if we can find Punic inscriptions which are truly

3 K. Jongeling, North-African Names from Latin sources; Leiden: Research School CNWS, 1994.

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historical: eg which bring together two men (ideally with their fathers) known from the historical record; or otherwise refer to a known historical event; or ideally both. One Punic inscription (CIS 1.5510) was shown by Charles Krahmalkov (below) to meet both criteria; unaccountably his analysis has been mostly ignored on the Continent, and is here reinforced. Much of this text still remains doubtful; and in general the vocabulary and grammar of Carthaginian Punic are more opaque to us than classical Phoenician. But that very fact suggests that more historical data are lurking there in the vast Punic corpus if we only knew how to identify them.

All sources agree on the father of Hannibal the great, eg Nepos Hann. 1 Hannibal Hamilcaris filius; only Nepos in his life of Hamilcar (chap. 1) gives

Hannibal's grandfather, Hamilcar Hannibalis filius cognomine Barca "Hamilcar named Barca the son of Hannibal." Nepos however seems reliable in providing this information, since Hannibal the great is plainly the eldest son, although I do not find this specifically stated by any ancient source. Geus (p. 77 note 447) believes that he had at least three elder sisters; but his oath at the age of 9 (Polybius 3.11.5) strongly suggests him as the eldest son. At 3.33.6 his brother Hasdrubal (Geus no. 6) is his subordinate; at 3.71.6 his brother Mago (Geus no. 6) is still young (). Thus by papponymy he ought to have been named after his grandfather; but since Nepos cannot be shown to know of this practice, his testimony is reinforced.

What is the Punic original of Hamilcar? It is always so spelled in Latin literary texts; Hamilcar Barca is Polybius 1.76.3 etc. but in Appian (Punica 8.68). It is not quite certain that of Herodotus 7.167 (son of a Hanno 7.165) is the same name (Hamilcar no. 1 Geus). Geus 36 assumes that the name in all appearances is from l'JOn which appears ab. 250 times in the Punic inscriptions (Benz 1 - 12).⁴ But then how can we explain the r of the Latin and Appian?

It may seem a problem that if we do not identify Hamilcar = "fjon, the relatively common ^ has no Greco-Roman equivalent in independent Carthage. It cannot be Himilco, , for abundant evidence (below) points to this as the transcription of ^ "brother of the Queen," where the long ö of the Latin and Greek reproduces a Phoenician feminine singular with the final t quiescent

⁴ Geus 36 implausibly assumes that the name is reduced from "l^DJn "the king [ie a divinity?] was gracious" which appears only twice in the Punic inscriptions (CIS

3800, 4334, Benz 125). Benz 263 much more plausibly holds that it is for "^* "My brother is King" or "Brother of the King"; in such names it is unclear whether "King" is a man or a god.

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Punic forms with "King" and "Queen" are clearly distinct, CIS 1.346 ^ P "[' "Hmlk son of Hmlkt"; the semi-literate inscription IG 14.279 from Lilybaeum of Sicily has

"(H)imylk son of (H)imilcho," which seems to give the vowels of f^On. But many other common names in Benz do not appear in Greco-Roman form before 146 BC, either by chance or as later developed: thus (Benz 64-68) ; several names beginning with

~pm (90-93); nmtMna (106-7); -153); -fror» (165-7); BS0 (182-4).⁶ The r in Hamilcar and can only point to a name ending in mp*?ö." Harris⁷ followed by Benz 314 and Jongeling 56 strangely identified this famous and common name of Carthaginian history (18 attestations

in Geus) with ^, which appears twice only in the thousands of extant Punic inscriptions, CIS 2069 and 4376 (Benz 125). Of the names ending in *" only three are at all common, mp'WQ "In the hand of Melqarth?" (Benz 75-81) must be Bomilcar (Geus 16 with doubts); 8 mp^OU (Benz 104) is out of the question; then the only remaining possibility for Hamilcar is the extremely common mp'WQi; "Slave of Melqarth" (Benz 155-161).

This is the identification of Lenschau; 9 of DCP 204; and of Gisela Strassburger¹⁰ for of Herodotus 7.165-7 (Hamilcar no. 1 of Geus). The name continued down to our era in forms which show the assimilation of one or more consonants to the M of Melqarth: AMMICAR MILCHATONIS F(ILIVS) CYNASYN(ENSIS) (CIL 8.68 = ILS 6095); AMMICARIS genit. (CIL 8.10525 bis, 5.4920); and especially ADMICARIS (CIL 8.25436, genitive) where the d shows the remains of zabd.

I would accept the remote possibility that the "Amilkas" of Herodotus (and other minor "Hamilcars" unattested in Latin with the r) is in fact "[^; but the identity of the Greek form from Herodotus to Roman times and the extreme commonness of mp^Oiau speaks against even this. Furthermore, 1*7011 is restricted to Punic;

5

6 7

Its one appearance as Aris before 146 BC is rejected by Geus p. 12; but ARIS is frequent in later Latin inscriptions from Africa, eg CIL 8.23833 (as one of two sufetes).

Unless in most of the cases really a title, "suffete."

Zellig S. Harris, *A Grammar of the Phoenician Language*; American Oriental Series 6; New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1936; p. 103.

8 Here the Latin o vowel shows that the initial bd- cannot be the abbreviation of 'bd which must have an a-vowel.

9 Lenschau in PW 7.2297. 10 Geus p. 36 note 182.

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^ appears at Abydos of a Phoenician (KAI 49.31), and at Athens (KAI 55):

tom pa n »ob-q ü " mp'rirni ; ennan1 ?

"'New-Month' son of 'bdmlqrt son of cbdsms son of Tgns of Kition.'"11 Nepos we saw calls Hannibal's father Hamilcar Barca (Polybius 1.82.12). The OLD treats Barca as if a family name; but more correctly it is

a cognomen of Hamilcar, discussed along with others such by Geus 217-226. What is its status? Geus 220 takes it for granted that it is from Semitic p~Q and means "Lightning" as a nickname (he calls Hamilcar der Blitz p. 50). In support of this we can quote Deborah's general 3 Jud 4,10; also in Palmyrene (PAT 0345) where it seems to be in fact a cognomen, "3 " 3 "son of Hira 'Lightning'"? Further, Romans called one or both Scipios a fulmen.

Thus Lucretius 3.1034

Scipiadas, belli fulmen, Carthaginis horror "Scipio [the elder], a thunderbolt of war, the terror of Carthage."

Cicero pro Balbo 34 duo fulmina nostri imperi...Cm. et P. Scipiones.

Vergil Aen. 6.842-3 geminos, dua fulmina bello, / Scipiadas, cladem Libyae. Silius 15.664 applies the theme back to Hannibal: et fulmen

subitum Carthaginis Hannibal adsit

"and Hannibal, the sudden thunderbolt of Carthage, be present." But this

seems a wholly Roman theme. Perhaps enough Punic was known at Rome for "l~Q to be given a folk-etymology as p"Q.

Punic P"Q appears once as a man's name (CIS 1.4840, Benz 101) and Opia 3 times as a woman's (see Benz 292). Against this explanation is the name "I~Q (22 times in Punic of Carthage, Benz 101), see also KAI 146 (Mactar) & KAI 159. It also appears in the Latin of Africa: in CIL 8.18068 (col. B.17) C. IVLIVS BARIC is the only Punic name in a long catalogue; cf. 8.21484 OCTAVIO BARICI PATRI where in

11 There is another at I Makk 12,16. A person called "New Moon" must have been born on the new moon. Likewise "" Ezra 10,15 was surely born on the Sabbath. Many Egyptian men and women in the Hellenistic period born in Egypt bear the name or one of its numerous variants (CPJ iii.483-487), and a majority are by all indications pagan. This can only mean that native Egyptians or Greek colonists learned from Jews, considered it auspicious, and named after it children born on it. Compare the Scottish rhyme on children born on each of the seven days, ending (of course for Sunday rather than the old Sabbath): And the child that is born on the Sabbath day Is bonny and blithe and good and gay.

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both places it is a cognomen "Blessed." Thus while "Lightning" remains a bare possibility, much more likely is that Hamilcar has the cognomen "Blessed" as in the late Latin inscriptions.

Unexpected light is thrown on the Punic original of Hannibal by the inscription CIS 1.5510. Krahmalkov¹² first recognized the Punic for Agrigentum in it and identified the generals it mentions with those chronicled by Diodorus. His interpretation was improved by van den Branden.¹³ Afterwards it was ignored or rejected by Continental scholarship: Werner Huss¹⁴ turns it down without argument, it is ignored in the relevant prosopographical articles of DCP, simply noted in disagreement by Geus under Hannibal (2) (pp. 66-68) and omitted under Himilco (3) (pp. 159-166). The interpretation of the Punic as "Agrigentum" has been vindicated (to my mind conclusively) by Krahmalkov's student Philip C. Schmitz,¹⁵ who records studies of the text. The

agreement of the generals' names with Diodorus, by far the most obvious token of the text's historical character, has been conspicuously absent from the Continental literature.

I print the text of CIS I 5510 from the end of line 7 through the beginning of line 11. It is the dedication of some lost object or building.

What comes before and after is broken and opaque to me. The dedication ends uniquely (so far as we know) with a historical note of the year of dedication. I translate four of the

names (Hanno, Bostar, Gisgo, Himilco) with well-attested Latin equivalents; I arbitrarily vocalize two more (Eshmun'amas, Adnibacal) for ease in pronunciation.

CIL I 5510.7b-ll a

io o1?:» n[.] 11

7 And this gift was erected 8 on the new moon of [the month] Pclt in the year of Eshmun'amas son of Adniba'al the rab and of Hanno 9 son of Bostar son of Hanno the rab. And the rabbim Adniba'al son of Gisgo the rab 10

7

00l?3at0K » ^] 23 8 in po u ^ Dan ^ Ran []-»3 9 nen 33- no n -ja m ss1?:? mn san ns^ar n nana s nam... 2 3~

12 C. Krahmalkov, "A Carthaginian Report of the Battle of Agrigentum 406 BC (CIS I, 5510. 9-11)," *Rivista di Studi Fenici* 2 (1974) 171-177.

13 A. van den Branden, "Quelques notes concernant l'inscription CIS 5510, *Rivista di Studi Fenici* 5 (1977) 139-2145.

14 Werner Huss, *Geschichte der Karthager*, Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft Abt. 3/8; Munich: Beck, 1985; p. 117 n. 63.

15 Philip C. Schmitz, "The name 'Agrigentum' in a Punic inscription (CIS I 5510.10)," *JNES* 53 (1994) 1-13. Through the kindness of the author I also have in

hand his unpublished dissertation, *Epigraphic Contributions to a History of Carthage in the Fifth Century BCE* (University of Michigan, 1990).

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and Himilco son of Hanno the rab went to Hs, and they took Agrigentum; and they made 11 [...] peace (?)...

Here I make three assumptions frequently held, but none uncontested. (a) I take it for granted

that Eshmuncamas and Hanno son of Bostar are the annual sufetes, and that such are referred to in Greek texts as "kings," . (b) I also take it for granted that 3 means "general," , and that a general is chosen as such, in a pattern shared with Rome, either in his year of office as suffete or later, (c) I finally assume that when 31 comes at the end of a genealogy it designates the last name as general and not the first; for in lines 9-10 rbm is enough to designate Adniba'al son of Gisgo and Himilco as generals. Thus the genealogy of each annual suffete is continued back until the prestigious rank of rab is reached; also each current general

is the son of a general.

7 D3tû is Qal passive participle abs. fem. of nato. The of nanOR is for the definite article. 9 The verb "l^l must be either qal or causative of the root "i^n. But if it were causative, rbm would have to designate some other unnamed parties, and in 2 pona 'PUaanN rb contrary to usage would have to refer to Adniba'al; and likewise for his colleague. Thus it must be simple "they went." 10 What does El1?!? mean?

Since it ends a clause, it is most natural to take it as the place to which the rabbis go. Now in the Punic inscriptions a man's name "'ts'py occurs 12 times and a woman's flB^U 40 times (Benz

172); that strongly suggests a foreign ethnic, since women were much more likely to marry in to Carthaginian society than men If was the place where the rabbi took naanatf it can only be "coastlands" generally or Sicily.

Since West Semitic does not normally use cayin to transliterate foreign sounds, it cannot be the Punic for a Greek or Siceliote place name. — naaiaK agrees with Latin Agrigentum against Greek '.

Remarkably the dating clause agrees with a Greek account of Punic events. Diodorus 13.80, dated at 406 BC, describes how the Carthaginians designated two generals to take command

in Sicily, and how they eventually captured Akragas (Agrigentum). The elder general () is (accus.); his younger colleague is (13.80.1-2). (Diodorus [13.85.5]

later inaccurately, it seems, refers to the younger man as) This Annibas is earlier described at 13.43.5 (410 BC): "They appointed as general Annibas, at that time acting as king according to the laws," , . That must mean that in that year this Annibas was the annual suffete, and (in accordance with a

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general practice) was given command in the field.¹⁶ Later in the same passage Diodorus says that Annibas was grandson of the Amilkas (genit.) who fought at Gelon (Hamilcar no. 1 of Geus) and son of Gisgo ()

the exile. Thus restoring nominatives we find that the two generals in 406 BC were ' (Hannibal no. 2 of Geus) son of (Gisgo no. 1), and (Himilco no. 3) son of "Avvcov (Hanno no. 6)).

But now even at first sight three out of the four names correspond perfectly with the two generals of CIS I 5510,

3 ^mJ-IK and 3 riD^On, which further agrees with Diodorus in mentioning the son of Gisgo first, as senior

general Thus three equivalences which have never been doubted are confirmed: Gisgo = = poi]; Himilco = =

^; Hanno = = 3. In all probability both generals appeared in Athens as legates in a fragmentary Attic

inscription:¹⁷ besides a mention of [] "Sicily" there appears [] []

In his dissertation Schmitz assumes (p. 71) that the current general Adniba'al son of Gisgo is the same as the father of Eshmun'amas the suffete; and likewise that Hanno the father of the current general Himilco (and himself a general) is the same as Hanno the general and grandfather of the suffete Hanno. There are two arguments against this, one specific and one general. First: Diodorus 13.80.1-2 states that the second general this year was chosen well into the year, upon request of the senior, as being a younger man; that means that they were as a rule chosen after the suffetes. On Schmitz' identifications, that would mean that the generals were chosen as elder family members of the suffetes: the general Adniba'al son of Gisgo as father of the suffete Eshmun'amas, and Himilco as uncle of the suffete Hanno son of Bostar. (It seems even more improbable that the suffetes were chosen as younger relatives of the men later to be designated general.)

¹⁶ The principle is very clear in 383 BC "appointing Mago the king as general," (Diodorus 15.15.2). Like-wise in general Isocrates 3.2 4 says

of both Spartans and Carthaginians that "in war they are ruled by kings," . Then when in 396 BC the Carthaginians put in charge of the campaign against Dionysius one Himilco, (Diodorus 14.54.5), we should understand "appointing Himilco, then the lawful king, in charge of the campaign." Here again Carthage runs closely parallel to Rome, where a consul both during his term of office and subsequently is the normal choice for general, but requires additional authorization from the Senate so to act.

17 Meiggs-Lewis no. 92.

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Further, Himilco is in the prime of life, which would make his nephew Hanno a young man—too young for suffete?

And more generally. There are so few different proper names in the Punic texts that we should not be surprised at the coincidence when two pairs of generals of the same name appear in this brief text.

Diodorus 13.80.2 further states that the two current generals were from a single family,

... .

18 That does not mean that

either or both of the suffetes were members of that family. Perhaps one pair of homonymous

generals were the same man and the other pair were not. I do not endeavor further to elucidate

the family relations.

Most enticing is the first equivalence ' = Nobody doubts that ' always represents the same name as Hannibal: Greek could not accommodate a noun ending in -/. A later inscription (ILS 56) says that Q. Fabius Maximus ("Cunctator") Hannibal...coeruit "hemmed in Hannibal." An Etruscan inscription has hanipaluscle "men of Hannibal"?¹⁹ All previous authors have unanimously identified Hannibal = ' with Punic ' , quite common (Benz 122-124). But CIS 1.5510 makes it certain that at least Hannibal no. 2 in Punic was "Baal is

my lord," an extremely common proper name in Punic with 4 pages in Benz (pp. 46-49). Could some or all of the other Hannibals, in particular Hannibal the great, still be Punic "73? But

this rear-guard position is also ruled out by later texts which show that 'rinjn had different vowels.

Key here is the Latin and neo-Punic bilingual KAI 120 (a dedication to Augustus from Lepcis, 8 BC) where both Punic names appear and are transliterated. The first of the flames of Augustus (FLAMINIB[us]

0-1K ïvin* dedicator was ^ = IDDIB(A)LE ARINIS F(ilio). The = orar) was ·?»33 = ANNOBAL IMILCHONIS HI-MILCHO F(ilius) where the repeated HIMILCHO nom.

seems an error of the Punic stonecutter. 20 The Latin vowels are the clue. Here comes out Iddibal instead of Hannibal, but both forms retain the i of "Ba'al is my lord." *733 is revealed to

have an o vowel and therefore to contain a verb with the regular Phoenician o-vowel,

18 Geus 10 6 note 61 2 discusses possible explanations of the relationship. 19 TLE Sup 890; AJ Pfiffig, "Eine Nennung Hannibals in einer Inschrift des 2.

Jahrhunderts . Ch. aus Tarquinia," Studi Etruschi 35 (1967) 659-663. It is the grave of one Felsnas Larth, who lived 106 years(!), dwelt at Capua, and (perhaps) fought beside the men of Hannibal.

2 0 Same equivalence earlier in the inscription in an incomplete genealogy in the Latin.

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"Baal was gracious." The two Punic names frequently occur in the same family with no sign of confusion: eg CIS 1.856 "JIDJn, 1199 *7?3 ^ynnN.

North of Italian Brescia lies the subalpine Val Trompia, still bearing the name of the first of the 46 gentes Alpinae conquered by Augustus, the Trump(i)lini (Pliny 3.136). 1 In his village Zenano were found four bronze patronage tablets, 22 now lost, of the years AD 27-28 between various African cities and one C. Silius Aviôla, evidently from the ruins of his villa, and recording relationships formed while his Legio III was in Africa. In CIL 5.4920 the first two African legates with their cities

are

Azrubal sufes Annobalis f(ilius) Agdibil(ensis); Boncarth Iddibalis f(ilius) Risuil(ensis)

Here the fathers of the first two legates again have the vowels clearly distinguished.

Elsewhere in Latin inscriptions forms with an o vowel all surely represent an : ANNOBAL HARMATIS

(CIL 8.27541); NAM-PHAMONI ANNOBALIS L(IBERTO) (CIL 8.9429); RVFVS ANO- BALIS (CIL 8.23638). Forms with an i vowel, with various consonants, all must represent *ʔ73. Thus the bilingual KAI 172 from Sardinia (date uncertain) has HIMILCONI IDNIBALIS =

ʔinJIN ʔ] where IDNI- shows the Punic consonants. Other transcriptions show a gradation back to the classical one: IDDIBAL CIL 5.4919; ANNIBAL CIL 8.508; ANIBAS 8.20855

(illiterate). The Romans heard the vowels more distinctly than the consonants. Thus ʔsnjn always had the o vowel of the Phoenician qal perfect (and was not carried by any figure known to Greco-Roman history before 146 BC); always had the i vowel of "ray lord" and is the only Phoenician name that could have been represented by Hannibal, '.

It seems appropriate that this famous Carthaginian name should also be one of the first West-Semitic men's names to be recorded.

Among the inscribed bronze arrow (or lance) heads from Mount Lebanon of the 10th century BC or earlier (11.138) there appears 23 P ʔymry "Arrow of Hasdrubal son of Hannibal"! It

has never been doubted that Hasdrubal = (Polybius 1.40.1 etc.)

21 Pliny preserves the text of the fragmentary inscription of the Tropaea Augusti, CIL 5.781 7 = Ehrenberg-Jones 40.

2 2 CIL 5.491 9 (= ILS 6100), CIL 5.4920 CIL 5.492 1 (= ILS 609,9a), CIL 5.492 2 (= ILS 609 9 = Ehrenberg-Jones 354).

23 JT Milik, "Flèches à inscriptions phéniciennes au Musée national libanais," no. 4. Bulletin du Musée de Beirut 16 (1961) 103-108 ,

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represents 'JVZIIV "Ba'al has helped"; it may appear at Odyssey 15.426 as (genit.). It appears in various spellings in the Aviôla patronage texts: besides AZRUBAL in CIL 5.4920 it

appears as AZDRVBAL2 4 but also classically as HASDRVBAL twice elsewhere.²⁵ Thus both Hannibal the great and his almost equally distinguished brother Hasdrubal bear names going back to the earliest records of Phoenician.

Then Punic for "Hannibal son of Hamilcar son of Hannibal" should be

iviii x mp^a-Qi? ^

Precisely that sequence is preserved in two standard dedications, CIS 1.1884 and 3077! A third

(CIS 1.4975) adds a fourth generation: "lown u ^ mp^aoini; tinni i

"Adniba'al son of'Abdmelqarth son of Adniba'al son of'Abdeshmun."

In one or more of these do we have a dedication of the actual Hannibal the great? Geus (p. 74 n.

432) observes that the absence of historical data shows that Hannibal (no. 7) the father of Hamilcar Barca cannot have been distinguished. The name "Hannibal" is very common in Punic (Benz 150-153) but wholly lacking from the literary tradition; in Latin only at CIL 8.1562 MACER

IMILCONIS ABDISMVNIS F. Further-more one 3-generation text (CIS 1.4321) suitable for Hannibal the Great's brother Mago can be found:

24 CIL 5.4919 = ILS 6100. 25 CIL 5.4921 = ILS 6099a.

- [mp^o-rni?]i[n]

Excursus G: The cairn and the pillar

At the great moment of Xenophon's march up country when his men catch sight of the Black Sea (Anab. 4.7.25) "at somebody's suggestion, the soldiers brought up stones and made a great heap," οἱ . On top of the heap they put the captured equipment and shields.

They wanted to prove, one would suppose, not least to themselves, that they had been there. Darius had done the same (Herodotus 4.92), ordering each soldier to take just one stone; perhaps he intended that the resulting "great heaps of stones" () would prove to posterity the size of his army.

Above Odysseus' city in Ithaca (Odyssey 16.471) was a "mound of Hermes." The Scholiast here quotes Anticlides of Athens (3rd century BC?) "So men up until now in honor of Hermes, because this god is the guide and guardian of travelers, make heaps of stones by the roads, and as they pass by throw on more stones, and these are called lophoi of Hermes":¹ .

The Oxford Odyssey ad loc. gives some indications that such heaps would have a vertical stone in the center of the heap. Such a heap (or a single large way-marker by the road, Strabo 17.1.50) could be called , or (LSJ), although none of the attestations are fully satisfactory. If at Sophocles Ant. 847 we read for "work" the meaning is consistent:

/

"I go to the cairn of a novel grave, heaped up in a tomb." The summit of Mt Washington in New Hampshire has been elevated by such a

1

Anticlides, FGH 140 frag. 19. Similarly Cornutus Compendium 30 (ed. C. Lang; Leipzig: Teubner, 1881) 24.11.

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cairn, to which hikers make additions; the trails leading to it are likewise marked.

Burkert in several places² derives the name of the god Hermes () from such a cairn, although Frisk (i.564) is doubtful, this sense of being late and seemingly secondary. It is unquestionable that also represents a second stone object: a square pillar, sur-mounted by a bust of bearded Hermes, with an erect phallus protruding below. Herodotus 2.51.1 says that the Athenians took from the Pelasgians the custom of "making images of Hermes with their genitals erect," .

[Plato] Hipparchus 228D says that such (undescribed) were first set up by Hipparchus son of Pisistratus. Very few have come down to us intact: but there is a beautiful archaic head on a square herm from Siphnos of ab. 490 BC (the phallus is in relief and therefore not subject to damage or vandalism).³ In contrast, many detached heads of Hermes have come down in several styles.⁴ The herm, always with erect phal-lus, is a favorite subject of vase painters:⁵ we have a representation of the sculptor making it (#170), of a satyr

installing it on an existing base (#172), of another satyr taking an ax to the head of a recumbent herm (#179).

Hermes of both sorts are boundary markers; in front of the house, in the agora, at crossroads and the frontier. Thus at Pausanias 8.34.6 "...the Hermaion, at which are the frontiers for the men of Messene and Megalopolis; there they made a Hermes on a pillar":

... , ö öpor column

Burkert boldly explains:

ethology observed that there are species of monkeys, living in groups, of whom the males act as

guards: they sit up at the outposts, facing outside and presenting their erect genital organ.
6

In 415 BC the famous "mutilation of the herms" occurred through-out Athens on the eve of the ill-starred expedition against Syracuse, of which Alcibiades and many others were accused. Any teenager will tell you that the mutilation consisted above all in knocking off the

2 Walter Burkert, *Greek Religion*, tr. John Raffan; Cambridge: Harvard, 1985; 156; *Structure and History in Greek Mythology and Ritual*; Berkeley: Univ. of California, 1979; 39-41.

3 LIMC V.2. p. 199 Hermes no. 12. 4 LIMC V.2.200-205.

5 LIMC V.2.206-216, nos. 92-179. 6 Burkert, *Structure and History* 40.

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phalluses, and Aristophanes (*Lysistrata* 1093-4) confirms it. Both the Athenian and Laconian men are suffering from the women's strike, and the Chorus warns them to cover up:

/ "lest one of the Hermes-

choppers should see you." Thucydides 6.27.1, who describes only the "square make"

() of the herms, states prudishly that "in one night most of them had their 'faces' cut off," VUKTÌ OÍ . The great commentary on Thucydides⁷ cautiously observes:

The natural explanation is that the mutilators damaged the face of every herm and the phallos where there was one to damage...; there is some reason to think...that by the end of the fifth century herms without erect phalloi were coming into fashion, and it may be that the mutilation of the god's face was felt to be a more serious sacrilege than knocking off a feature of old-fashioned crudity.

It might seem that the two stone objects representing Hermes had little to do with each other. The heap of stones is primordial, and might have served as a marker of a place or route before its makers ever lived in proper cities. But the square pillar with its two features could have served as a substitute. Then the stone heap must always have been thought of as quasi- divine, and as somehow including the warning feature concretely realized in the phallus. The prosecution of the mutilators of the Athenian herms shows how seriously these were viewed as guarantors of the city.

In the Hebrew Bible stone heaps and individual standing stones are better correlated than in Greece. At Gen 31,44-54 Jacob sets up a stone as a pillar (יָ1380, LXX , Vg titulum) and his kinsmen (or Laban's?) gather stones into a heap (*?3, LXX , Vg tumulum) .

The "heap of witness" is named both in Aramaic ܐܬܪܐ ܕܥܕܝܬܐ IP and Hebrew 1Ü1?? (Vg aceruum testimonii), and the pillar apparently naaan. Laban sees heap and pillar both as a witness that Jacob will treat his daughters properly, and as a boundary marker between the two of them. Elsewhere a "heap of stones" (Jos 8,29) is put as a negative memorial over the body of an enemy, the king of Ai, LXX , Vg aceruo lapidum; and appropriately over an apostate who has been stoned to death, Achan (Jos 7,26). A stone pillar may be set up as a positive memorial of a theophany, as by Jacob at Bethel

7 AW Gomme et alii, A Historical Commentary on Thucydides; vol. 4; Oxford: Clarendon, 1970; 288-9.

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(Gen 28,18); as witness of Joshua's lawgiving (Jos 24,26); to commemorate a military victory (Ebenezer, I Sam 7,12).

The heap and pillar come together in a different way in the case of Absalom (II Sam 18,17-18). As with other opponents, a "very great heap of stones" ("ÍNO D"| J2X"t?a) is raised over

his body. The same text goes on to say that during his lifetime he had set up for himself a pillar (nilSiö) to keep his name remembered for lack of sons (incon-sistent with 14,27); "and it is called 'Absalom's hand' (Di'?'»'?« ") until this day." Elsewhere "hand" denotes a monument. At I Sam 15,12 "Saul has set himself up a hand," ~P i1? ^SSO, with the same verb as if for a 32. At Ez 21,24 the prophet is ironically told "Carve out a hand (3 "P) at the head of the way to [each] city [Rabbah and Jerusalem]," the point being that both Ammon and Israel by their folly have

already pointed out the way for Babylon to take them. In all three cases the "hand" is a monument to presumption. Only at Isa 56,5 is it positive: even to the childless eunuchs God in his house will give a "hand and a name" (Dttfl ~Pj better than sons and daughters. 8 Both with Absalom and the eunuchs the "hand" is a

substitute for sons.

Why is the monument called a "hand"? Both after and before the Hebrew Bible the penis is called a T. 9 This is absolutely plain in the Qumran Manual of Discipline (1QS VII.13-14) "And whoever brings out his 'hand' from under his garment and excites it so that his nakedness is seen is punished thirty days": Qv d" ,bm'?»

töDini inna nmndi ma n«im na n nmno i~r tos r ibk

i In the Ugaritic poem "The Birth of the Gracious Gods,"¹⁰ just before El's procreation of Dawn and Dusk (shr wslm, vs 52) we read: tirkm yd yl wyd il kmdb which TJ Lewis (in UNP) translates "El's 'hand' grows as the sea, El's 'hand'

as the ocean"; he has no doubt that we

find here a euphemism BDB translated Isa 57,8 Jvrn Tt "a phallus thou [fem.]

beholdest." I would add Job 29,20 (cf. 11.151 below) "and my bow ever new in my hand," ^; n^H " "Fl^pl. It is attractive to interpret the four passages with ~P "monument" as meaning "penis" also. For Absalom and the eunuchs it would be an

8 The Holocaust Memorial in Jerusalem is Yad VaShem to rescue the memory of Jews likewise deprived of posterity.

9 And regularly ^ "foot" is a euphemism for "private parts." Also perhaps at I Reg 12,1 0 "My little finger (?— ^ISj) is thicker than my father's loins" there may be another euphemism for "penis."

10 KTU 1.23.33-34 , translated UNP 210.

appropriate child-surrogate. For Saul and Ezekiel's cities it would be an appropriate symbol of overreaching pride. Ezekiel has made it with a form of the verb "create," "carve out" or the like. Then the two Hebrew stone monuments of the heap and the pillar correspond exactly to the two Greek senses of the herm. Furthermore the Greek institution—with a Roman name—made its way to Palestine as a foreign idolatry, its historical parallel with native Hebrew practice unrecognized.

Mishna Sanhédrin VII.6 has "[He is to be stoned] who throws a stone at a Merquits-, this is the way it is worshipped": *imn u ion ir 1 ?*

pmrn

"Merqulis" must be Mercurius, the Latin equivalent of Hermes; here it is a roadside route- or

boundary-marker that every passer-by aug-ments. We have a solitary example of Mercury on a square herm with a phallus (late 2nd century CE).¹¹ Latin Mercurius at CIL 8.17837 (Numidia) names a statue of the god, *Mercurium ex sua liberalitate posuit* "he set up a Mercury out of generosity." (The congruity between throwing the stone and being stoned is partly accidental,

because the same punishment applies to other idolatries.) Avoda Zar ah IV. 1 appears to regard a "Merqulis" as a dolmen with a third stone over two others. Other texts (Bab. Talm. Avoda Zarah 49b-50b; Sanhédrin 64a) waver between the two conceptions; the version of Mishna Sanh. seems most original as earliest and in accordance with the description of Anticlides (above). The fact that the stone-heap is called by the Latin name of the divinity suggests that it was not until the Roman occupation that the usage of the heap as a road-marker came to Palestine, whatever local equivalent they found already in use. To my knowledge we have no examples from Palestine of the typical Greek herm with square pillar. But that Herodotus (2.51.1, cited above) calls it Pelasgian suggests that it might have come to Palestine through the Philistines, if their connection with Pelasgians is firm. In any case what is described represents a foreign importation of the same usage as in the stoneheap of Absalom, which overseas included his "hand" as well.

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¹¹ LIMC vi.2.275 Mercurius no. 25 from Frascati.

Chapter 13: Archery and its Symbolism¹

"The name of the bow," says Heraclitus in a famous pun, "is life, but its work is death": ,
.2 For with the accent on the final syllable means "bow" (Iliad 4.125 etc.).³ Within literal contexts in the ancient languages death naturally dominates, and ten lines of the Iliad end with in the nominative or accusative, "bitter arrow." Compare Ps 64,⁴ "They aim as their arrow a bitter word (LXX)":⁴

3 DS n .

In this chapter the phonetic connection of the names of the arrow in Hebrew, Greek and Latin leads to semantic connections of archery

in general. The invention of the bow was the original means of storing energy, and as such the bow, in line with the normal ambivalence of symbolic thought, also stands for life-giving energy, in particular sexual energy.⁵ Thus the bow can alternate with the other stringed instrument of opposite function, the lyre. ⁶

13.1 Technology of the bow and arrow

Hebrew *pn* often can be proved to mean nothing but "arrow": thus in the story of Elisha and Joash (II Reg 13,15) "take a bow and arrows,"

1

2 3

Revision of an article "Archery in the Ancient World: 'Its Name is Life, its Work is Death,'" BibZ 3 7 (1993/4) 26-42.

Heraclitus frag. 4 8 FVS8 = Etymologium Genuinum sv .

It is cognate with Sanskrit *jyā* (scanned as two syllables) fem. nom. sing, "bowstring," Rigveda

5.16.3.

⁴ West (EFH 230-1) suggests Greek parallels to this verse. ⁵ See James B. Harrod, "The Bow: A Techno-Mythic Hermeneutic—Ancient Greece and the Mesolithic," J AAR 4 9 (1981) 425-446.

⁶ Comparative religion finds extensive material in the symbolism of the arrow, and the present study has little overlap with that of Mircea Eliade, "Notes on the Symbolism of the

Arrow," *Studies in the History of Religions (Supplements to Numen XIV)* [= *Religions in Antiquity, ER Goodenough Memorial*]; Leiden: Brill, 1968, pp. 463-475.

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cra m ntftp np, Vg adfer arcum et sagittas. Wherever it is plural it is likely to mean "arrows" simply. Where its flashing is emphasized it may mean simply "metallic arrowhead," bronze or later iron: Hab 3,11

,3 pi a ru'] 1 : -i^ipn? ^ nifi 1 ? "at the

light of your arrows as they speed, at the brightness of the lightning of your spear(-pointP)."
But

now we have dozens of bronze weapon-heads inscribed with }TI and the name of an owner in the earliest Canaanite script, thought to be of the 11th century BC: thus many of the cayins have a dot in the middle of the "eye," a feature early lost but preserved in the earliest Greek inscriptions. 7 It is rare that an ancient object has a name defining what it is; it cannot be escaped then that each of the 32-odd inscribed bronze weapon-heads is a f . What kind of weapon were they attached to? This question raises complex considerations with no clear answer.

Robert Drews⁸ feels that they are not arrowheads but the points of short javelins or darts. They are too small to be regular spear-points, and further they are tanged and not socketed as spear points should be.

But they are long (often over 10 cm) and heavy for arrowheads, and further they are not barbed but elliptical. Drews feels it unlikely that archers "developed a preference for enormous arrows":

It is less likely that an archer would inscribe all thirty or forty of his arrowheads than that a javelineer might inscribe his few javelin heads.... A military arrowhead was normally barbed, so that the victim could not easily retract it without tearing his flesh ; but these heads are elliptical, designed for easy retraction. The possibility that an archer could or would wish to

7 Pierre Bordreuil, "Flèches phéniciennes inscrites: 1981-1991 I," *RB* 99 (1992) 205-213, lists 22 inscriptions. Frank M. Cross in two places ("Newly Discovered Inscribed Arrowheads of the 11th century BCE," pp. 533-542 of *Biblical Archeology Today*, 1990; *Proceedings of the Second International Con-gress...*1990; Jerusalem : Israel Exploration

Society, 1993; —, "An Inscribed Arrowhead of the Eleventh Century BCE in the Bible Lands Museum in Jerusalem," *Eretz Israel* 23 [1992], 21*-26*) lists 24; each author has some missed by the other. R. Deutsch & M. Heltzer, *Forty New Ancient West Semitic Inscriptions*; Tel Aviv-Jaffa, Archaeological Center: 1994, add another 5 in England from Lebanese dealers. There also appears to be an unpublished number. There are also Babylonian "arrowheads" (whatever their true nature) with cuneiform inscriptions surveyed by B. Sass, "Inscribed Babylonian Arrowheads of the Turn of the Second Millennium and Their Phoenician

Counterparts," *Ugarit-Forschungen* 21 (1989) 349-356.

8 Robert Drews, *The End of the Bronze Age: Changes in Warfare and the Catastrophe ca.*

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1200 BC, Princeton: University, 1993, 189.

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retrieving a spent arrow is unlikely, but a warrior with only two or three javelins would perhaps have retrieved each of them several times during a skirmish.

Drews feels further (II.6) that such javelins or darts were, along with the cut-and-thrust sword, the

weapons that enabled infantry raiders to disable the horses in the chariot formations characteristic of the Bronze Age palace societies and to sack so many cities in the decades after 1200 BC.

If Drews is correct, Canaanite [^] should also mean "small javelin and/or its bronze head." Hebrew for "javelin" appears to be *liT'*?: Goliath's bronze [·]3 (I Sam 17,6) is smaller than his spear (*irPFI*); Joshua's *pTS* (Jos 8,18, LXX) which he stretches out towards Ai is easily handled; the lightly

armed northerners of Jer 6,23 = 50,42 "hold bow and javelin (LXX)," [·]\ ntf p. But classical Hebrew hardly remembers the old function of this weapon, and Hebrew nowhere clearly

understands f as of a javelin or its head. Thus the appearance which the inscribed bronze weapon-heads give of illustrating the Hebrew Bible may be illusory. At Job 20,24 013 ntfp must by exception be used to mean "arrow," "an arrow(-head) of bronze."⁹

However, Milik,¹⁰ comparing the names on the weapon-heads with Ugaritic military lists, suggests that

there was in Syria-Palestine of the Late Bronze-Early Iron Period a mercenary body of soldiers, and especially of bowmen, surviving the migrations and the changing of ruling classes, the profession being hereditary among certain families.

One such comparison tends to verify the owners of the weapon-heads as archers. A hoard of five weapon-heads of the same owner was found at El Khadr near Bethlehem; on one ("No. V") 1 1 fn is omitted and his name is spelled out 3> mO^-DI) "'Abdilab'at son of cAnat." Lb't is perhaps "Lion- goddess"; his name is comparable to that of "Shämgar ben cAnat" (Jud 3,31; 5,6) 37"13 "laptf. Shamgar has a non-Semitic name, perhaps Hurrian. He killed 600 Philistines with an 3 lO'pOB

9 The "bow of bronze," Ps 18,35 = II Sam 22,35 which David can bend must be metaphorical, for no such bow is either attested or practicable.

10 JT Milik, "An Unpublished Arrow-Head with Phoenician Inscription of the 11th-10th centuries BC," BASOR 143 (1956) 3-6.

11 Frank M. Cross, "Newly Found Inscriptions in Old Canaanite and Early Phoenician Scripts," BASOR 238 (1980) 1-20, p.7.

"

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"ox-goad"; perhaps he carried something like a bronze-tipped javelin. That two fighters are called "son of 7" suggests that they are devotees of the Canaanite goddess for whom a famous composite bow is built in Ugaritic (11.139). But now an Ugaritic military text (KTU 4.63.III.38) among many such entries lists cdblbit

qst which certainly indicates an archer; another (KTU 4.307.6) has a bn cnt. And again the Greek Pandaros (), who carries a bow which Apollo himself had given (Iliad 2.827), seems a true professional; and what appears his identical name bn pndr appears at Ugarit (KTU 4.617.32); see 1.33. We have (11.128) interpreted one of the latest inscribed items bvili x

^miriif prt as "Weapon of Hasdrubal son of Hannibal," two famous Punic names; it seems no accident that the most recent weapon-heads carry the most familiar nomenclature.

Why are only these bronze weapon-heads inscribed, among all such objects that have come down to us from antiquity? Iwry¹² interpreted the bronzes as ceremonial arrows used for drawing lots; this would explain why it was important

"

to designate them "Arrowhead of N.

See Ezek 21,26 where the king of Babylon among other modes of divination "shakes the arrows," •""Sînil '^p'pp, Luther er wirft den Pfeilen das Los. Jerome on this passage¹³ imagines arrows, inscribed each with the name of a city, put in a quiver {ut mittat sagittas in pharetram...inscriptas siue signatas nominibus) to

determine which the king will attack first; he calls it in Greek "divination by weapons," closely related to the magical and legal act of shooting an arrow (or casting a spear) to initiate a war.

Magic predominates when Elisha has Joash shoot an arrow eastward towards Aram (II Reg 13,14-19). At Isa 37,33 (= II Reg 19,32) it is more a formal declaration of war that the king of Assyria should shoot an arrow at the city. Below (11.241) I study the formal and magical effect of pointing or casting a spear at the enemy.

If the bronze weapon-heads were truly arrowheads, one purpose of putting one's name on them could be so that the enemy would know who had hit him. Cross thinks they were used in archery contests to identify the competitors. The DCP¹⁴ thinks the name identified the beast killed by one in a group of hunters. If they were truly dart-heads, a supremely practical purpose would be for retrieval from the field

¹² Samuel Iwry, "New Evidence for Belomancy in ancient Palestine and Phoenicia," JAOS 81 (1961) 27-34.

¹³ Comm. in Ezek. vii.35, Corp. Christ, ser. lat. vol. 75 (1964) p. 289. ¹⁴ DCP sv flèches p. 171.

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13.1 Technology of the bow and arrow

after a battle, to obviate disputes over ownership. The five inscribed heads we have from cAbdilab'it would be about the maximum practical number of darts to carry in one's left hand into the fray. I see no easy way of reconciling all these data of different sorts, and leave the exact nature of the weapon-heads undefined.

The Hebrew Bible takes pains to describe apparently familiar techniques. Thus Ps 11,2 in a seemingly illogical order: "They bend the bow, they have [previously] fitted their arrow to the sinew": -in;.-1?? D^n -13313 ""

Jerome iuxta Heb. correctly revises older translations, tetenderunt arcum, posuerunt sagittam suam super neruum. But Ps 7,13 (11.141) has the same sequence; did the Canaanite archer, unlike the Greek, bend the bow before putting the arrow in place? Havelock¹⁵ calls Homer a "tribal encyclopaedia"; in easily remembered form it provides young men with the things they need to know—for example, the art of archery. A more natural order in the elaborate description of Pandarus' archery, Iliad 4.118, 124: ' è-rri ...

...

"Quickly he fitted the bitter arrow to the sinew; ...he bent the great bow into a [semi-]circle."

Throughout the ancient world, advanced bows were "composite": the core was of wood, with horn on the inside or archer's side to push back under compression, and sinew on the outside or enemy side to pull back under tension. ¹⁶ The Ugaritic text KTU 1.17.VI.21-23¹⁷ has the youth Aqhat provide some wood from Lebanon (blbnn), sinews from wild oxen (gdm brumm), horns from mountain goats (qrnt byHm), and tendons from the hocks of a bull (b' qbt tr) to construct a bow for the goddess cAnat. Of the sinews and tendons, perhaps one is for the tension outer side of the bow and the other for the bowstring. Lorimer¹⁸

¹⁵ Eric A. Havelock, *The Literate Revolution in Greece and Its Cultural Consequences*; Princeton: University, 1982, p. 122 etc.

¹⁶ Edward McEwen, Robert L. Miller & Christopher A. Bergman, "Early Bow Design and Construction," *Scientific American*, June 1991, 76-82.

¹⁷ Translated in ANET³ 151 col. 2. See the discussion with bibliography by Yigael Sukenik, "The Composite Bow of the Canaanite Goddess Anath,"

BASOR 107 (1947) 11-15. Although several words in the passage are of doubtful meaning, the overall sense is unmistakable. Volkert Haas, "Kompo-sitbogen und Bogenschiessen als Wettkampf im Alten Orient," *Nikephoros* 2 (1989) 27-41, discusses Hittite and Akkadian texts involving archery.

18 HL Lorimer, *Homer and the Monuments*, London: Macmillan, 1950, pp. 290, 298. Kirk in the *Cambridge Iliad* accepts her explanation.

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regards the Homeric descriptions of the bows of Pandarus and of Odysseus as confused accounts of a composite bow: she sees *Iliad* 4.110 as a summary account of gluing strips of horn into a grooved wooden core; at *Odyssey* 21.395 Odysseus checks his old bow to make sure that worms have not eaten the horn.

13.2 The word for "arrows" in ancient languages

The arrow was the piece of military equipment that regularly changed sides during battle, and its names in the nominative or construct plural are remarkably close in Hebrew, Greek and Latin. Texts containing those forms will further introduce us to its role as bearer of poison or plague. Job (6,4) in his calamity and sickness complains, "For the arrows of Shadday are with me, whose venom my spirit drinks up":

· nn'tf onon ~is?'n "nay Mtf "^n ">3

As Apollo comes down from Olympus to inaugurate the plague, "the arrows jangled on his shoulders

as he went in his anger" (*Iliad* 1.46): 5' ' ' Jerome correctly renders the first half of Job's complaint, *quia sagittae Domini*

in me sunt. Pliny 16.51, discussing the poisonous character of the yew (*Taxus*), writes: *sunt qui toxica hinc appellata dicant uenena quae nunc toxica dicimus, quibus sagittae tinguntur*, "From this source some give the name *toxica* to the poisons which we now call *toxica* [Greek, see 11.142], namely those with which arrows are dipped."

Hebrew *pn* "arrow" has no clear verbal root, and the etymological dictionaries suggest no promising parallel to *or* *sagitta* in Indo-European or any other languages. Hence we are entitled to look for a common Mediterranean source. All the words are onomatopoeic, as if English *hisser* or *whizzer* were the common name of the arrow, but that does not settle the question of their relationship one way or the other. 19 The parallelism of Heb. ^ *hissey* with *sagittae* suggests an actual connection. The similar plural endings with final accent, nominative in Greek and Latin and construct in Hebrew, have been treated by Levin and myself elsewhere with parallels like = "2 "fields." 20 Hebrew doubled or strengthened consonants (here

19 The LXX found another onomatopoetic translation at I Sam 20,20-

23.36-38; in the latter passage the Hebrew also varies with the anomalous "h" found elsewhere only at II Reg 9,24.

20 Brown-Levin, *Ethnic Paradigm* 86, 90; analysis much developed by Levin at SIE 86-93; see 11.311 below.

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13.3 The arrow as bearing poison and pestilence

also in the Latin) very often appear as a consonant-pair in Greek (11.172). In Ugaritic (KTU 1.14.III.12-13) the second consonant had a different sound transcribed : hzk al tsH qrth "do not shoot

your arrow [arrows?] into the city." That the Hebrew initial guttural h should correspond to a syllable o, sag is paralleled in a general way if we identify the Biblical "Hivites" (Gen 10,17 etc) with the

Achaean, Achim (Vergil *Aeneid* 2.45) and ' (Iliad 1.17 etc); see 1.32.

In contrast, Mediterranean words for "bow" and "quiver" are unrelated, along with the true Indo-European name of the "arrow" in Greek, (Iliad 1.48), ie *- , cf. Sanskrit *isu*. is probably Iranian in view of modern Persian *ta's* "arrow"; Scythians are named "Archer," king (Herodotus 4.120) and later (Lucian *Scyth.* 2); so *tóxo* may in fact be named after its principal component

taxus "yew" as Pliny proposed. Latin *arcus* "bow" is related to Old English *earh/ arwe* "arrow." Heb. *nq?* p is pan-Semitic and unrelated to a verbal root; it would be speculative to derive it from the Iranian by metathesis.

13.3 The arrow as bearing poison and pestilence

At Job 6,4 (cited 11.140) plainly means "venom" as at Ps 58,5 *ts'nrnon* "venom of a snake." That God (Shadday) has shot *enven-omed* arrows at Job must mean that Job is sick. When God says (Ezek 5:16):

•na · ainn ^- Tôts'a

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V* ;

"When I send the malignant arrows of famine against them," these are paralleled by "pestilence and blood," Gil "31 (vs 17), Vg pestilentia et sanguis. When the Psalmist complains to Yahweh "for thy arrows have sunk into me " (Ps 38,3), he follows with a catalog of physical symptoms. At Ps 7,13-14 Yahweh's enemies get the same treatment: "He has trodden [ie bent] his bow and fitted it [with an arrow]. ..he makes his arrows burning darts": •"•"? van...

^

nylr i : intfp

Conceivably the military use of burning arrows is referred to, cf.

Thucydides 2.75.5 ; but these have entered only a little ways into the symbolism of the bitter arrow beside what were for the ancients the twin mysteries of poison (with witchcraft) and disease.

Both in legend and theory the Greeks were well acquainted with poisoned arrows. Athena in a story she tells Telemachos says that Odysseus had once come to her house "looking for man-killing Pharma-kon, to have it to smear his bronze-tipped arrows" (Odyssey 1.261-2):

141

142

, oi îoùs

...

Gilbert Murray² 1 points to hints in Homer that once all arrows were poisoned; thus the first thing a physician does in treating an arrow-wound is to suck out the blood (Iliad 4.218). The Shield ascribed to Hesiod (vs 132) describes the arrows () of Heracles: "at their tip they had death and trickled with 'tears'":

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The myth tells how they got so: when Heracles killed the hydra he "dipped his arrows in its gall," (Apollo-dorus 2.5.2). Philoctetes, who inherited them, calls them "inescapable arrows," (Sophocles Phil. 105). Pausanias 2.37.4 describes the hydra's poison as ...

"uncurable"; that Greek acquired identical names for "arrow" and "poison" (the latter corresponding to Sanskrit *visám-* and Latin *uirus* except for their being neuter) was helped by their semantic connection. Job 34,6 ""Sn tS'-líK may mean "my

arrow (-wound) is incurable." One author reports that "the Scythian poison in which they dip their

arrows is compounded from a serpent," 22

. And again,²³ he describes "what is called 'arrow' poison among the Kelts,"

Such uses are plainly the source by which later occasionally means "poison" simply, and *toxicum* neuter (whether or not *uenenum* "poison" was understood) became standard in Latin. Ovid (*Tristia* 5.7.15-16) alleges of the Getae "among them there is none who does not carry quiver, bow and missiles yellow with vipers' gall": *in quibus est nemo, qui non coryton et arcum telaque uipereo lurida felle gerat* .

In his fiercest mood as war-God, ascribing to his weapons his own rage, Yahweh says (*Deut* 32,42) "I will make my arrows drunk with blood, and my sword shall devour flesh":

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3 ^DK'Fl "'31

which the Versions render literally, Vulgate *inebriabo sagittas meas*

QTQ ^ T3BK

21 Gilbert Murray, *The Rise of the Greek Epic*, 3rd ed.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1924; 129-130. For arrow-poison see S. West on *Odyssey* 1.257 in the *Oxford Odyssey* (i.107-8).

22 Pseudo-Aristotle *On Wonders* 141 (=845a1); there is a catena from technical and tactical writers on poisoning of arrows in F. Lammert, art. "Pfeil," *Pauly-Wissowa* 19.2.1425-1430.

23 *On Wonders* 86 = 837a12.

13.4 The High God's surrogate as sender of plague 143

sanguine et gladius meus deuorabit carnes. Again it is said (*Isaiah* 34:6)

"Yahweh has a sword, it is full of blood"

- _;

Griffin mordantly compares the formula of blood (Iliad 5.289 etc.) "to sate Ares with blood"; also (21.70) "the spear stuck in the ground, though desiring to sate itself with human flesh": ... *ivi yaíi*] / , . Even closer to the Hebrew in its personification is what Lucan (7.317) says of Pompeius, *quanto satiauit sanguine ferrum*, "with how much blood has he sated

his sword!"

13.4 The High God's surrogate as sender of plague

Although Zeus like Yahweh as we shall see (11.145) holds the "arrows" of lightning and snow, he never wields the arrows of plague; these are initially the prerogatives of Apollo. At Iliad 1.43-49 Apollo's archery is described with both sets of vocabulary, first with *and* , then with *and* . His epithets like "Silverbow" ([

Iliad 1.37 etc.) refer to the same role. But as time went on, Apollo came to be so much honored that it was not always appropriate to hold him responsible

for the plague either. In Sophocles' Oedipus Tyrannus the responsible divine power is defined with studied ambiguity: "the fire-bearing god, hateful Pestilence, has borne down on the city and attacks it" (OR 27-28): ... ' ò

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, .

Later at vss 203ff the Chorus asks for Apollo to come with his shafts to help the city, along with the "fire-bearing flashes of Artemis," ' - an uneasy and exact echo of the previous usage. But at Thucydides 2.54.4 when Apollo promises the

24 The versions translate "full" with words that Levin (SIE 179-187) sees as primeval cognates of ' : *LXX* , *Vulgate repletus est* , 11.320.

25 Jasper Griffin, *Homer on Life and Death*; Oxford: Clarendon, 1980, p. 34.

26 So Cicero (Phil. 2.71) says of Antonius *gustaras ciuilem sanguinem*, uel potius *exsorbueras*, "you had tasted blood of citizens, or rather gulped it down"; see also Rep. 1.65 *populus...optimatum sanguinem gustauit* "a people has tasted the blood of the aristocracy."

Jerome and his predecessors, with that violent rhetoric already in their own literature, had no trouble understanding the Hebrew. Perhaps by Lucan's time the themes of the Hebrew

Bible had begun to enter Latin consciousness through the LXX and the Jewish community of Rome.

di rm^o mrp1 ? Din

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Spartans to help them, they take the appearance of the plague as fulfillment of his promise.

So at II Sam 24,15-16 at first it is Yahweh who sends the pestilence, "13.77; but then it turns out that an angel is responsible for the actual execution. As in Iliad 1, propitiation averts the plague. At II Chron 21,16 David sees the angel, and the plague ends when it puts its sword back in its "sheath" (I Chron 21,27 3, supposedly Persian). Psalm 91,5-6 reaches the sophisticated notion that the arrow of pestilence is independent of Yahweh, who still has power to ward it off: "You will not fear the terror of night, nor the arrow that flies by day, nor the pestilence that walks in darkness, nor the plague that wastes at noon-day" :27

• ar ; pn an^ 1 ? -rna a ' 1 ? on s "nel· 3ü;3 0 Tfprv ^'« a ?!" ?

In Habakkuk 3, the most mythological part of the Hebrew Bible with Yahweh driving his steeds (vss 8, 15), hypostasized Pestilence walks as at Ps 91,5,

but now as an agent of Yahweh with a mysterious companion: "Before him goes Pestilence and after his feet goes out Resheph (Vg diabolusl)" (vs 5):

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, " ? :

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Luther: Pest ging vor ihm, und Seuche folgte, wo er hintrat. In Ugarit and in Phoenician inscriptions from Cyprus, Resheph seems plainly a divinity with the attribute of the arrow.²⁸ He is previously known at Ebla, in Akkadian and in Egyptian.²⁹ In an Ugaritic fragment³⁰ we must interpret b'l.hz.rsp as "Resheph master of the arrow"; for see Gen 49,23 ^ "tfa "masters of arrows." In the Phoenician inscription KAI 32 (kition, 341 BC) the dedicator is inn "priest of Resheph of the arrow." Then at Ps 76,4 "there he broke the rispey of the bow":

ntfjr-'aB h iati' niatf

these must be arrows. Then the Hebrew usages apply a suppressed divine name to the god's arrows which can either cause or halt pesti-

2 7 The same parallelism of pestilence ("?1) and plague (3t2£) appears also at Hos 13,14, variously understood and amended; see I Kor 15,55. At Deut 32,23-24, though not all is clear, "arrows"

appear along with Resheph (^ZH) and 3t0;3 in parallel.

2 8 See the discussion by Manfred K. Schretter, *Alter Orient und Hellas: Fragen der Beeinflussung griechischen Gedankengutes aus altorientalischen Quellen, dargestellt an den Göttern Nergal, Rescheph, Apollon*; Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Kulturwissenschaft, Sonderheft 33 (Innsbruck: Kowatsch, 1974).

2 9 P. Xella, "Resheph" DDD 1324-1330; Lipmski, *Dieux et Déesses* 179-188. 3 0 KTU 1.82.3; see Schretter p. 1. 2. 3.

vja 1 ?

13. 5 Lightning and snow as the arrow of the High God

lence. Cant 8,6 says of love (and jealousy too) tfK ^BH "?!1 perhaps "its arrows are arrows of fire."

In three bilingual inscriptions from Cyprus in Phoenician and in Greek syllabic script³¹, in the Phoenician *] is followed by epithets or place names different in each case; the Greek syllabic corresponding to him has Apollo. In the third of these, Phoenician ^1? corresponds to to-ia-[po-lo]-ni-to-i / a-la-si-o-ta-i "to Apollo Alasiotes."

Thus here in Greek is preserved the old name of Cyprus, Akkadian Alashiya,³² ntf"1"« of Gen 10,4.33 The roles of Resheph as archer and agent of plague fit very nicely with those of Apollo in Iliad 1. And since Resheph seems older, here we have an ideal case where the Greek god has taken over attributes of the Semitic god with whom he is identified.

13.5 Lightning and snow as the arrow of the High God³⁴

Yahweh is nowhere more comparable to Zeus and Jupiter than in his control of "meteorological" phenomena, things that fall from the sky (Chapter 11 above). In Ps 18,15 (nearly = II Sam 22,15, 11.59) God's lightning-bolts are identified as arrows: "He sent out his arrows and scattered [the

enemy]; he shot lightnings and confounded them": 21 DJ1 ?! vsn 1?»"!'

This verse is echoed at Ps 144,6 (11.64) with a nice cognate accusative: "Flash forth the lightning and scatter them; send out your arrows and rout them":

njran-i ?? pi-

It can be said of Yahweh, "the flash of your arrows" is parallel to "the lightning of your spear" (Hab 3,11, 11.136).

In Homer, lightning is the prerogative of Zeus. In Hesiod (11.174) it appears as a weapon, Theogony 707-8 "thunder and lightning and the shining bolt, the missiles of great Zeus":

31 KAI 3 9 and 41; O. Masson, Les inscriptions cypriotes syllabiques, recueil critique et commenté; Ecole française à Athènes; Etudes cypriotes 1; Paris

196 1 no. 216, p. 226; reprinted by Schretter p. 152.

32 See Amarna 33. 2 A-la-si-ia; Ugaritic ethnicity KTU 1.40.29; Linear a-ra-si-jo (DMG2 p. 533). Lipinski (DCPP 150) interprets Hebrew "Elisha" as Ulysses! But this leaves Cyprus without a Hebrew name. For Alashiya = Cyprus see CA Walz in Greeks and Barbarians 1-21; the king of Alashiya sends much copper to Egypt (Amarna 35)

3 3 The identification of Apollo and Resheph is further supported by the equivalence between the place name ' (Josephus AJ 13.395) and modern 'Arsūf on the Israeli coast. For Resheph see further DCPP 374.

3 4 West (EFH 348-9) briefly summarizes the theme of God's arrows.

•anni ^ 1?»'

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...

Likewise Aeschylus describes the destruction of Typhon by Zeus through a flying missile (PV 358-9), "But the sleepless missile of Zeus came on him, the descending thunderbolt breathing out flame":

Zeus "brandishes in his hands the fire-breathing missile" (PV 917): ... '

Jupiter and Zeus Pater (11.55) both came into the Mediterranean bearing the name of the Indo-European god of the bright sky; but in these texts they are assimilated to an indigenous High God responsible for things that fall from the dark sky—the thunderbolt, hail and snow as well as beneficent rain. In Hebrew absolutely, and in Greek and Latin more obliquely, those falling things are identified as God's arrows.

We saw (11.70) how Nonnus (*Dionysiaca* 18.232) defines the hail as arrows,

"From the gloom were sent arrows of hail"; and how the early Latin poet

Pacuvius describes a battle under the imagery of a storm, *niuit sagittis, plumbo et saxis grandinai*, "It snows with arrows, it hails with lead [from slingshots] and stones."³⁵

13.6 The bow of the High God in the cloud

After the Flood, God says "I have set my bow in the cloud" (Gen 9,13), [33 "''] •''; the word for "bow" is simply the weapon of war (The forty days and nights of rain can only have been God's arrows; that God is hanging up his bow is a promise of fair weather to come.³⁶ Elsewhere the "rainbow" appears in the

Hebrew Bible only at Ezek 1:28, where the vision of God is compared to a meteorological phenomenon, "like the appearance of the bow which is in the cloud on the day of rain":

otfan ar a ·\2 nef nœ'jsn nina s

³⁵ Pacuvius, frag. 3; i.325 ed. Ribbeck.

³⁶ See Udo Rüterswörden, "Der Bogen in Genesis 9: Militärhistorische und

traditionsgeschichtliche Erwägungen zu einem biblischen Symbol," *Ugarit- Forschungen* 20 (1988) 247-263. A late text? That Yahweh like Pandaros retires his bow suggests that all the passages which make him a warrior or Resheph-figure are superseded.

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13.6 The bow of the High God in the cloud

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Classical Hebrew records no way to say "of many colors," but presumably that is intended.³⁷ In the Apocalypse of John Ezekiel's rainbow is applied to both God (Rev 4,3) and an angel (10,1); John uses normal Greek .

When Athena comes to the Achaeans, it is "as when Zeus stretches out the 'purple' iris from the sky to mortals, to be a sign either of war or cold winter" (Iliad 17.547-9):

...

Elsewhere the meaning of the sign is unspecified: the dragons on Agamemnon's shield are "like rainbows () which the son of Kronos put in the cloud, to be a sign to mortal men" (Iliad 11.27-28); there is a nice agreement here with "in the cloud" of Genesis. Elsewhere Iris is further personified as the messenger of the gods, is the regular verb for "stringing" a bow, [Odyssey 24.177). Once in Greek the heavenly phenomenon is formally described as a military bow: namely, in the choliambic poet Aeschylus³⁸:

' ,

"The iris shone out, the fair bow of the sky." Thus in spite of the formal parallel with Genesis, the sense at Iliad 17 is opposite. The "iris" is indeed seen as a bow; but not hung up out of the way, rather ready for use, to bring

either the literal arrows of war or the figurative arrows of "cold winter." For Homer the appearance of the "bow" in the cloud is indeed a sign, but a threat of future use, not a promise that past use has ceased.

Some have proposed deriving Greek iris "rainbow" from hiero-glyphic *ir.t* "eye." Plutarch (De Iside et Osir. 10 = Mor. 355A) gives the pronunciation of the Egyptian as *Ipi*. There is a phonetic problem in that Homeric scansion demands an initial *w*-sound for at least the goddess Iris, **fipis*- Hemmerdinger⁴⁰ interprets only the divinity with

as *flpis* and derives it from the Egyptian goddess *wsr.t*;⁴¹ he explains

³⁷ At Sirach 50,7 Simon the high priest is compared with the rainbow and many other things which elsewhere are applied to God.

³⁸ Ed. E. Diehl, *Anthologia lyrica graeca*, ed. 3 phase. 3; Leipzig: Teubner, 1954, p. 121.

³⁹ Erman-Grapow i.106.

⁴⁰ Bertrand Hemmerdinger, "Noms communs grecs d'origine égyptienne," *Glotta* 46

(1968) 238-247.

41 Erman-Grapow i.363.

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the common noun as Egyptian "eye." Pierce⁴² rejects both etymologies and Fournet omits them entirely. Frisk⁴³ assumes that the goddess and the rainbow have the same name *pipis*, and tentatively derives it from a root "to bend" as meaning "bow." Greek is applied to the flower "iris" and a precious stone; and in particular by medical writers to the "iris" of the eye. An epitome among the works of Galen⁴⁴ calls it "a circle

with varied colors" (*TOÏÇ*) and named from "its similarity to the iris in the heavens," . Erman-Grapow⁴⁵ lists *ir.t-Rc* "the eye of Re" as a designation of the

sun; I am sorry I cannot cite specific hiero-glyphic texts. ⁴⁶ The rainbow can be seen as the iris of a gigantic divine eye; FE Church in his large painting *Rainy Season in the Tropics* (American, 1866; San Francisco Fine Arts Museums) shows it as double and nearly a whole circle. Can Egyptian usage be shown to extend to the rainbow?

In Latin with its increased realism and color-consciousness (1.106) the rainbow appears much more frequently; its only name is identical with that of the military bow, *arcus*. Lucretius 6.526 describes the phenomenon, "then the color of the bow appears in dark clouds,"

Tum color in nigris existit nubibus arcu.

Vergil (*Aeneid* 5.88-9) shows some sense of the physics "as when the bow in the clouds throws a thousand different colors from the opposing sun": *...ceu nubibus arcus mille iacit uarios*

aduerso sole colores.

Jerome⁴⁷ perceptively quotes Vergil (by memory) in his commentary on Ez 1,28. Ovid borrows *Iris* from Homer and has her "slipping down to earth on the painted bow" (*Met.* 14.838), *in terram pictos delapsa per arcus*. Horace (*Ars Poetica* 18) calls it the "rain-bow," *pluuus describitur arcus*. In general, a common Mediterranean heritage exists in the agreement of Hebrew, Greek and Latin in seeing the celestial

⁴² Richard Holton Pierce, "Egyptian Loan-Words in ancient Greek?," *Symbolae Osloenses* 46 (1971) 96-107.

4 3 Frisk i.735.

4 4 [Galen] Eisagoge, 14.70 2 (ed. CG Kühn, Leipzig 1821-183 3 [Medicorum Graecorum xiv]). 4 5

1.107.

4 6 Greek writers have some indications of this; see Th. Hopfner, *Fontes Historiae Religionis Aegyptiacae*;

5 vols.; Bonn: Weber, 1922-1925 see Index p. 881 st ,
oculum.

4 7 Jerome on Ezek 1,28, Corp. Christ. 75.24.635.

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13. 7 The broken bow 1 4 9

spectrum as a military bow, and of Hebrew and Greek in interpreting it as a sign, even though along opposite lines.

13.7 The broken bow

As the most fragile piece of military equipment, the bow can be retired not only by being hung up, but also by being broken. 48 When it is your own bow, its breaking is of course a threat of death; but when it is your enemy's bow, a promise of life. As the Trojan women pray (vainly) for Athena to break the spear of Diomedes (Iliad 6.306), so Zeus who is protecting Hector "breaks the new-strung tendon" in Teucer's bow (15.469, cf. 1.277), ' .

49 Pandaros swears a

great oath (Iliad 5.214-216) that if ever he gets back home he will break with his hands the bow that has caused nothing but trouble and burn it in the fire; if we have correctly identified him as a professional archer, he is ready to give up the trade.

It seems a punishment when Yahweh promises to "break the bow of Israel" (Hos 1,5). But it is a punishment on the enemies of Israel, and a promise to Israel, when he proposes to break the bow of Elam (Jer 49,35) and states that the bows of Babylon are broken in

pieces (Jer 51,56). At Ps 46,9-10 the use of "desolations" (nia») is most easily explained by irony; the action celebrated by the poet is described as if seen by the enemies of Israel:

"Come, behold the works of Yahweh, how he has wrought desolations in the earth. He makes wars cease to the end of the earth; he breaks the bow, and shatters the spear, he burns the chariots with fire."

However, a background of self-pronounced retribution lurks behind these apparently straightforward usages. In the Aramaic treaty of Sfire⁵⁰ the parties agree that "Just as [this] bow and these arrows are broken, so may In[ur?]⁵¹ta and Hadad break [the bow of Mati-ilu] and the bow of his nobles": ⁵¹

⁴⁸ See Nahum M. Waldman, "The Breaking of the Bow," JQR 69 (1978/9) 82-88. ⁴⁹ For this and other parallels between Greek epic and Hebrew see again Griffin

(p. 143 above note 25) p. 41 etc. ⁵⁰ KAI 22 2 A.38-39.

⁵¹ In an Akkadian treaty of the same Mati-ilu with Ashur-nirari VI, the Assyrian says (in broken context), "[As for your(?)] men, may the Mistress of Women [Ishtar] take away their bow";

see EF Weidner, "Der Staatsvertrag Assurni-raris VI. von Assyrien mit Mati'ilu von Bit-Agusi," Archiv für Orientforschung 8 (1932/3) 17-34; rev. V.12-13, translated ANET³ 533. Here we are in the symbolism of the next section, where the bow stands for virility.

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[^suna nop] nmn[..⁵²]JK -ntsp pu tosrn «noep -at&n - mm ntopi

When the treaty was formally made, a bow and arrows were broken to the accompaniment of oaths. A widespread sympathetic magic is at work here; you call down a punishment on yourself, if you should break your word, which corresponds precisely to the action you perform (1.272-3). Esarhaddon in his treaty with king Baal of Tire laid the same threat on him, "May Ishtar in a fierce battle break your bow," gtsqasat-ku-nu lis-bir.⁵² Nearly the same phrase in the Vassal Treaties of Esarhaddon sect. 453.⁵³ When in the Hebrew Bible the breaking of the bow

occurs as bringing promise in a "covenant" or treaty context, three themes can be discerned in the background. (1) Since the bow is primarily that of the enemy, who is likely

to be a princeling on whom such a one as Esarhaddon imposed a vassal treaty, its breaking to the benefit of Israel can be interpreted as a punishment for the ruler's having infringed the justice of Yahweh and his own oath. (2) But since Yahweh punishes his own people through the hands of their enemies, the bow can also be interpreted as that of Yahweh which after Israel's repentance is now being hung up as after the flood in the covenant with Noah. Thus at Hosea 2,10: "And I will make for you a covenant on that day with the beasts of the field...and I will break the bow, the sword, and war from the land; and I will make you lie down in safety."

(3) The sense of the Messianic prophecy of the king "riding on an ass"

(Zach 9,10) appears to be that Yahweh cuts off war materiel from Israel because it will no longer be needed: "I will cut off the chariot from Ephraim and the horse from Jerusalem; and the bow of battle shall be cut off, and [the king] shall command peace to the nations."

Previously (I, Chap. 5) I have shown how the usages of ancient military vocabulary are inverted to celebrate the coming of peace: the defensive panoply is allegorized as of the moral virtues; lance and spear are hammered back into the plowshares and pruning-hooks out of which they were originally made; the military field tent or tent is transformed into the indwelling presence or 37 of God. In the same

52 Riekele Borger, *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons Königs von Assyrien*; Archiv für Orientforschung Beiheft 9; Osnabrück; Biblio, 1956 (repr. 1967) no. 69 p. 109, para IV.18; translated in ANET3 538.

53 JD Wiseman, *The Vassal-Treaties of Esarhaddon*; London: The British School of Archeology in Iraq, 1958 (reprinted from Iraq 20 [1958] Part I) p. 63; translated ANET3 538.

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13.8 The bow and the quiver

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way the breaking of the bow, originally imposed by a great king as a self-curse on his vassals, by the justice of God is utilized to secure the peace and safety of his people.

13.8 The bow and the quiver

As the "breaking of the bow" is extended in usage, the bow comes to be used of vigor generally. Thus in the song of Hannah (I Sam 2,4) "the bow of the mighty is broken,"

DTI CP "l'a 3 There is a further extension at Job 29,20, "my bow will be ever new in my hand": !?0 ,7 , T3 ^'pl where it stands

for sexual vigor.⁵⁵ The symbolism is explicitly spelled out at Apuleius Met. 2.16 "when first I received the arrow of fierce

Cupid (sagittam saeui Cupidinis) fallen in my heart, I vigorously stretched my bow (arcum meum et ipse uigorate tetendi⁵⁶) and immediately I was afraid lest its bowstring be broken from extreme tension (ne neruus rigoris nimietate rumpatur)."

We saw (11.145) that Cant 8,6, referring to love, can be read "its arrows are arrows of fire." Likewise Euripides Hippolytus 530-4 "For neither the missile of fire [a burning arrow] nor of the stars [lightning?] is greater than the missile of Aphrodite that Eros, the child of Zeus, sends from his

hands": neither yàp OUT' / ,/ / / ", ò . Hence in a late poet (Anth. Pal. 9.443, Paulus Silentiarius, 6th cent. CE) "If anyone receives the tip of [Love's] burning arrow," / . And so constantly in Latin: Horace, Carm. 2.8.14f "and fierce Cupid, always sharpening his burning arrows," ferus et Cupido / semper ardentis acuens sagittas.

Especially when the tip of the arrow "drips" with potent fluid (as in the Hesiodic Shield, 11.142) its sexual symbolism is evident. Since Hebrew is grammatically feminine, the arrow can be "the son of the bow" (Job 41,20) 2""|5. Since for the ancients, to whom the ovum was unknown, the female was a mere passive recipient in repro -duction, the male "arrows" can be equivalently thought of in the receptacle of the womb or in the (grammatically feminine) "quiver" in

54 In a grammatical anomaly, the adjective "broken" agrees with the noun nearest it rather than with "bow."

55 Note (11.133) that Hebrew "P is occasionally "penis." 56 Conjecture for vigor attetend.it of the MSS.

which the male carries them around. Heb. naiö'K "quiver" (from Akkadian ispatu) has feminine symbolism at Jer 5,16 referring to Babylon, "His quiver is as an open tomb," 1

~Q£3 inatfK. See especially Thr 3,12-13 "He has bent his bow and set me as a mark for the arrow; he drove into my kidneys the sons of his quiver": F.ü1? ina»'« ">22

You?

"nr'ppp loan where the Vulgate has "daughters of his quiver," filias pharetrae suae, since Latin sagitta is

feminine. At Sirach 26,12 an immodest daughter "opens her quiver to the arrow," .

Horace in a well-known stanza of complex feeling-tone makes the quiver pregnant with death: "He who is whole of life and pure from crime needs no Moorish javelins, nor a bow, nor, Fuscus, a quiver pregnant with poisoned arrows" (Carm. 1.22.1-4)

Integer uitae scelerisque purus non eget

Mauris iaculis neque arcu nec uenenatis grauida sagittis, Fusee, pharetra.

The idea of divine procreation of the messianic king (Ps 2,7; 89,26-

27; 2 Samuel 7:14; 11.87) is patent in the Servant poem of Isa 49,2, "He made me a polished arrow, in his quiver he hid me": in n 1? •[]p',fepi " inæœ'Na

In Ps 127,3-5 the arrows of the quiver retain the symbolism of sexu-ality, but this time standing for sons who will engage the enemy at the city-gate: "Lo, sons are an inheritance from Yahweh, the fruit of the womb is a reward; like arrows in the hand of a warrior, so are the sons of one's youth. Happy is the man who has his quiver full of them; such will not be ashamed when they speak with their enemies in the gate nria mm n'pn] nan ntarma'crans !? ' - oa "nato ^ -iw'aykS

•jtaan "na -d|> nnwan \j3 i? •np

mm

-iy¿'3 :"

Readers of Trollope will remember the vicar of Puddingdale, Quiverful, whose children increase from twelve to fourteen even during the tale; he is "the wretched clerical Priam, who was endeavoring to feed his poor Hecuba and a dozen of Hectors on the small proceeds of his ecclesiastical kingdom" (The Warden, chap. 20). Trollope's beautiful Hebrew-Greek comparison works on many levels. Priam had 50 sons, 19 by Hecuba alone (Iliad 24.495-7), and Hector boasted that he could defend the city just with his brothers and brothers-in-law

(5.474, cf.

11.91). Deger-Jalkotzy takes Priam's kingdom as a Greek picture of an Oriental realm with its harem (11.85), and notices particularly the

Chapter 13: Archery and its Symbolism

13.9 The bow and the lyre 1 5 3

detail of the elders deliberating in the gate (Il.98).⁵⁷ We can add its employment of the professional archer Pandaros beside the usage of Ugarit (11.138).

13.9 The bow and the lyre

In such symbolic usages the function of the bow as bearing death is ignored, so that it can be replaced by an instrument of life which likewise operates by strings stretched under tension. As the names of the arrow record the sound of its passage, the sound of the "twanging" bow (Iliad 4.125) suggested its modification as a lyre. In Hebrew the same participle *fra'Fl* is used for "handling" the bow (Amos 2,15) and the lyre ("1133 Gen 4,21); two of David's qualifications are that he can play the lyre (I Sam 16, 16) and can bend a "bow of bronze" (II Sam 22,35).⁵⁸ Above (11.21) we noted the parallels between David and Orpheus; we may end with his similarity to Apollo (3.131), the god says as soon as he is born, "May the lyre ever be dear to me and the curved bow,"

From the beginning, Apollo goes beyond Nietzsche's definition of him, for he combines the opposite uses of stored energy: death through the arrow-borne plague, life through the lyre's music. Hence Heraclitus again⁵⁹ speaks of "reciprocal harmony, as of the bow and the lyre," . The act of Odysseus in stringing his bow is compared to that of a minstrel putting a new cord on his lyre (Odyssey 21.406-409);

when he tries the string (vs 411) "it sang beautifully like the voice of a swallow":

Thus the heroes David and Odysseus each achieve an "Apollonian" integration of death and life. ⁶⁰

⁵⁷ Sigrid Deger-Jalkotzy, "Homer und der Orient; Das Königtum des Priamos," *Würzburger Jahrbücher für die Altertumswissenschaft*, n. F. 5 (1979) 25-31.

⁵⁸ See p. 137 note 9 above.

⁵⁹ Fragment 51 Diels-Kranz FVS8 . Some authors refer to the saying with *instead*, probably as a

reminiscence of ... Iliad 15.443.

60 Pindar in two stanzas of Olympian 2 (vss 83-91) in an elaborate metaphor compares his verses with arrows.

Chapter 14:

The Mediterranean Seer and Shamanism¹

"Shaman" properly means the Siberian figure so named in Tungus and other Altaic languages of Central Asia. ² Tungus saman is often thought derived from Pali samana (Sanskrit sramana). ³ The Pali is frequent in the Dhammapada, where it has been strongly ethicalised : thus 184 (cf 142, 254-5, 264-5): na samano hoti pararn vihethayanto "nor is he an ascetic who harms others." I extend "shaman" to the Ainu and the North American

cultures closely related to the Siberian, but not to comparable figures in other parts of the world. By "Mediterranean" seers I mean prophetic or charismatic figures primarily attested in Greek and West-Semitic

texts, supplemented by occasional artistic representations. Prehistoric religions and those of peoples without writing are a realm where everything can be compared with everything else. Here I strive for comparisons between cultures which commend themselves in as many ways as possible: through concrete details of cult or custom; in actual language attested in the texts; in artistic monuments.

There are several ways in which Mediterranean mantic figures differ from shamans.

1

² For shamanism I originally followed the work of MA Czaplicka, *Aboriginal Siberia: A Study in Social Anthropology*; Oxford: University, 1914; here p. 197.

I now supplement it with the survey by Mircea Eliade, *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy*; tr. WR Trask; Bollingen Series LXXVI; Princeton: University, 1972. ¹ I draw further illustrations from Joseph Campbell, *The Way of the Animal Powers*; Vol. 1, *Historical Atlas of World Mythology*; San Francisco etc.: Harper & Row, 1983—taking care to cite photos as close as possible to the restricted region defined above. The literature on shamanism is enormous and I make no claim to competence in it. My main point anyway is the differences between Mediterranean mantic figures and shamans strictly defined.

3 Discussion in Eliade 495-6, who treats further the question how far Siberian shamanism takes up Buddhist/Lamanist influences.

Revision of an article with the same title in ZAW 93 (1981) 374-400.

Chapter 14: The Mediterranean Seer and Shamanism

(1) The legendary element. Shamanism, although extremely old in its origins, is also a contemporary phenomenon still being described and photographed by anthropologists. Our Greek and Hebrew texts describe charismatic figures, a Tiresias or Elisha, from what was already, for the authors of the texts (not to mention for us readers!), the legendary past. The main exception is the Sicilian Empedocles, a personage apparently in the full light of history, although still in his poems making claims to divine status which in a few generations gave him too an aura of legend. Dodds:

the fragments of Empedocles are the one first-hand source from which we can still form some notion of what a Greek shaman was really like; he is the last belated example of a species which with his death became extinct in the Greek world, although it still flourishes elsewhere.⁴

Thus he promises to one who learns from him:

You will bring a necessary drought for men out of black rain, and again you will bring sky-dwelling rains that nourish the trees from a summer drought; and you will bring the strength of a deceased man from Hades:⁵

' ,
, * , ' .

In the sequel we shall find more rainmakers and raisers of the dead.

(2) Historical period. Siberian shamanism has coexisted for centuries with

rational city life, and may well include broken-down practices from high religions such as Buddhism, abgesunkenes hochreligiöses Gut,⁶ whereas Mediterranean prophecy was part of the matrix out of which civic freedom, high religion and rational thought was to grow.

(3) Climate. In the arid Mediterranean, rainmaking (14.3 below) is one of the functions of the seer. Around the Pole, rain or snow is the last thing the tribe needs to ask for. When the

Ainu of northern Japan sacrifice the tame bear they have brought up from a cub, they instruct it:

You will tell the gods to give us riches, that our hunters may return from the forest laden with rich furs and animals good to eat, that our fishermen may

4 ER Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational*; Boston: Beacon, 1957; 145.

5 Empedocles frag 111, FVS8 i.353.

6

K. Goldammer, "Elemente des Schamanismus im Alten Testament," pp. II. 266- 285 (esp. 284) of *Ex Orbe Religionum* (Geo Widengren Festschrift); *Studies in the History of Religions* (Supplements to *Numen*) XXII; Leiden: Brill, 1972.

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find troops of seals on the shore and under the sea, and that their nets may crack [cf Luk

9

5,6!] under the weight of the fish.

7

No connection is made between the abundance of game and the weather. Only where Native Americans moved into agriculture in lands of uncertain rainfall, as in the southwest United States, did they take up the rain-dance.

However, shamanism has been important as the label for attempts to look fresh at Mediterranean religion. Thus for Israel, AS Kapelrud was a pioneer:⁸ Jepsen,⁹ operating with the model that the Israelites came from the desert into Palestine, concludes that the *loa* 3 was a role which they first met in Palestine associated with a north-Syrian or Anatolian stratum of the population. K. Meuli explained striking elements in Hellenic prophecy as derived from contact with features of Scythian culture, beginning in the seventh century BC, which he identified as shamanistic; thus "Skythische Schamanen bei Herodot."

10

So

Dodds found appearing in Greece of the seventh century BC a "new religious pattern," which "by crediting man with an occult self of divine origin, and setting soul and body at odds, ...introduced into European culture a new interpretation of human existence, the interpretation we call puritanical."¹¹ He concludes (p. 142) that this was due to "the opening of the Black Sea to Greek trade and colonization in the seventh century, which introduced the Greeks for the first time to a culture based on shamanism."

I begin this chapter by considering features of the Mediterranean seer (14.1) which have good parallels in shamanism. I then go on to themes where Mediterranean prophecy has its own

characteristic features, often analogous to shamanism, but distinct. Thus (14.2) the birth of the

7 Al Hallowell, *Bear Ceremonialism in the Northern Hemisphere*, Univ. of Pennsylvania thesis; Philadelphia; 1926, 126. For the bear-cult among the Ainu, see Kazunobu Ikeya, "Bear Rituals of the Matagi and the Ainu in Northeastern Japan," pp. 55-66 of T. Yamada & T. Irimoto (eds.), *Circumpolar Animism and Shamanism*, Sapporo: Hokkaido Univ., 1997. (The same volume has an environmental essay [pp. 3-7] by Masanori Toyooka Atuy "Co-existence with Nature and the 'Third Philosophy': Learning from the Spirit of the Ainu.")

8 AS Kapelrud, *Shamanistic Features in the Old Testament*, pp. 90-96 of C.-

M. Edsman (ed.), *Studies in Shamanism*, Scripta Instituti Donneriani Aboensis; Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1967.

A. Jepsen, *NABI: Soziologische Studien zur alttestamentlichen Literatur und Religionsgeschichte*; Munich: Beck, 1934, pp. 245-246. 10 K.

Meuli, "Scythica," *Hermes* 70 (1935) 121-176 = *Gesammelte Schriften*, Basel: Schwabe, 1975, H.817-880.

¹¹ Dodds p. 139 (note 4 above).

14.1 Shamanistic traits of the Mediterranean seer 1 5 7

seer takes place under divine auspices, perhaps directly by divine fatherhood; and upon birth he may undergo an ordeal such as exposure on the waters. In Mediterranean lands of uncertain rainfall, the seer is in charge of the withholding and granting of rain (14.3); here

we find the common vocabulary of the torch (= TS1?) imitating lightning. As the shaman is in close touch with the animal world, and in particular the bear, the Mediterranean seer in his mysterious disappearances and appearances takes on features (14.4) of the hibernating and risen bear.

An eventual death is less final for him than for others, he remains powerful even in the realm of the dead (14.5). A mantic woman (14.6), a Circe, Sibyl or witch of En-Dor, controls access to him. Such a prophetic pattern might have been transmitted between Israel and Hellas through the travels (14.7) of the Gergithians or Gergashites.

14.1 Shamanistic traits of the Mediterranean seer

14.1.1 The seer as third sex

Czaplicka says that it is common for male shamans to take up women's dress, exchange the lance and rifle for the needle and skin-scraper, and as "soft men" occasionally to be married to another man. Less common but not unknown is such a reverse case as the Chuckchee¹² widow with children:

Following the command of the 'spirits,' she cut her hair, donned the dress of a man, adopted the masculine pronunciation, and even learned in a very short time to handle the spear and to shoot with a rifle. At last she wanted to marry and easily found a young girl who consented to become her wife.

Hence Czaplicka rejects the theory that all shamans were originally female and represented a vestige of an original matriarchy; she concludes rather:

Socially, the shaman does not belong either to the class of males or to that of females, but to a third class, that of shamans. Sexually, he may be sexless, or ascetic, or have inclinations of a homosexual character, but...may also be quite normal. And so, forming a special class, shamans have special taboos comprising both male and female characters.

13

Campbell¹⁴ from other authors reports both changes; adapts from Hermann Baumann a global map of peoples with a "ritualistic perma-

¹² A tribe living just on the Siberian side of the Bering Straits. ¹³ Czaplicka, note 2 above, pp. 249-253.

¹⁴ Campbell, note 2 above, pp. 174-5.

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nent sex change"; and reproduces (his fig. 303) from Knud Rasmussen a "'soft man,' transvestite, or transformed shaman of the Chuckchi" wearing ordinary animal skins and boots.

Herodotus (4.67, cf. 1.105) among the "prophets of the Scythians" (...) includes the "androgynous Enarees" (...). Here as in (Herodotus 4.110, see 1.224) he seems to transmit a genuine Indo- European word, a- privative + nar "man, " ie "unmanly" (cf. , Sanskrit nr, Iguvine acc. pl. nerf " elders," Sabine-Latin Nerö as proper name). Hippocrates Airs 22 records impotence, transvestitis and adoption of a feminine dialect among Scythian males:

become of work women [...?] .

"Most of the Scythians become 'eunuchs,' take on women's work, [dress?] like women and speak likewise; such are called Anaries."

15

Aristotle Eth. No. 1150bl4 attests (hereditary effeminacy?) among Scythian kings.

The mantic figure of early Hellas above all is Tiresias, , more a class- name than that of an individual, "reader of portents" (), and a dialectal

variant of (Diodorus 34/35.2.8). He was Odysseus' guide in the underworld (Odyssey 10.492-3), "Tiresias of Thebes, the blind seer," / . Hesiod in his lost Melampodia¹⁶ told how Tiresias saw two snakes copulating, wounded them, and was turned into a woman; then after seven years (according to Ovid) saw them again and was turned back into a man.

Once Zeus maintained against Hera that the woman enjoyed inter-course more than a man and they called Tiresias in as an experienced arbiter. He rashly answered:

, '

meaning "Of ten parts a man enjoys only

one, but a woman enjoys the full ten parts in her heart." Wherefore Hera blinded

him, but Zeus bestowed on him the mantic art (). 17 Ovid (Met. 3.322-338) tells the story and adds: "for the loss of his sight [Jupiter] granted him to know the future, lightening the penalty by the honor" :

15 MSS of Hippocrates .

16 Hesiod frag. 275 Merkelbach-West from Apollodorus 3.6.7 and other sources;

see Frazer's notes ad loc. in the Loeb.

17 But others (Apollodorus ibid.) said that he saw his mother the nymph Chariclo naked while she was bathing, and was struck blind by Athena.

14.1 Shamanistic traits of the Mediterranean seer 159

pro lumine adempto

scire futura dédit poenamque leuauit honore.

Zeus also gave him seven times an ordinary lifetime: ' "to live for seven

18

generations of mortal men."

union of the typist and the "young man carbuncular."

Tiresias, "old man with wrinkled dogs," is the narrator in *The Waste Land* and, as, with Zeus and Hera, foreshadows the

The Hebrews found transvestites of both sexes in Canaan, and the practice caught on sufficiently to be forbidden, Deut 22,5 תִּיֵּאָרֵךְ כְּאִשָּׁה וְלָבַשׁ אֶת־בְּגָדֵי אִשָּׁה וְהָאִשָּׁה לָבַשׁ אֶת־בְּגָדֵי זָכָר וְשִׁנְיָה עָשָׂה וְשִׁנְיָה עָשָׂה

man shall not put on a n'pipö id s "The things of a man shall not be on a woman, and a woman's mantle." The name of the mantle is in transposed form no'pÈ»; the prophet Ahijah wore one such (I Reg

11,29); of a woman, "the smell of your mantle is like the smell of Lebanon" (Cant 4,11). Of Yahweh it is said (Ps 104,2): ? Dia»' rrtai3

no1 ? -liK-nta'u

"wrapping himself in light like a mantle, spreading out the heavens like a curtain." To put on such a garment from the opposite sex suggests some sort of functional interchange. In particular the earliest Hebrew documents attribute to prophetic women the martial lifestyle thereafter exclusively masculine. Thus Miriam the prophetess (Ex 15,20 !]) with her tambourine (14.1.5 below) celebrates the victory over Egypt; Deborah the prophetess (Jud

4,4) celebrates the slaying of Sisera by Jael. The only later prophetess we hear of is Huldah (II Reg 22,14);

Noadiah (Neh 6,14) appears a false prophetess; at Isa 8,3 1033 is just the prophet's wife.

14.1.2 The seer as handicapped The

shaman is one unfitted for standard vocational roles. Czaplicka¹⁹ interprets shamanism as a process of healing for the person involved: "to be called to

become a shaman is generally equivalent to being afflicted with hysteria; then

"

the acceptance of the call means recovery.

Her description points less to physical defects than to psychological deviance: "the expression of a shaman is peculiar—a combination of cunning and shyness; ...it is often possible to pick him out from among many others."

18 Hesiod frag. 276 Merkelbach-West from Tzetzes; the editors count the seven generations as: Cadmus, Polydorus, Labdacus, Laius, Oedipus, Eteocles, Lao-damas.

19 Note 2 above pp. 172-4.

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In early societies, where every able-bodied man is needed in time of peace for hunting or agriculture, and in time of war to take up arms, the sedentary occupations are reserved for the

handicapped. Hephaestus the metalsmith was lame (Iliad 18.397), as a result (it was said) of having been thrown from Olympus by Zeus (1.591-3); but rather, a lame boy would normally

be apprenticed to a smith. Teutonic Wayland the smith is lame. But Charles²¹ thinks that

Hephaestus "reflects the traditional view of the unhealthiness of the smith's craft stemming

mainly from the use of the early arsenical materials," in particular the copper-arsenic alloy arsenical bronze found in early tools and weapons, which would have produced among other

symptoms "muscular atrophy and polyneuritis"; in this view lameness is the effect, not the cause, of the trade.

The Phoenician priests of Baal "limped around the altar" (I Reg 18,26) -insali, Luther hinkten-, and Elijah mocks them in the same language (18,21) "Why do you limp (•"")

between two opinions [?]?," LXX correctly . Perhaps they were not doing a ritual dance- step but really were lame, either from birth or having been made so for the priesthood. (But in Israel lameness like other defects disquali -fies for the priesthood, Lev 21,18.) Jonathan's son

Mephibosheth, whose true name was surely Meribaal (*7y?_vipl Chron 9,40b), is lame (II Sam 4,4 etc.), and perhaps this accounts for his apparent devotion to Ba'al (which here may be something more than a mere title of Yahweh).

Lameness also qualified a man, surprisingly, as a lover. The Amazons were said to cut off the hand or foot of their male children. The Scythians offered themselves as husbands, perfect

and un mutilated, to which Antianeira the leader of the Amazons answered, in a formula which became proverbial, "the lame man does it best,"

22

.

Even in the modern world blindness can bring the compensation of a heightened ear for language; we only need to remember the blind or near-blind writers Milton, Joyce, Thurber. As with Tiresias (above) the Odyssey (8.63-64) says of the bard Demodocus, in verses which make

20 KR Crocker, "The Lame Smith: Parallel Features in the Myths of the Greek Hephaestus and the Teutonic Wayland," Archaeological News (Tallahassee) 6 (1977) 67-71; comparing the representations of the two in the François Vase from Chiusi, painted by Cleitias ab. 570 BC; and the Anglo-Saxon Franks Casket, 8th century CE, now in the British Museum.

21 James A. Charles, in TA Wertime & JD Muhly (eds.), The Coming of the Age of Iron; New Haven: Yale, 1980; 178.

2 2 West IEG, Mimnermus frag. 21a, from a MS of proverbs.

14.1 Shamanistic traits of the Mediterranean seer 161

us think twice about the favor of the gods, "Him the Muse loved very much, and gave him good and evil; she deprived him of his eyes, but gave him sweet song": ' , ' .

· , ' .

He is propped against a pillar (vs 66) to orient him, as Samson in the temple, Jud 16,25. The Homeric Hymn to Apollo (3.172) says, apparently in reference to Homer, that the sweetest of singers is a "blind man" () of Chios.

The Hebrew prophets describe themselves as poor speakers, in language which sounds real and not deprecatory. Isaiah is "unclean in his lips" (Isa 6,5 D'TlEiÈr', ptp), Jeremiah "does not know how to speak"

(Jer 1,6 " ^'^1 ?). Especially Moses is no "man of words" (Ex 4,10

B^K) but "heavy of mouth and heavy of tongue": IIP'1 ? "DDI 3~3

LXX , Vg impeditioris et tardions lin-guae·, he is "uncircumcised of lips" (Ex 6,12.30 Donato ?). Perhaps he had a stutter or the like. Yahweh recognizes and overrides Moses' protest (Ex 4,11)

-IU ;33 1« >' -| IN D-IÈT" ^ IN* DIS1 ? 3 QfO "«0 •

*... -

"Who has given man a mouth? Who has made him dumb or deaf (Vg mutum et surdum), seeing or blind?"

14.1.3 The seer as madman or hysteric Czaplicka23

believes that Siberia has a high incidence of nervous dis-orders hardly known elsewhere. She ascribes this spectrum of "arctic hysteria" to the "dark winter days, light summer nights, severe cold, the silence, and the general monotony of the landscape." Central is "imitative mania," ämürakh,

24

"with its characteristic symptom of unconsciously imitating all gestures and sounds." Campbell (156) states that the powers credited to the

shaman

are believed to be derived from his intercourse with envisioned spirits; this intercourse having been established, usually in early adolescence, by way of a severe psychological breakdown of the greatest stress and even danger to life.

But Eliade insists (pp. 27,29);

23 Czaplicka (note 2 above) 320-4.

24 I cannot easily determine from which Siberian language this word is taken. The same condition as a feature

of post-encephalitic syndrome is medically called echolalia.

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...the shaman is not only a sick man; he is, above all, a sick man who has been cured...the shamans, for all their apparent resemblance to epileptics and hysterics, show proof of a more than normal nervous constitution.

Campbell on p. 190 (fig. 316, from Edward Curtis) has a most impressive photo of a masked assemblage echoing the faces on the totem poles behind them:

On the brink of madness, the Kwakiutl Indians of the North Pacific Coast enact in spectacular mystery plays the violence and brilliance of shamanic visionary ordeals. A youth undergoing initiation here will

be seized and possessed by a cannibal spirit, become cannibalistic himself, and dash about crying "Eat! Eat!" while snapping and biting at those who strive to restore him.

The Greeks for once correctly etymologized prophecy, , as derived from madness, . Plato (Phaedrus 244 -C) so explains the mantikē at Delphi, at Dodona, of the Sibyl. Plutarch, in contrast to Sappho's charming words, quotes Heraclitus: 25 "The Sibyl with her raging mouth () speaks words without laughter, beauty or perfume, yet reaches the age of a thousand years by her voice by means of the god ." Tiresias says of the new god Dionysus (Euripides, Bacchae 298-9):

'ò - yàp .

"This divinity is a mantis, for Bacchic frenzy and madness contain much that is mantic." The contagious female Maenadism described in the Bacchae is still attested in the Roman

period as a real cult-practice. 26 Plutarch²⁷ has one of his speakers describe as if real and current "ill-omened and gloomy days, in which occur eating of raw flesh, rending of victims, fasting and beating the breast,"

Again Plutarch, describing the effects of cold, 28 mentions how the capes were frozen "of those who climbed Parnassus to help the

Thyiades, when the women were caught in a strong wind and snow,"

25 Plutarch de Pyth. orac. 6 = Mor. 397A; opinions differ how much of this is exact quotation (Heraclitus frag. 92, FVS8 i.172).

26 Dodds (see note 4 above) pp. 270-282.

27 Plutarch de defectu orac. 14 = Mor. 417C.

28 Plutarch de primo frig. 18 = Mor. 953D. Pausanias 10.32.7 speaks as if in his own times Parnassus is where "the Thyiad women rave () in honor of Dionysus and Apollo."

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The reference is both so casual and circumstantial that we must take it exactly at face value.

Eating raw flesh has a parallel at I Sam 14,32 where the fasting Israelite army kills animals "on the ground" and eats them there, although what struck the narrator was that they ate "with the blood."

Previously (1.174) we noted how the prophets of Baal (I Reg 18,28) cut themselves "with swords and lances" like the Gallois of Hierapolis.²⁹ The Hebrews cut themselves in mourning for their own dead (and conceivably for dead gods too), for the practice is frequently forbidden.³⁰

Samuel predicts approvingly what will happen to Saul (I Sam 10,6)

"Then the spirit of Yahweh will come over you, and you will prophesy with them, and you will be

turned into another man"; 1?^!

»'.«'? FiDsnr Dtp? rP3Kini mm nn It does indeed

come out so (I Sam 10,9-13). Another account of a similar or the very same episode at I Sam 19,18-24, where first Saul's messengers, then Saul himself catches the contagion of "prophecy" and eventual nakedness. Such prophecy can bring the impulse to violence, going beyond that of the Kwakiutl (above): on the day after a triumphal entry (I Sam 18,10) "an evil spirit from God came over Saul, and he prophesied":

«un»! 'TIXB'-'PX D 1 ^ « nn n'psni in his prophetic

fit Saul tries to kill David. It seems plain that the earliest sense of the root K3D involves ecstatic dancing and perhaps unintelligible speech. Sophocles (Ajax 243-4) represents the hero uttering

ominous and evil words "which a daemon and no human being taught him": /

some kind of glossolalia. The Pythia at Delphi once when the consultation went badly was filled with "a dumb and evil spirit," ,31 ie one which refused to tell its name. Compare in a different context Mark 9,17 , ie "spirit of stupidity."

14.1.4 The spirit-journey of the seer The typical

shamanistic performance—to discover the cause of disease or defilement, to predict animal

migrations, or for sheer bravado—

29 Lucian de dea Syria 50, LCL ed. IV.402.

30 Leviticus 19:28; 21.5; Deuteronomy 14:1; Jeremiah 16:6 31 Plutarch de defectu orac. 51 = Mor. 438.

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takes the form of a dance and ventriloquism to illustrate a journey by air to consult a chief spirit, guided by a possessing spirit or animal.

Campbell (pp. 158 and 167) reproduces maps by the shamans themselves of their spiritual journeys, from Siberia and Eskimo lands; from other parts of the world (eg Bushman, pp. 94-95) he has actual photographs of the unconscious shaman as his soul travels.

14.1.4.1 The journey on an arrow

Dodds cites evidence that "the Tatar shaman's 'external soul' is sometimes lodged in an arrow."

Herodotus (4.36.1) in a fine display of *praeteritio* forbears to tell the story of Abaris the Hyperborean, "how he carried his arrow across the whole world without once eating,"

.
 Porphyry (*Vita Pythagorae* 29) says that Hyperborean Apollo gave him the arrow and that "carried on it he crossed rivers and seas and deserts, somehow walking on air,"

When Aristophanes (*Nubes* 225, cf. 1503) has Socrates say "I walk on air," (denied by Socrates,

Plato *Apol.* 19C), he is making him a shamanistic figure.

14.1.4.2 Catalepsy and bilocation To one

Aristeas of Proconnesus, supposedly of the 7th century BC, there was attributed a hexameter poem of which we have fragments,³⁴ describing what was perhaps a real voyage to Scythia, but remembered in the style of a spirit-journey. Herodotus 4.14 describes his marvelous disappearances and appearances. Pliny 7.174-5 has a little anthology of such stories. "The soul of Aristeas was

seen flying out of his mouth in Proconnesus in the form of a crow," *Aristeae [animam] etiam uisam euolantem ex ore in Proconneso corui effigie*, and like Pythagoras he simultaneously appeared in widely separated places.³⁵ So Hermotimus of Clazomenae had a "soul which habitually traveled, leaving his body behind," *animam relicto corpore errare solitam*. But finally his enemies burned his body while the soul was absent, "and so deprived his soul on its return of what may be called its sheath," *remeanti animae ueluti*

32 Dodds (n. 4 above) 141 and 161 note 34.

33 Further citations in JDP Bolton, *Aristeas of Proconnesus*; Oxford: Clarendon, 1962; 158.

34 Edited by Bolton.

35 Porphyry *Vita Pyth.* 29, cf. Bolton 143.

14. 1 Shamanistic traits of the Mediterranean seer 1 6 5

uaginam ademerint. Elijah traveled no one knew how or where, "the spirit of Yahweh will carry you whither I know not" (I Reg 18,12), and ran tirelessly after the contest on Carmel (I Reg 18,46).

14.1.4.3 Riding on a bird

A Siberian shaman will sometimes portray his journey home riding on a goose.³⁶ The Dhammapada 175 has: hamsâdiccapathe

yanti, äkâse yanti iddhiyâ "Swans (hamsâ nearly =) travel on the path of the sun; men travel through the air by psychic

knowledge." In a lost poem of Alcaeus,³⁷ Zeus gave the newborn Apollo a golden mitra, a lyre, and a chariot drawn by swans or identified with them (); in it he traveled to the land of the Hyperboreans, gave them law for a year, and then returned to Delphi. Moses is to tell the Israelites in the name of Yahweh (Ex 19,4, cf Deut 32,11-12) that they had seen what he did to Egypt, "and I lifted you up on eagles' wings":

Isa 40,31 "But those who trust in Yahweh shall renew their strength, they shall mount up on wings like eagles":

14.1.4.4 The dangers of the journey

CM2>'33 3 -I^IT

'3 •' Mpi See the "wings of Dawn" (1.112) and Goethe: O dass kein Flügel mich vom Boden hebt...

Lindsay³⁸ in a speculative work accumulates evidence from many cultures, including shamanist Siberia, that the entrance to the spirit-world was guarded by a pair of rocks that clashed together, like the Clashing Rocks of the Argonauts that Odysseus must pass by, the (Odyssey 12.61). The ordeal finds a Hebrew counterpart in the fiery sword "turning every way" (Gen 3,24 31 1 ?, Vg flammeum gladium atque uersatilem) that blocked return to Eden; compare the self-moving sword of Jer 47,6 which the prophet tells in vain "go back into your sheath,"

"BOSH, Vg ingredere in

uaginam tuam.

3 6 Czaplicka 242 3 7 .

Discussed by D. Page, Sappho and Alcaeus; Oxford: Clarendon, 1955; 244 -

252; PLF 307.1 (c) p. 260. We know it almost solely from a paraphrase by the sophist

Himerius 14.10-11.

3 8 Jack Lindsay, *The Clashing Rocks: A Study of Early Greek Religion and Culture and the Origins of Drama*; London: Chapman & Hall, 1965; esp. chap. 14.

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14.1.5 The seer's drum

Previously (1.152-155) we discussed the drum or tambourine with its Mediterranean names = •'•SFI, as an instrument of Dionysiac or ecstatic acts,

and its near-monopoly by mantic women or trans-sexuals. Here we only need to note that it is the instrument par excellence of the shaman. "It may be said that all over Siberia, where there is a shaman there is also a drum. The drum has the power of transporting the shaman to the superworld and of evoking spirits by 3 9

its sounds."

Campbell (pp. 176-9) has three photos of Siberian shamans with their drums, two in full raggedy regalia. In most Siberian languages the drum is called tiingiir or its equivalent, in Manchu tunken (Czaplicka 215); the words are both onomatopoeic and close to the Mediterranean ones. In Nichiren sects of Japanese Buddhism the mantra (the name of the Lotus Sutra in extended form, namu-myōhō-rengē-kyō) is always recited to the beating of the drum. Nichidatsu Fujii (1885-1984), called Gururji by Gandhi, the great international anti-nuclear activist, with his drumming reached out to Native Americans on a deep level.

14.2 The birth and death of the seer

We saw (11.90) that one of the prerogatives or duties of the divine king (as of the High God) was the begetting of heroes. It was notorious that Zeus was the father of many such.

Mopsus the mantis in one version (Apollodorus Epit. 6.3) was the son of Apollo and Manto

daughter of Tiresias. In Israel there is some ambiguity about the true father of the seer. Here as often ancient societies tremble on the verge of reckoning by matrilineal descent, since mostly there is never any doubt about a man's mother.

Who was Samson's father? Manoah's nameless wife says twice (Jud 13,6) "a man of God came to me" (^K N3 Bf»«) and again (vs 10) more simply "the man who came to me [the other] day": DVO ^

The author initially says that "an angel of Yahweh appeared (JOM) to the woman" (vs 3); but the second time uses the same language as the woman (vs 9) "and the angel of God came again to the woman, and she was sitting in the field." Eventually (vs 18) Manoah learns that the "man's" name is wonderful (or Wonderful?, ^S1 ?,?); and in his ascension he is revealed to the couple (vs

20) as an "angel of Yahweh."

39 Czaplicka p. 203.

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Perhaps originally the woman simply reported to Manoah (vs 6) "a man came to me,"

B^R* as at vs 10. But (Jud 15,1) Samson says "I will go

to my wife to the chamber," •'Htfir'PR with the same idiom; "to the chamber" corresponds pretty nearly to 13,6 "and she sitting in the field." Nobody doubts that here the idiom means "go in to her sexually" as very often (cf. 1.67) since Gen 6,4 "the sons of God

came to the daughters of man, and they bore [children] to them":

*v • : » : r ··· • : t ·· j

Here the Vg has ingressi sunt filii Dei ad filias hominum.⁴⁰ The author's use of the Hebrew language leaves open the possibility that the "man" is Samson's father.

Who was Samuel's father? I Sam 1,19 seems straightforward, "And Elkanah knew Hannah his wife, and Yahweh remembered her." But later on (2,21) her further children are introduced

simply by "For Yahweh visited Hannah," 3"< "3 "O; same verb as at Jud 15,1 "and Samson visited ("fpEJ".) his wife." The wicked sons of Eli "used to lie with the women⁴¹ who

served at the entrance of the tent of meeting", 1 Sam 2,22: -trio

riña nito'an D^arrn« i-nstf"; It is in the sanctuary that Hannah proposes to Yahweh (I Sam 1,11)

"And if you give your handmaid male offspring...(Vg sexum uirilem)."

So while the case here is not as clear as with Samson, the possibility remains that one feature

of visiting the sanctuary was for the woman to have relations with the representatives of God

there. It may also be that in Israel of this date as in other societies the role of the male in procreation is not distinctly perceived, or is confused with the role of the god from whom children are requested.

When a child is exposed at birth there is some ambiguity about its mother as well; and this is the case particularly with the two fateful figures Moses and Oedipus. Levin⁴² pointed out parallels in their legends. (a) A male ancestor who is a seer. Moses' grandfather was Levi Olí?); for

his mother Jochebed ("?!") was Levi's daughter (Num 26,59);

40 Cf. Plautus Per. 1 qui amans egens ingressus est princeps in Amoris uias. 41 Or taking as the sign of the accusative, with a more vulgar idiom "used to

lay the women" (see 1.68).

4 2 S. Levin, "Greek Occupational Terms with Semitic Counterparts," The First LACUS Forum 1974,

246-263; "Jocasta and Moses' Mother Jochebed," Teiresias Supp. 2 (1979) 49-61.

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Oedipus' father was Laius, which from a name in /- (1.38) was probably once */. A Qumran fragment of Deut 33,8 has "give [masc. pl., in ref. to

whom?] to Levi thy Thummim and Urim," " -pan 13 in agreement with the LXX; thus Levi is a diviner.

Oracles of Laius were extant, Herodotus 5.43 . (b) A

mother involved in incest. While in Epic (Odyssey 11.261)

Oedipus' mother is , elsewhere as in Sophocles' plays she is

—with no obvious etymology in Greek, hence probably older.

Levin observes the parallel in its first syllables to "I3D1\ Oedipus' marriage to his mother involves incest. Moses' father was Amram son of Kohath son of Levi; Amram married his father's sister Jochebed (Ex 6,16-20); thus Levi was also Moses' great-grandfather. 43

(c) Both were exposed at birth in an ark. Thus Moses in the Nile by his mother (unnamed here) in an "ark" (Ex 2,3 , LXX ; 1.35).

A variant of the more familiar Greek story has Oedipus exposed on the sea in a chest ():

οἱ "Others say that

[Oedipus] was put in a chest and thrown out to sea; he came on shore at Sicyon and was brought up by Polybus."44 Hyginus {fab. 66) says that "Periboea the wife of king Polybus took up the exposed child while she was washing clothes in the sea," hunc Periboea Polybi regis uxor cum uestem ad mare lauaret expositum sustulit—in those days queens (or princesses such as Nausicaa) had the same tasks as any other wife. (But Pharaoh's daughter more elegantly comes down to the river to bathe.) All such stories appear to symbolize the dangerous passage from the amniotic fluid of the womb into the world. In this case the "arks" assimilate the ordeal of the new child to the

ordeal of all humanity in the Flood; Noah's ark is 3 (Gen 6,14, LXX); Deucalion and

Pyrrha rode out the Flood in a (Apollodorus 1.7.2). (The chamber in which Danaë was exposed was also a .46) Romulus and Remus are floated in the Tiber (Livy 1.4.3). To what

we saw about Deucalion's flood (1.83, 104; West, EFH 489-493) we can make additions: Plutarch47 attributes to the story that Deucalion "released a dove from the ark," which by its eventual failure to return predicted fair

43 Further complications are discussed at I. 68.

44 Scholiast on Euripides Phoenissae 26,28 (ed. E. Schwartz, 1887, i.251). 45 Discussion West (EFH 439-440); Cornell 62.

46 Simonides frag. 543 Page PMG 284. 47 Plutarch Mor. 968F.

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weather. Lucian⁴⁸ says that various animals entered the ark with Deucalion, "and whatever others live on the earth, all by couples," . It surely seems that both Plutarch and Lucian had heard the story of Noah from the LXX at one time

or more removes.

(d) The graves of both were unknown. Moses was buried by an uncertain party in Moab (Deut 34,6) "and no one knows the place of his burial until this day." None but Theseus must know the place where Oedipus dies (Sophocles, Oed. Col. 1522); the Messenger (1661-

2) suggests that either a messenger from the gods received him, or the earth opened up.⁴⁹

14.3 The seer with his torch as rainmaker

In the true Arctic shamanic realm, rain can be taken for granted. In the near-rainless river valleys of Egypt and Mesopotamia, crops can be grown through state-controlled irrigation, and only so. In the Mediterranean realm, a seer who is thought to manage the withholding and granting of rain holds the keys of life and death. Greek "key" went into Aramaic: at Luk 11,52 the "key of knowledge" () becomes in the Syriac NT^p; see Rev 1,18 "the keys of death and Hades," . See Mat t 16,19 "the keys (Pesh ') of the kingdom of heaven,"

The theme is taken up in Qura n 39.6 3

"His are the keys (1*JÚ1 maqälidu) of heaven and earth," where maqälidu is the plural of maqlid, an inner-

Arabic extension of the Greek.

The Rabbis agreed (Gen. Rabbah 73.4, Deut. Rabbah 7.6) that the Holy One had three keys (30): the key of the raising of the dead (ænan bv nnao), for he says (Ezek 37,12) " I will open (') your graves"; the key of the

womb (Dm bv 30), for it is written (Gen 29,31) "And he opened () her womb"; and the key of the rain (WQm 30) for it is said (Deut 28,12) "Yahweh will open () to you his good treasure." But individually they are called in Greek style NT^pK.

48 Lucian de dea Syria 12 (LCL iv.351).

49 I have here deleted from my original version some more speculative materials about the two cities Thebes.

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This doctrine provides a most ingenious exegesis of the history of Elijah (Bab. Talm. Sanhedrin 113a). He rashly predicted drought; in a weak moment the Holy One gave him the key of rain (K~lt20T KT^pK).

He locked the rain up but couldn't reopen it. A Galilaean said, "He is like a man who locked the gate and lost the key." The Holy One saw distress on the world and resorted to subterfuge. He sent Elijah to Sarepta where the widow's son was sick, and Elijah begged mercy to be given the key of the raising of the dead (DTIO~ KT^pK). The Holy One said, "Three keys have never been given to angel or seraph (Deut. Rabbah)~. people will say, 'Two are in the hand of the talmid and one in the hand of the Rabi' Return that one and take this one."

So he got the key of the rain back, and the storm at Carmel follows. But Elijah kept the key of the raising of the dead.

Above (II.70-7-5) we discussed the vocabulary of rain as relating to the High God; here we look at the role of the seer. The displeasure of the god is made manifest by the withholding of rain. When the Pythia at Delphi tells the men of Thera to colonize Libya, and they refuse, "for seven years it did not rain on Thera" (Herodotus 4.151.1, 11.73); the figure is conventional, cf. the "seven years of famine" of Gen 41,30 in Egypt. Elijah is abruptly introduced (I Reg 17,1) saying to Ahab, "As Yahweh the God of Israel lives, there shall be neither rain nor dew these years, except by my word." Yahweh in his brief against Israel (Amos 4,6-13) lists all his warnings, "yet you did not return to me"; he rains on one city or field and not on another (11.73).

The God can also carry out the alternate style of warning by bringing on unseasonable and damaging rain. Samuel (I Sam 12,17, 11.73) wishes to convey the anger of Yahweh when the people ask for a king; and he does it by sending thunder and rain at the time of the wheat harvest. In almost the same political situation, mortals in a violent assembly "pass

crooked decrees and drive out justice" (Iliad 16.385-6, cited 11.27, 73); for in the parallel passage (Hesiod Opera 263-4) the problem, just as in Israel, is that "gift-eating kings" (...) have been passing "crooked judgments." So what Zeus does is to "pour out much rain." However, the same god, through perhaps the same seer, is available under proper conditions to inflict the same weather damage on the state's enemy. We will see (11.236-239) how, when the weather-god is let out of his box or house, he can drown the enemy, Canaanites or Sabines.

The cosmos is set up to provide rain, primarily through the fact (11.71) that the sky is "perforated" (Herodotus 4.158.3) like a sieve (Aristophanes Clouds 373); it has "windows" (, Gen 7,11; Mai 3,10; cf. 1.108). But if God has reason to create a

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drought, it is a vain hope to ask (Job 38,37, 11.72) "Who will lay flat the waterskins of heaven?" to let the rain flow out:

"3 Dia»' ^in i The

seer cannot hope for such direct access and must use what we would describe as sympathetic magic to bring down rain. Pausanias (8.38) describes Mount Lykaeos (), "Wolf-Mount" of Arcadia, with its precinct of Zeus Lykaeos where no man or beast casts a shadow (11.179), and

with secret sacrifices which he prudently did not investigate. In time of drought, the priest lets down an oak branch to the surface of the spring Hagno,

/ ,

and the water being stirred, there rises a mist-like vapor, and in a little the vapor becomes a cloud, and gathering other clouds to itself it causes rain to fall on the land of Arcadia.

So Elijah on Carmel hears a "sound of the rushing of rain"; he then "bowed himself down upon the earth, and put his face between his knees," and sent his servant seven times to look at the sea until the cloud appeared (I Reg 18,41-44). It seems that the fire from heaven that consumed the sacrifice

was the lightning that preceded the rain. Is Elijah's posture one of forcing urination?

Herodotus 4.94.4 says that the Thracian worshipers of Salmoxis "shoot arrows () up to the sky against the thunder and lightning, and make threats to the god." This must be weather-magic to bring on rain.⁵⁰ For Strabo 7.3.5 says that Zalmoxis was esteemed among the Getai for

his , "weather-predictions." Salmoneus () of Elis, whose daughter Tyro Odysseus met in the under-world (Odyssey 11.236), has a name and attributes similar to that of Salmoxis. For Apollodorus 1.9.7 says that he claimed to be Zeus: when he dragged hides and bronze kettles at his chariot wheels he was thundering, and "by throwing lighted torches () at the sky he said he was lightening."⁵¹ But Zeus turned the real thunder against him; and the

⁵⁰ Rhys Carpenter, *Folk Tale, Fiction and Saga in the Homeric Epics*; Berkeley: Univ. of California, 1946; 113-115, following Meuli.

⁵¹ From Hesiod, where frag. 30.1-14 Merkelbach-West was once an account of Salmoneus thundering.

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Sibyl shows him to Aeneas among the Titans in Tartarus; no longer as before (Aen. 6. 586) "While he imitates the flames of Jupiter and the sounds of Olympus,"

Dum flammas louis et sonitus imitatur Olympi.

Originally perhaps he was a mantic king who brought on the thunder-storm by imitative magic; a fifth-century red-figured crater shows him holding a thunderbolt in his right hand and a sword in his left.⁵² Conversely, the lightning is described as the torch which imitates it; see the usage of in the *Bacchae* of Euripides cited above (11.67).

At that place we noted that Greek and Hebrew T31? lappiyd both can mean both "torch" and "lightning." It might seem as if the equivalence would be more perfect if the Hebrew were IS1?* lappod; but this form is reserved for nouns of agent, as with 333 "thief," 33 "rider,"]nT3l "judge." The equivalence of the middle consonants is perfect as it stands.

For Hebrew doubled stops (both voiced and unvoiced) correspond in Greek to (the coordinate nasal) + (the stop).

Probably in fact the Hebrew "doubling" had a nasal element preceding the stop (SIE 456). Thus at II Sam 21,6 for the Qeri ("qal passive") "let there be given" the Kethiv has in] "1 ,

presumably *yuntan.

The equivalence can be exhibited for all six stops:

Treatment of Semitic doubled stops in Greek and Latin⁵³

d: ' Esth 1,1 "Indus river" Herodotus 4.44 t: p^y Bib. Aram., 1.119 "old" antiquus b: ni?ap
1.167 "cup" (and) ^natf

(11.123) "Sabbath child"

P: 1? "torch, lightning" -

••an 1.152 "tambourines" 3 Bib. Aram., 1.342

g: "letter" âyyapoç "messenger" (Persian)⁵⁴

k: 133 Ex 25,39, SIE 456 "talent" Jos. A] 3.14455

52 LIMC vii.2.498 Salmoneus no. 6.

53 Exceptions: Heb. 3* "make open" (SIE 192) corresponds to Latin pande with a
voiced stop instead of unvoiced. TSD (1.332) "sapphire" in Greek becomes with no nasal.
"incantation" (1.342) fails to assimilate but seemingly corresponds to .

54 The doubled gamma in Greek disguises the fact that the first gamma represents the
velar nasal as in English anger.

55 The Egyptian Aramaic HD3D (Cowley 26.17) like the Greek records a latent nasalization
in Hebrew.

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has a corresponding verb which seems surely Indo-European, thus Lithuanian lópé (Frisk
ii.80); it and Hittite lapzi "glow" seem to show a more basic root lacking the nasal of the
Greek nasalized present. Thus the Hebrew, as corresponding to the Greek secondary form,
must be derived from the Greek (or from an Anatolian IE language with the same
nasalization) rather than vice versa.

Gideon and each of his three hundred men (11.84!) had (Jud 7,16) "torches (LXX , Vg
lampadas) inside their jars," •"HS fjinil D"1 "IS1?; it is a pity the translators did not write, as
they could have, » , * lampadas in cadis (for cadus see I.143) When they blew their

trumpets, broke the jars to show the torches, and cried "[A sword] .] for Yahweh and Gideon!" the Midianites fled in terror. What did they think was happening? The legend of Salmoneus must give

the answer: they interpreted the trumpets as thunder, the torches as lightning (same word!), and were convinced that the God of thunder and lightning was coming against them with his sword (as in the Salmoneus vase).

The Watchman in Aeschylus (Ag. 28) when he sees the beacon asks for "a welcoming shout to this torch,"

The prophet (Isa 62,1) will not rest or be silent "until [Jerusalem's] vindication goes out as brightness, and her salvation as a burning torch" (LXX):

npi s

In both passages the torch is seen as a beacon fire. In Hellas this use of the thing is institutionalized

in the torch-race. Plato initially describes it at Rep. 1.328A "they will hold torches and pass them on to each other," .

In the Laws

(6.776AB) he gives it a more definite application: a man must be "separated from his father and mother," , and both man and wife must "bid farewell to mother and father and the wife's relatives...as if founding a colony ()" thus "handing on life as if a torch from one to another," . Lucretius

2.75-79 shows how "the totality of things is perpetually renewed," sic rerum summa nouatur / semper; "and in a brief space the generations

56 In the parable of the wise and foolish maidens (Matt 25,1-12) the

(Vg lampades) can hardly be wedding torches, since they require oil, but rather ordinary oil lamps. The usage is almost unique, but fixed the meaning of lamp in English and other modern languages.

TS1?:? nnwi^i

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of living things are changed, and like runners pass on the torch of life":

inque breui spatio mutantur saecula animantum et quasi cursores uitae lampada tradunt.

The Olympic torch (in spite of all scandals) has become a precious symbol of the potential unity of the nations. Close to the phrase from Laws 6 is Gen 2,24, suggesting a Mediterranean formula, "wherefore a man shall leave his father and mother," -] 3-

is-^y

LXX .

Deborah's general has the fulguric name Baraq "Lightning" (3 Jud 4,6) like a man of Palmyra (11.63), but probably not Hamilcar Barca "Blessed" (?) (11.123). What does it mean that Deborah is (Jud 4,4) 31 ? nttx? The Vg uxor Lapidoth understands that Lapidoth is the name of her husband—another fulguric name, "Torches" feminine-nine plural as an abstract.

Or Lapidoth could be a place name. Or it could be no name at all, but rather descriptive, "a woman of lightnings"; the plural of T3*p is elsewhere D^TS1 ?, the form of Jud 4,4 could be a dialectal variant. In any case she and Baraq belong together.

Baraq is comparable to the Cyclopes Brontes and Steropës "Thunder and Lightning" whose names by a shift of accent alone are derived from their attributes. The words in the accusative with final accent are feminine, Hesiod Theog. 707 "thunder and lightning and the shining bolt":

When the accent recedes they become the masculine proper names of the Cyclopes, (Theog. 140), "Brontes and Steropës and tough-minded Argês":

In the first half of these two verses we have so to speak a unique epic formula indifferent to accent: if provided with the minimal final accent it denotes the natural phenomena in themselves as feminine; if with the distinctive next-to-final accent the phenomena are personified as masculine.

The poetry of Nah 2,5 describing the fall of Nineveh to the Medes and Chaldeans runs parallel to the Salmoneus myth: "the chariots go mad in the streets, they rush to and fro in

the squares; their appearance is as torches, they dart like lightning bolts": nb'rna liptfjptf:
3:nn girin i nte-m T æTa1 ?? ^ •mì T Epiroë

The three rare frequentative verbs bring the lightning continuously into the city. Divine agency is suggested but not definitely stated. The

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underlying symbol is of the thunderstorm seen as the god's chariot. So Isa 66,15 "For behold, Yahweh will come in fire, and his chariots as the stormwind (33 0 nsiSDI)." The vision of Ezekiel 1, which the Rabbis call the Merkabah, includes wheels, living creatures (once horses drawing the chariot?), and fire all among them "like the appearance of the torches," D^ia'pri 03 (Eze 1:13). The Rabbis, to reconcile the vision with the more static one of the cherubim in the Temple (Isa 6), explained (Bab. Talm. Hagigab 13b) "All that was seen by Ezekiel was seen by Isaiah; Isaiah is like the city man who saw the king, while Ezekiel is like a villager who saw the king."

One of the kings of Midian was Salmunna' (USO1?? Jud 8,5) who in several respects resembles Salmoneus, (11.171). First, his name.

Then, he may have been among those defeated by Gideon's thunder-and-lightning stratagem, as Salmoneus was defeated by Zeus' own thunder and lightning. As a Midianite he was one of the DljJT'Oa (Jud 6,33).

Salmoneus was related to Cadmus (1.37); for his brother Athamas (Apollodorus 1.7.3) married Ino the daughter of Cadmus (3.4.2).

A Semitic water-ceremony which is specifically said to be for the purpose of getting rain took place annually in the Jerusalem Temple at the feast of Tabernacles. 57 Bab. Talm. Rosh Hashanah 16a "Why does the Torah say to pour out water on the Feast [of Tabernacles] ? 8 The Holy One, blessed be He, said, 'Pour out water before me on the Feast, so that the rains of the year may be blessed for you': 5 9 ru» ^oo: DD4 iD-arroë -«"o in i D^a ^s 1 ? IDDD

According to other sources Sach 14,16-17 was cited in this context. All former adversaries of Jerusalem are to go up annually to worship the King "and to keep the feast of Sukkoth," 13 2 in1 ? ! . "And whoever from all the families of the earth does not go up to Jerusalem to worship the King, Yahweh of hosts, there shall be no rain upon them":

D^'an v r ^? '1?! niio s . "? ninntfn1? ...

There is a beautiful contact with the story of Gideon in that the eight days of the festival also involved torches and trumpets. Mishna Sukkah V.4 "Hasidim and men of good deeds (wonder- workers?) used to dance before [the assembly] with burning torches in their hands":

5 7 For this entire development, see Matthias Delcor, "Rites pour l'obtention de la pluie à Jérusalem et dans le Proche-Orient," pp. 404-419 of his *Religion d'Israël et Proche Orient ancien: Des Phéniciens aux Esséniens*; Leiden: Brill, 1976.

58 The Torah doesn't say to pour out water on Tabernacles, but the Rabbis felt constrained to hold that it did.

5 9 Nearly the same text is attributed to 'Aqiba, Tosefta Sukka 3:18 (197) and elsewhere.

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irp-pa® mpni o •rraa'? Dnpi o im newo -"»asi D, _Pon Here "torch" is , perhaps originally "bundle of twigs." Two priests with (metal) trumpets (, not shopphars) blew prescribed blasts.

Most remarkably, the torches were juggled. Bab. Talm. Sukkah 53a:

They said of R. Simeon b. Gamaliel⁶⁰ that when he rejoiced at the Rejoicing at the place ('house') of (water-) drawing, he would take eight burning torches and throw one and catch one, and one did not touch another.

naRiBn m nnots not» .the o ^N^oa iiwo® pnivv^v no « niuaia · ^tûiai nao» ^taia mn
m ir

Here is a beautifully exact parallel to that Salmoneus who threw lighted torches into the air.

The actual "libation of water" (ETOn "pen Mishna Sukkah IV.9) was done with two silver bowls (^CO D^ao), one for water and one for wine, perforated ("pipIDO) in a prescribed fashion. We see (11.256) that Jesus' true "entry" into Jerusalem was on the autumn feast of Tabernacles, Joh 7,2 .

On the last great day of the feast (Joh 7,37-8) Jesus refers to the water-theme of the feast by saying "If any one is thirsty, let

him come to me and drink" and cites an unknown scripture, " rivers of living water shall flow out of his belly."

The explicit testimony of the Talmud about the purpose of the pouring out of water suggests that pouring water out of perforated jars is elsewhere a ceremony of rain- making. Delcor cites Lucian de dea Syria 12, where twice annually seawater is poured

out in the temple of Hierapolis. At 1.145 we discussed the leaking casks (dolia) of the Danaids; see Horace Carm. 3.11.27 inane lymphae / dolium. They had to "carry water to a perforated jar," Xenophon Oec. 7.40 ; in Plato's Hades {Rep. 2.363D) "they make certain ones carry water in a sieve," . Diodorus 1.97.2 reports that in Egypt near Memphis there is a perforated jar (...) into which 360 priests, one for each day of the year, "carry water from the Nile," ; this may be an adaptation to guarantee the annual rising of the Nile.

A final parallel involving the torch brings it into connection with a member of the bear and wolf clan, which figures in the next section.⁶¹

60 This Gamaliel is either Paul's teacher (Act 22,3 , cf 5,34) or a descendant.

61 F. Börner, "Die römische Ernteopfer und die Füchse im Philisterlande," Wiener Studien 69 (1956) 372-384.

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Samson ties torches (D'Ha1 ?) to the tails of three hundred (!) foxes and sets them loose in the Philistine grain (Jud 15,4-5).⁶² In Rome the same was done ceremonially on the Cerealia; Ovid Fasti

4.681-2 Cur igitur missae uinctis ardentia taedis terga ferant uolpes causa docenda mihi est.

"So I must explain the reason why foxes are sent out, carrying fire on their backs through tied-on torches."⁶³ So detailed a correspondence demands an historical connection, which is not easy to supply, although the Etruscans can be invoked as mediators . Perhaps the burning of the crops in Judges and Babrius is rationalization, and the foxes originally had the role of weathermakers. But their function remains ambiguous; do they carry the lightning-torches to assure rain on the growing crops, or to prevent rain at the time of harvest?⁶⁴

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Each of us grows up with a teddy bear, and around the "arctic" circle the bear is in a special relationship with human beings. Overhead circles a constellation known as Ursa Major (Germanicus, Aratus 164); or (Iliad 18.487-9 = Odyssey 5.273-5) "the Bear, which they also call the Wain, which circles there and watches Orion [its hunter], and alone has no share in baths of Ocean": ' , " , ' , ,

' . So Vergil on both Bears, Geor. 1.246;

Arctos Oceani metuentis aequore tingi.

In its upright posture the bear seems to have some relation to humanity. Mostly it is not specifically identified with human beings. In the materials gathered by Hallowell⁶⁵ the bear is the object of hunting; conciliatory speeches are made to it; it is treated as a tribal pet, killed and sent as an emissary to another world; there is elaborate disposal of it

6 2 Zach 12,6 speaks of Judah as a "torch of fire among sheaves."

6 3 Babrius 11 has a man punish a single fox by tying burning tow to its tail; but the fox runs straight into his grain field and burns it down.

6 4 A church or synagogue mosaic at Mopsuestia in a Samson cycle shows two foxes tied tail-to-tail: M. Avi-Yonah, p. 188 of Lee I. Levine (ed.), *Ancient Synagogues Revealed*; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1981.

6 5 Note 7 above. Hallowell's materials have been extended by David Rockwell, *Giving Voice to Bear: North American Indian Rituals, Myths and Images of the Bear*; Niwot (CO) etc.: Roberts Rinehart, 1991, with profuse illustrations.

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remains; poetry and saga grow up around it.⁶⁶ Still in the kinship language addressed to the bear it is brought into some relationship with the tribe.

Maringer⁶⁷ gives evidence for a bear-cult in Palaeolithic Europe.

Thus during the last interglacial the Drachenloch cave⁶⁸ at 8,000 feet altitude in the eastern Swiss Alps was used as a shelter or dwelling by (presumably) Neandertal hunters, whose

principal quarry was the great cave-bear; numerous skulls of cave-bears were found set in its recesses and protected by stone slabs. Homo sapiens during the last glaciation apparently

kept cave bears in captivity like the Ainu (11.155); for in the cave Hellmichhöhle of Silesia, dated by Aurignacian flints, the skull of a cave bear was found in which the canines and incisors had been filed down during life and the dentine had regrown—evidently to make the pet less dangerous. A bear's skull was carefully placed in the Chauvet cave.⁶⁹ Elsewhere

Maringer⁷⁰ proposes to interpret the late-Palaeolithic cave paintings of France in analogy with Siberian shamanism.

Now the Bering land bridge⁷¹ was open between Siberia and Alaska from ab. 10,000 to 8,000 BC, when there was also a corridor south between the Cordilleran and Laurentide ice sheets. The Aleuts and Eskimos are proto-Mongoloid and made a coastal passage to North

America; the American Indians went by land into the interior. The Aleuts and Eskimos are related to Aurignacoid stone industries of Siberia about 13,000 BC; the American Indians (Llano culture) to Mousteroid industries with projectile points. It is difficult to imagine extended contact after 8,000 BC; accordingly, agreements between Native American and Siberian shamanism should point to the degree of development reached before that date.

Herodotus (4.95) continues his account of the Thracian devotees of Salmoxis by saying that Salmoxis, previously a slave of Pythagoras, held a feast for his fellow-Getai, telling them that none present should

^{6 6} Lauri Honko et alii, *The Great Bear: A Thematic Anthology of Oral Poetry in the Finno-Ugrian Languages*; Oxford: University, 1994. It includes stills from a color film of Siberian bear-hunt ceremonies in 1985 and 1988.

^{6 7} J. Maringer, *The Gods of Prehistoric Man*; tr. M. Ilford; London: Weidenfeld & C. Nicolson, 1960; 30,69.

^{6 8} Photos and diagrams in Campbell 54-56.

69 Jean-Marie Chauvet et alii, *Dawn of Art: The Chauvet Cave*; New York: Abrams, 1996; p. 51.

70 J. Maringer, "Schamanismus und Schamanen in vorgeschichtlicher Zeit," *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte* 29 (1977) 114-128.

71 DM Hopkins (ed.), *The Bering Land Bridge*; Stanford: University, 1967; pp. 464. 403 , 411 ,

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die meanwhile he constructed an underground chamber (), into which he retired for three years, and then emerged to confirm the prediction. Zalmoxis and Abaris reappear at Plato Charm.

156-8; Socrates was in the army with one of the Thracian physicians of Zalmoxis, "who are said to grant immortality (),"

156D. Porphyry (*Vita Pyth.* 14-15) adds that the name "Zalmoxis" was taken from the Thracian word for a "hide," , because the seer was dressed in a bearskin (); and that he was tattooed () on the forehead.⁷²

Carpenter observes:⁷³

Surely it is not very difficult to read such a riddle. The daimon who wears a bear's hide, who feasts heartily, then retires to fast in a secret cavelike dwelling in the ground, vanishing from mortal ken to be given up for dead, yet after a time returns to life and his old haunts, can be no other than the hibernating bear, whose mysterious, foodless, midwinter sleep has everywhere made of him a supernatural spirit to the wondering mind of primitive man.

Aristotle (*Hist. Anim.* 600b3) is aware of the bear's hibernation, and asserts that it lasts for forty days. Again, at the sanctuary of Zeus Lykaeos in Arcadia no man nor beast cast a shadow (Pausanias 8.38.6, οὐ). Carpenter⁷⁴ points to the role of the Germanic bear and (on Groundhog Day, February 2) the American woodchuck as prophesying fair weather from his lack of a shadow (and vice versa).

The Greek seer who most closely realizes the traits of Salmoxis is the semi- legendary Cretan Epimenides, supposed to have purified Athens about 595 BC (Diogenes Laertius 1.109-114).⁷⁵ He was long-haired.

Looking for a lost sheep, he wandered into a cave and slept for 57 years. It was said that the cave was of Dictyeon Zeus in Crete, and that there he met with the gods. 76 But some said he had spent his time digging up roots. He was fed by the Nymphs, but never seen eating or evacuating. He kept the food from the Nymphs in a "cow's hoof" (, DL 1.114)—perhaps a projection of the widespread belief that the hibernating bear receives nourishment by sucking its paws.⁷⁷

72 A gilt silver cheekpiece from Letnitsa in Bulgaria (ancient Thrace) shows two bears in combat: I. Marazov (ed.), *Ancient Gold: The Wealth of the Thracians; Treasures from the Republic of Bulgaria*; New York: Abrams, 1998; Plate 101.

73 Rhys Carpenter, note 50 above, p. 114.

74 Carpenter 135, 144-5.

75 We saw his testimony to Cretan unreliability (Titus 1,12) at 1.32; the hexam-eter

"Cretans are always liars..." is attributed to him by Clement Alex. Strom. 1.59.2; it is further alluded to by Callimachus Hymn 1.8.

76 Maximus of Tyre: FVS8 i.32, Epimenides frag. 1.

77 Hallowell 27-31 discusses this belief, widespread since the 18th century.

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Surely the gaunt hibernating bear appears in the riddle of Hesiod

Opera 524-5 "On a winter's day, when the Boneless One gnaws his own foot in his fireless house":⁷⁸

, ' öv ' ...

Epimenides' soul left his body and returned as often as he wished; at his death his body was found to be tattooed (-).⁷⁹ Noble Thracians were tattooed (, Herodotus 5.6.2), and the Hebrews found tattooing in Canaan (Lev 19,28), ? 3'3, I saw a Native American community organizer LXX . in the slums of traits of Epimenides, the one Oakland with a bear tattoo on his forearm. Of all the ursine best attested in shamanism is the long sleep which introduces the shaman's vocation.⁸⁰ A

"Cretan myth" which probably comes from Epimenides⁸¹ says that, when the infant Zeus was being guarded in the Cretan cave, Kronos came by, and out of

fear Zeus turned himself into a serpent () and his nurses into bears; when he overcame Kronos, Zeus put a memorial of these events in the northern sky as Draco and the Bears. Epimenides⁸² also treated another ursine myth in which the twin sons of Zeus

and Kallisto were Pan and Arkas. Kallisto daughter of Lykaon (, "Wolfman") was a companion of Artemis, wearing the same dress and sharing a love of hunting; Zeus fell in love with her, and (various reasons are given) Kallisto was turned into a bear (Apollodorus 3.8.2). Her son Arkas, eponym of the Arkadians, who surely seem to be the "Bear-people," saw her one day while hunting and was about to kill her,⁸³ when Zeus took her up into the sky and

78 West ad loc. (pp. 289-290) with the ancient commentators assumes that the Boneless One is the octopus, which perhaps fits a little better than the anorexic bear. But he admits "It is ... hard to see why Hesiod's thoughts should suddenly turn to the octopus, which is not a visible feature of the landscape." In every other feature the bear fits better. It is precisely in the winter that the bear, in the second category of "horned and hornless wood-dwellers" (, Opera 529), has looked for shelter, though fireless. The bear-cub is formless, and has to be licked into shape. (Or does mean that the creature has no meaty bone to gnaw on, and so must feed off its own foot?)

79 Suda, FVS8 i.29, Test. 2.

80 Czaplicka 179-183. She does not mention the tattooing of shamans, but her plate 2 shows a young Ainu woman with a tattooed upper lip. 81 FVS8 Epimenides frag. 23 = Scholiast on Aratus 46.

82 Frag. 16.

83 According to some sources at the sanctuary of Zeus Lykaeos in Arcadia, see PW X 1728 sv "Kallisto."

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made her the Great Bear (Ovid, Met. 2.496-507). Polygnotus represented Kallisto at Delphi in a bearskin (Pausanias 10.31.10).

That Artemis herself was a bear-goddess is shown by the cult recorded in the Scholiast to Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* 645: ten-year-old girls in yellow- brown clothing played the role of bears () in the cult of Artemis at Brauron () of Attica. 84 One story said that a tame bear was kept there, which clawed a girl and was killed by her brothers; Artemis sent a plague, and the Athenians decreed that every girl should play the role of bear to the goddess before she was married. Another story said

that the attempted sacrifice of Iphigenia was not at Aulis but at Brauron, and that the girl was not replaced by a stag but a bear. The "Pelasgians" took the women celebrating the cult of Brauron to Lemnos (Herodotus 6.138).

Carpenter⁸⁵ compares the history of Odysseus with the widely disseminated folktale Bearson, which has apparently left traces also in Beowulf. Panzer⁸⁶ has gathered hundreds of versions in many languages.

I cannot forbear entering here the first paragraph of a version from Petznik gathered by Ulrich Jahn;⁸⁷ this work cannot be in many American libraries.

Es wa r in der Erntezeit, da alle Leute, jung und alt, draussen waren, um den Gottessegen vom Felde heimzuschaffen. Now n wurde dem Schulzen ["mayor"] ein more important Brief transmitted, und weil er gerade niemanders zur Hand hatte, bat er seine young Frau, dass sie den Brief in das nächste Dorf zu dem andern Schulzen trage. Das that sie auch; wie sie jedoch im Walde war, kam mit einem Male ein grosser, starker Bär auf sie losgestürzt, nahm sie in seine Arme und trug sie in seine Höhle; dann wälzte er einen Stein vor das Loch, dass die Frau nicht entfliehen konne, und

84 Apparently at the conclusion of their ceremony or term of office the girls took off their brown clothes and finished naked, as they are represented in vases from the site. The vases are pictured in Ellen D. Reeder (ed.), *Pandora: Women in Classical Greece*; Princeton, 1995; 321-326. See Christiane Sourvinou (-Inwood) in *Classical Quarterly* NS 21 (Vol. 65, 1971) 339-342; and TCW

Stinton, CQ NS 26 (Vol. 70, 1976) 11-13. In Aeschylus Ag. 239 the suppliant Iphigeneia also drops her yellow-brown garment to the ground. Brauron may mean "Brownie, ie Bear" in some Indo-European languages from the adjective represented in English brown-, see Greek "frog" (Frisk), Latin fiber and English beaver, and Old High German bero "bear."

85 pp. 128ff.

86 Friedrich Panzer, *Studien zur germanischen Sagengeschichte*; I. Beowulf; Mün-

chen: Beck, 1910 (repr. Wiesbaden: Sandig, 1969).

87 Ulrich Jahn, Volksmärchen aus Pommern und Rügen; Forschungen, Verein für niederdeutsche

Sprachforschung II; Norden & Leipzig: Diedr. Soltau, 1891; p. 135 "Der Bärensohn."

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trottete wieder seiner Wege. Am Abend kehrte er zurück und trug ein Schaf in seinem Maule. Damit ging er, nachdem er den Stein zurückgeschoben hatte, zu der Schulzenfrau, riss das beste Stück herunter und gab es ihr; und weil sie Hunger hatte, ass sie es auf, roh, wie es war. Die Nacht über mustes sie an des Bären Seite liegen, und ihr wurde warm von dem weichen Pelze; als aber der Morgen kam, lief er wieder aus der Höhle und ging auf Raub aus; doch vergass er nicht, den Stein vor den Eingang zu wälzen. So verging ein Tag wie der andere, und die Frau wurde verratut mit dem Bären, und ehe ein Jahr vergangen war, schenkte sie ihm einen kleinen Sohn. Der war rauh über den ganzen Leib, aber sonst von schöner Menschengestalt; doch wuchs er schneller, wie andere Kinder pflegen, und als er sieben Jahre alt geworden war, hatte er die Grösse und das Ansehen eines ausgewachsenen Mannes.

Several items point to Odysseus' character as originally ursine. In particular he had a sister Kallisto (Athenaeus 4.158C) and a son Arkesilaos.⁸⁸ His grandfather on his mother's side had the wolfish name Autolykos (Odyssey 19.394). His grandfather on the other side, Laertes' father, has a sensational birth-story, told in Aristotle's lost Constitution of Ithaca. Cephalus had no

children. He consulted the oracle at Delphi, and was told that the first woman he met would be the mother of his son; it turned out to be a she-bear, and by her he had Arkeisios the father of Laertes.⁸⁹ (In the story Bearson, mostly but not always it is a male bear who has Bearson by a married but childless woman.) Heroes and heroines are properly nursed by animal mothers; a she-bear is specified for Paris (Apollodorus 3.12.5) and Atalanta (3.9.2); see further Cornell 62.

Yahweh is compared with (among other animals) a she-bear: "I will fall upon them like a bear robbed of her cubs" (Hos 13,8; II.3); David is compared to a "bear robbed of her cubs in the field" (II Sam 17,8, and see 1.340 for parallels with Gilgamesh and Homer). Having

the day of that Yahweh come upon you is like fleeing from the lion and coming upon the bear (Amos 5,19); David compares the danger of the Philistine to the danger of the lion or bear (I Sam 17,34-37). In these last two passages it is S'^n, "the Bear," as if there were only one, appearing solitary and unforeseen at different times and places. The ultimate complaint against God is that he has been like "a bear lying in wait, or like a lion in hiding" (Thr 3,10). His ursine character comes out concretely when his prophet Elisha curses the boys in the name of Yahweh, and two she-bears (O^in •'".®) come out of the forest and kill

88 Eustathius on Odyssey 16.118.

89 Heraclides Ponticus 38 (Ithaca), FHG ii.223.

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forty-two of them (II Reg 2,24). The indeterminate sex of the bear runs parallel to that of the shaman.

Elijah and Elisha are not merely in league with the Bear; in some sense they are the Bear. Elijah was "lyfo "lord of hair" (II Reg 1,8), RSV "wearing a garment of haircloth." But the Versions interpret as "hairy man," LXX , Vg uir

pilosus, Luther er hatte langes Haar. Whether the hair is his own or detachable, Elijah has a "mantle" with magical properties (II Reg 2,8.14), which can transfer his power to a new owner (I Reg 19,19; II Reg 2,13). can cover his face

(I Reg 19,13); the same word is used to describe the birth-hair Esau (Gen 25,25) the "hairy man" t^K Gen 27,11). goatskins, as it were making himself a satyr, to imitate his brother, Gen 27,16.) When Elisha takes up the mantle, the boys call

him "Baldhead" (II Reg 2,23); this must be reverse mockery and imply that the hair mantle covers his head. Sach 13,4 explicitly defines the prophet's mantle as hairy, "lyfr ^, LXX . John Baptist, who was understood as modeling himself on Elijah, gets himself up as a camel, Mark 1,6 (codex D) .

But the Baptist's diet suggests rather that he is identified with the bear, for he eats locusts and wild honey (Mark 1,6). Samson, another hairy figure and eater of honey (Jud 14,9), is associated with the fox as Elisha with the bear. Heb 11,32-38 specifies of "Gideon, Baraq, Samson, Jephthah, David, Samuel and

the prophets" that they "went about in skins of sheep and goats" and lived in "dens and caves of the earth."

That Elijah fasts for Aristotle's forty days (I Reg 19,8) may be the origin of the same figure for Moses (Deut 9,9), as it certainly is for Jesus. Elijah never dies, and it is appropriate that both he and Elisha have the power (like Jesus) of raising

others from the dead; Jesus in effect compares himself with both (Luke 4:25-27). Elijah spends much time in caves and moves about magically (I Reg 18,12.46); like Abaris and Epimenides, he can get by with eating very little (I Reg 17,6); he has a special source of supply, the raven. He (or perhaps his successor John) was thought to have been raised from the dead as Jesus (Mark 6:14-15). 90

Elijah and Elisha are a novelty in Israel. Did they take up attributes of the god they are fighting against?—the Baal of Tyre, namely (it seems clear) Melqarth (^, in Greek 91). We discussed his

90 The true relation of Jesus to John Baptist comes out at Joh 4, 2 "Jesus did not baptize, but only his disciples." Why? The natural conclusion is, that most or all of Jesus' original followers had, like himself, been baptized by John.

What Jesus founded was then initially a further reform movement inside John's reform movement.

91 Philo Byblius, FGH 79 0 F.2.27.

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attributes at 1.119-121.⁹² His name is similar to that of the Greek mythical figure Melikertes (). Ino mother of Melikertes is daughter of Cadmus and a sea-divinity (Odyssey 5.333-5). His father Athamas (the brother, as we saw [11.175], of Salmoneus the lightning man) killed a third brother Learchus in the form of a deer. Ino threw Melikertes into a boiling cauldron and then jumped into the deep with him; they were renamed, she as Leucothea, he as Palaimon, and both help sailors in storms (Apollodorus 3.4.2). Melikertes was brought to the isthmus of Corinth by a dolphin (Pausanias 1.44.8) where Sisyphos instituted the Isthmian games in his honor. Palaimon has an underground adyton at the Isthmus where he lay concealed (Pausanias 2.2.1); at Tenedos children were sacrificed to him. ⁹³ Carpenter (p. 124) compares the hiding place with that of Salmoxis; and suggests

that Melikertes' name means "Honey-eater," comparing Homeric in the sense "eat." For in Slavic languages the bear has a taboo name, eg

Russian Me/mea "Honeyeater."

In the original version of this chapter I explored the possibility that Melqarth (lacking a certain Semitic etymology) might be derived from Melikertes (which seems to have a good Greek one). But Melqarth seems too thoroughly rooted at Tīre to have come in from the outside; and the situation is rather that in the western Mediterranean Phoenicians transferred the attributes of Melqarth to Heracles. That both Melqarth and Melikertes have ursine

character must then be explained by transfer, in one direction or the other, between divinities with coincidentally similar names. Or is Melikertes a folk-etymology of Melqarth? Anyway in both countries the two figures, and their associates, make the hibernating and risen bear a symbol of life beyond death, which in Israel is realized as resurrection. Samson ate honey from the lion's carcass; the Baptist ate it regularly; according to one reading of Luk 24,42 the risen Jesus eats the honeycomb. It would naturally be assumed that honey, the bear's favorite food, is what gives him strength to rise again from his winter-long sleep. Then honey ought to be the "medicine of immortality" (1.16). 94 After the human mother has borne Bearson in the cave, "the bear prevents his captives from escaping by closing the entrance to his den

92 In the fourth century CE, one Heracleius of Tīre has been a priest of Heracles there and is accused of magic (); Sozomenus, *Hist. Eccles.* 4.24.10 = PG

67.1193A.

93 Lycophron, *Alex.* 229.

94 Porphyry *Ant. Nymph.* 18 strangely calls honey "the type of death," ...

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with some large object, usually a boulder";⁹⁵ Carpenter compares the boulder that the Cyclops rolls against the door of the cave (*Odyssey* 9.240). In the folktale, "mother and son

escape from the bear's den thanks to the Bearson's attainment of sufficient strength to roll the stone aside." In the Gospels a stone is rolled against the rock tomb of Jesus. 96 Perhaps this detail in the Bearson story is derived from the Church rather than vice versa. Here the bear, from his residence in the realm of death, and perhaps from some reminiscence of the terrible cave-bear (*Ursus spelaeus*), has become assimilated to the power of death, like the beast from the sea with bearfeet of Rev 13,2; thus in some versions of the story Bearson kills his bear-father.⁹⁷

14.5 The seer as insightful even in death

The dead continue in some relation to the living; the most obvious proof of this is that we dream of the dead. The psyche of Patroclus comes to Achilles in a dream (*Iliad* 23.65ff) and gives instructions for his own burial. Achilles fails to embrace him, "for the soul went underground like smoke, twittering as it went" (23.100-101): ... /

...

The same verb is used for the souls of the suitors going underground and for bats (*Odyssey* 24.5,7), .

ASSISO (*Isa* 10,14, Vg *gannirei*, cf. 38,14); then at *Isa* 29,4 "Your voice will come from the ground like a ghost, and your speech shall chirp from the dust," Vg *et erit quasi pythonis de terra uox tua, et de humo eloquium tuum mussitabit*:⁹⁵

^as n layo i At *Isa*

8,19 the wizards "chirp," *œasaï* On where Vg almost HomERICALLY strident. Achilles draws conclusions about the nature of death (*Iliad*

95 Carpenter 141.

96 At Jesus' burial the stone is described only by Mark 15,46 = Matt 27,60; but both Luk 24,2 and Joh 20,1

mention that the stone has been rolled or moved away.

97 The temporary transformation of men into "werewolves" (lycanthropy) is obviously related. Every member

of the Scythian Neuri annually became a wolf for a few days (Herodotus 4.105). Damarchus the Arkadian became a wolf at the festival of Zeus Lykaeos, and remained so for nine years (Pausanias 6.8.2).

See further Plato Rep. 8.565D (11.25); Pliny 8.81-82; Augustine de civ. Dei 18.17; Petronius 62; Vergil

Eel. 8.97; Ovid Met. 1.237. The Midianite Zeeb (Jud 7,25) is just "Wolf," along with his companion Oreb

"Crow" (1.281). 98 See West, EFH 163.

In Hebrew for a bird to "chirp" is

? 3iK3

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23.103-4) "Then there is some psyche and likeness even in the halls of Hades, but no phrenes (solid bodily organs? intelligence?) at all":

, , .

So Propertius 4.7.1 of dead Cynthia sunt aliquid Manes. When Odysseus meets his mother in the underworld (Odyssey 11.206-8)

"Three times I tried, for my spirit (thymos) urged me to embrace her, three times she flew out of my hands like a shadow or a dream":

, , ski / '

... So Aeneas tries three times to embrace his father in the underworld (Aen. 6.700-2):

ter frustra comprensa manus effugit imago par leuibus uentis

uolucrique simillima somno.

"Thrice the shade, vainly embraced, escaped his hands, just as light winds and most like winged

sleep."99 In a common Mediterranean physiology,

what makes the difference between a living person and a dead one is the breath. After

Sarpedon's companions rescue him from the fray and push out the spear which pierced his leg (Iliad 5.696-8), "His psyche left him and a dark mist was cast over his eyes; but he got his breath back again, for the breath of the North wind revived him as he was painfully gasping out his thymos ".100

Again, when the widow's son approaches death, "there was no breath

(LXX) left in him" (I Reg 17,17):

notfj ln-rnnirN'1?

By sympathetic means Elijah brings it about (17,22) that "the child's nephesh (LXX) came back into him again, and he revived": •m iaip-^yi^vrtfD] atfm What constitutes the life of animals is njn (LXX), Ps 104,29-

30, inseparable from the wind (Gen 1,2; Ez 37). In the original creation of mankind God forms them from dust and breathes into their nostrils the breath of life (Gen 2,7); at death "the dust

returns to the earth which it had once been, and the ruah returns to God who gave it" (Koh 12,7, cf. Job 13,14-15 and 11.78). '

9 9 Similar comparison West, EFH 151.

1 0 0 GS Kirk in the Cambridge Iliad ad loc. (ii.129): "thus the...main descriptions in //

(iad) of losing consciousness...draw in different ways on a formular terminology primarily designed for describing death."

14.5 The seer as insightful even in death 1 8 7

Previously (1.57) we saw the agreement of Greeks and Hebrews on the ephemeral character of humanity, a creature of a day and "man the dream of a shadow," övap man (Pindar Pyth. 8.96). Israel in its pessimistic mood sees life itself as no more than a dream (Ps 90,5) or a shadow, Ps 144,4 "Man is like a breath, his days are as

a passing shadow (LXX skía):"101

- ais?

The scenery of their land is described at Ps 18,5-6 = II Sam 22,5-6:102 "For the breakers of death encompassed me, the torrents (LXX) of perdition

assailed me; the cords of Sheol (LXX) entangled me, the snares

(LXX) of death confronted me :

.>: *1 ?! ^n] ""3/ ^aaR ">3

Odysseus' mother points out to him the "great rivers and terrible streams" in the land of the dead, above all Ocean,103 and speaks of its "gloomy darkness," (Odyssey 11.155-8). So Ps 88,7 "You have put me in the pit of the deep, in darknesses, in deep places":

nto'sa a ••'Stfna a ni»nnn in a ^nts

Cassandra describes the net in which Clytemnestra ensnared Agamenón as a "net of Hades," (Aeschylus Ag. 1115); previously (1.208) we saw it as a "tunic without armholes or neckhole," (Apollodorus Epit. 6.23).

The inhabitants of Sheol are regularly called Rephaim (•"REP), a word which ought to mean "healers" (but hardly can), and is so trans-lated by the LXX of Isa 26,14; Ps 88,11 It corresponds to Ugaritic rpum, but the texts are not very informative about their true nature. A Latin-Neopunic bilingual from Libya (KAI 117, 1st cent. CE) has D(is)

M(anibus) SAC(rum) = QR2R-IR [D]]1 ?! ?1 ? where Manes is an excellent version of "Rephaim." 104 Manes plural can refer collectively to the shade of a single individual: Tibullus 1.1.67 tu Manes ne laede meos "do not you harm my shade"; Aen. 10.534 patris Anchisae Manes "the shade of father Anchises." Our Manes are our fate, for which our acts in life are responsible, but which comes to be seen as an entity independent of us, (Aen. 6.744) quisque suos patimur Manis, "Each of us suffers our

own

101 See Job 8,9; 14,2; Koh 6,12.

102 Text of II Sam, LXX of Psalm 18.

103 Circe had previously warned Odysseus about the rivers of the dead (Odyssey

10.513-4) Acheron and Pyriphlegethon, Kokytos and Styx. 104 Here the 'ayin and aleph are just serving as vowel-letters.

ra; No? pan? di r The two nations agree in the miserable condition of the dead.

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Manes." The meaning "shades" is clear for CTKEn at Ps 88,11 "Do you work wonders for the dead? Do the shades (Jerome iux. Hebr. gigantes, Luther die Verstorbenen) rise up to praise you?": -nr --; mxavDX x'pa-n&yn •"•na'pn Mostly the LXX

and Vg have either "giants" as here or transliterate.

For what must be the same noun is applied to gigantic peoples left over from an earlier age.¹⁰⁵ At Deut 2,10 they are compared with the "Anaqim" and "Emim" as very tall (). At II Sam 5,18 etc. the "valley of the Rephaim" (pay) in the LXX becomes "valley of the Titans" ().¹⁰⁶ The two senses of powerlessness and power come

together at Isa 14,9 "Sheol (LXX) beneath is stirred up to meet you [the king of Babylon] when you come; it rouses the Rephaim (LXX) to greet you, all who were leaders of the earth; it raises from their thrones all who were kings of the nations": 1? pns ,Tinirí?3 D'ili "O^ö

nrn nnnp '

cPKEn 1? "Nii?

DniNDSp Q^pn Since the Greek Titans were giants or elder gods banished to the underworld, the LXX versions are

unusually perceptive. Deut 3,11 "For only Og the king of Bashan was left of the remnant of the Rephaim (Luther Riesen)":

-. -|KE>]' •'S with a note of the great size of his sarcophagus (?— 07) of iron.

Hesiod (Theog. 133, 207) lists among Titans Ocean (), whom Pherecydes¹⁰⁷ knows as . Jos 2,10 makes the killing of Og parallel to "drying up the water of the Red Sea," so that he could once have been an ocean-figure.¹⁰⁸

These tall people are not entirely legendary, for the earliest Greek contact with Palestinians shows them as a real people. A fragment of Alcaeus, partially paraphrased by Strabo 13.2.3, has:¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁵ See further West, EFH 117.

¹⁰⁶ At Prov. 2,18; 9,18 a different LXX translator makes the Rephaim

"Earthborn" as at Aeschylus PV 351 Typhon is the "earthborn inhabitant of Cilicia," .

107 Papyrus, cited at FVS8 8 frag. 2.

108 For Og and Ogygos see: Joseph Fontenrose, *Python: A Study of Delphic Myth and its Origins*; New York: Biblo & Tannen, 1974 (first pub. 1959), pp. 236-

238; W. Fauth, "Prähellenische Flutnamen: Og(es)—Ogen(os)—Ogygos,"

Beiträge zur Namenforschung 23 (1988) 361-379; Scott Noegel, "The Aegean Ogygos of Boeotia and the Biblical Og of Bashan: Reflections of the Same Myth," *ZAW* 110 (1998) 411-426.

109 Denys Page, *Sappho and Alcaeus...*; Oxford: Clarendon, 1955; 223-4; PLF 350.

He came

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... ... '
, '

"From the ends of the earth you are come, with your sword-hilt of ivory bound with gold"
...Alcaeus says that his brother Antimenidas fighting beside the Babylonians accomplished
"a great labor, and delivered them from distress, having slain a warrior who wanted only
one palm's breadth of five royal cubits."

Another fragment of Alcaeus¹¹⁰ brings together the names of Ascalon and Babylon. Thus it appears that Antimenidas fought on the side of Nebuchadrezzar against the Philistines of Ascalon (and perhaps against Jerusalem as well). Goliath of Gath was "six cubits (nias, LXX) and a span in height" (I Sam 17,4)

but these cubits are not necessarily comparable.¹¹¹ The historical Philistines, it seems, inherited their height from their semi- legendary predecessors.

In principle the underworld is a "land of forgetfulness," Ps 88,13 03 jn x (Jer. iux. LXX in terra obliuionis); Plato Rep. 621A "the plain of Lethe," (only in Ovid does it become a river, Met.

11.603 riuus aquae Lethes))n For most mortals the breath which makes them a living being is fragile enough during life, and fails wholly at death; but the true seer has what Elisha asked from Elijah (II Reg 2,9), "a double share of your spirit on me," ·3 D^tf-" 1?

(11.38). Samuel was exceptionally endowed with the Spirit, since he can dispense it to kings (I Sam 10,6; 16,13), and from him it falls by contagion on the messengers and on Saul (19,18-24). Hesiod (Theog. 31-32) tells how on Helicon the Muses "breathed into me a divine voice, so that I might sing of things to come and that previously were":

... ,

' ' '

When Circe sends Odysseus off to consult the psyche of Theban Tiresias (Odyssey 10.493-5, 11.158) "the blind bard," she testifies

110 Lobel-Page PLF 48.10-11.

111 Also the LXX MSS here give 4 or 5 cubits as alternatives. 112 West, EFH 160.

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... te -

- !

"his phrenes are still sound; for even when he died, Persephone granted him alone the faculty of intelligence;113 the others flit around as shades."

14.6 The "witch" of En-Dor, Circe, the Sibyl

To get in touch with the shadow of a (male) seer a female intermediary is needed, who herself plays a professional mantic role. The woman of En-Dor who brings up Samuel is a DiKT)1 ???? (I Sam 28,7), "mistress of an oç," LXX "ventriloquist!?", Vg habens pythonem.

As Samuel arises she says (I Sam 28,13) "I see gods [plural!] coming up from the earth":

•"" " D^ N It is

unclear how the ob was conceived. The connection of LXX and Vulgate is explained by Plutarch:114

It is childish in the extreme to think that the god [of Delphi?] after the manner of ventriloquists (), who used to be called 'Eurykleis' () but now 'Pythones' (),¹¹⁵ enters into the bodies of prophets and prompts their speech, using their bodies and mouths as his instruments.

The slave girl of Philippi (Act 16,16) has a "spirit of divination," , Vg spiritwn pythonem. The same word went into Rabbinic, Mishna Sanh. VII.7

rnw o ima n mrv a nr ai «

"A [male] necromancer is a pithom, one who speaks from his armpits."

Here the Mishna reflects a Hellenistic concept, rather than any original Hebrew one.¹¹⁶ Likewise

Circe, Odysseus'

guide to Tiresias and the underworld, is of "many enchantments" (, Odyssey

10.276) and has a magic wand (10.238). ¹¹⁷ The Sibyl of Cumae (Aen. 6.65-66) is

¹¹³ Probably was not originally a form of , but the Greeks surely thought it was.

¹¹⁴ Plutarch, de defectu orac. 9 = Mor. 414E.

¹¹⁵ A connection with the serpent () of Delphi or its name of is probable but unclear. Compare also "Isa 11,8 "serpent."

¹¹⁶ Latin uentriloquus was calqued on the Greek: Tertullian (Adv. Prax. 19.4; adv. Marc. 4.25.4) translates Isa 44,25 LXX (Heb. •"nin'N) as signa uentriloquorum (where Vg differs).

¹¹⁷ An Apulian crater of the fifth century BC shows Odysseus sacrificing with a slain ram at his feet, and the head of Tiresias emerging from the earth to drink

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"a most sacred seer, knowledgeable about the future," sanctissima uates / praescia uenturi. West (EFH 551) has an elaborate table comparing the consultations of the spirits of Darius (in Aeschylus' Persae) and Samuel; I would suggest that rather Aeschylus is

adapting Odyssey 10, to which he perhaps added some independent knowledge of Sibylline divination. Saul, Odysseus and Aeneas

all in their different ways need to know what is coming; only the underworld seer can tell them; and only his female agent can reach him. Women normally stay at home and keep the house, in Greece they are "white-armed" (1.237).

Circe and the Sibyl in the big house of Hades, the witch of En-Dor with respect to Sheol, all play

the role of concierge: you have to go through them to get into the inn in the first place, and then to find what room your prophetic party is lodging in. The act of consultation is dangerous, in Saul's

case because he has declared it illegal himself, in all cases because of the danger of being trapped in the underworld. How shall we account for the common pattern of a seer in the underworld, to be reached only through a female intermediary?¹¹⁸ The story of Saul and the "witch" of En-Dor

is isolated in the Hebrew Bible and so far as we know in West Semitic. While various forms of magic and necromancy are condemned, most fully at Deut 18,10-11, we have no picture how they were carried out except for the one tale. In contrast, Hellas has several stories of

descents to the underworld, as with Odysseus and Orpheus, and a widespread cult of the Sibyl. The Sibylline phenomenon was well adapted to travel, for through its outpost at Italian Cumae it made a deep impression at Rome, both through the Sibylline books and as worked up in Aeneid 6. Here I propose a route by which it might have made its way to Palestine as well. The clue will be the accounts of the "returns" or dispersals of peoples, heroes and seers from Troy.

A Sibyl was attributed a life of up to a thousand years: the ancients spoke as if, in every city with Sibylline activity, the same woman held the same position throughout all of time.¹¹⁹ Some further ascribe Sibylline activity in different cities at different time to the same woman.

Thus Pausanias 10.12 attributed it in Delphi, Marpessos, Samos and

the blood; see L. Brisson, *Le Mythe de Tirésias: Essai d'analyse structurale*; EPROER

55; 1976: Frontispiece; see now LIMC viii.2.826, Teiresias 11.

¹¹⁸ The stories of Saul and Odysseus are compared on literary grounds by Teresa Carp,

"Teiresias, Samuel, and the Way Home," *California Studies in Classical Antiquity* 12 (1979) 65-76.

119 There is a very large literature on the Sibylline movement: survey by N.

Horsfall in *Classical Review* ns 40 (1990) 174-5; see M. Goodman "The Sibylline Oracles" in *SVMB* iii.1.618-653.

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Erythrae to a single woman Herophile.¹²⁰ But the opposite tendency won out, canonized by Varrò (as cited by Lactantius *Div. Inst.* 1.6.7-

12), according to which the Sibyl of each such place was a distinct woman; Varrò adds six more to Pausanias' list of four for a total of ten.¹²¹ The Sibyl's spooky grotto at Cumae, which I walked through in 1960, has been excavated and fits well the ancient sources.

Pausanias (10.12.7), a reliable observer, further records the tomb of Herophile at Alexandria near Troy.

At Erythrae of Asia Minor the actual Sibyl's grotto has been excavated,

with a long elegiac poem put in her mouth (*IGRR* 4.1540).¹²³ Verses 1-2 and 9-10 read:

...

Ἰ ἰ ἰ ἰ .

I am the handmaid of Phoebus, the Sibyl who speaks in oracles, the ancient daughter of the nymph Naias. ...For three hundred years of my life, an unwed maiden, I went over the whole earth.

Italian Cumae was founded according to Thucydides 6.4.5 (in "Opi-cia") from Chalcis on Euboea, to which Dionysius Hal. 7.3.1 adds Eretria of Euboea, and Strabo 5.4.4 Kyme—it is uncertain whether this Kyme is an obscure city of Euboea or the well-known one on the mainland of Asia. Varrò¹²⁴ gives Herophile as one of the names of the Cumaean Sibyl also. Ovid (*Met.* 14.137-8) records her unwise choice of a gift from Apollo: "I foolishly asked to receive as many years as the sand has grains"

quot haberet corpora pulvis

tot mihi natales contingere uana rogauit

120 He also names Sibyls at Cumae and Palestine.

121 Varrò adds Sibyls of Persia, Libya, Cimmeria, Cumae, Phrygia, Tibur. Rzach (art.

"Sibyllen," PW IIA.2073-2103), who conventionally follows Varro's model, has a grand total of 19. Michelangelo in the Sistine Chapel reduces Varro's list to five: the Libyan, Cumaean, Persian, Delphic, and Erythraean.

122 In particular Pseudo-Justin, *Cohortatio ad Graecos* 37 (PG 6.308), a first-hand account of the third or fourth century CE. See A. Maiuri, *The Phlegraean Fields from Vergil's Tomb to the Grotto of the Cumaean Sibyl*, 3rd ed., Roma: 1st. Poligrafico dello Stato; 1958.

123 Commentary and further inscriptions in H. Engelmann and R. Merkelbach, *Die Inschriften von Erythrai und Klazomenai; Teil II*; Bonn: Habelt, 1973; pp. 378-388.

124 In Lactantius *Div. Inst.* 1.6.18.

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when (like Eos [1.112]) she forgot to ask for youth as well. 125 When Aeneas meets her she is already 700 years old and has 300 yet to run.

Servius, 126 who identifies her with the Sibyl of Erythrae, adds that the gift had a condition, that she never again saw Erythrae; its people kindly freed her from her wretched old age by sending her a letter sealed with native clay. 127 Thus Cumae, from whichever cities it was founded, got its Sibylline institution from Asia Minor, where the original foci of the activity were Erythrae and the Troad.

Varrò 128 says that his eighth Sibyl was "from the region of the Hellespont, born in a village Marmessus [elsewhere Marpessus] near the town Gergithium; Heraclides of Pontus testifies that she lived at the times of Solon and Cyrus": *Octauam Hellespontiam in agro Troiano natam, uico Marmesso circa oppidum Gergithium, quam scribat*

Heraclides Ponticus Solonis et Cyri fuisse temporibus.

So Stephanus 203 :

Gergis, city of Troy...feminine ethnic Gergithia. From it the prophetic Sibyl is called Gergithia: she and a sphinx are stamped on the coinage of the Gergithians, so Phlegon in

his Olympiads, Book I. They say that the tomb of the Sibyl is in the temple of Gergithian Apollo.

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, , ' . ' .

Here we explore the extensions of "Gergithian" as an ethnic of the Sibyl, and the movements of the Gergithians and allied peoples.

14.7 Gergithes and Girgashites

The Gergithes were "the remnants of the ancient Teucrians," (Herodotus 5.122, cf. 7.43); Strabo 13.1.19 shows that they extended as far south as Aeolic Kyme, where there was another city of the same name Gergis.¹²⁹ Thus they are associated with two of the cities (Erythrae and Kyme) said to have founded Italian Cumae. Their relation to the Teucrians is further

125 For the innumerability of sand see 1.314-316. 126 On Aen. 6.321.

127 Eliot as motto to *The Waste Land* quotes Petronius 48.8, where the Sibyl of Cumae is already shut up in an ampulla and wishes only to die.

128 Lactantius *Div. Inst.* 1.6.12.

129 And perhaps yet a third Gergis in the territory of Lampsacus?

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supported by a fragment of Arrian:¹³⁰ Dardanus the founder of Troy married the daughters of a king Teucer, Neso and Bateia; by Neso he had a daughter Sibylla the mantis, from whom other prophetic women were named Sibyls. One testimony shows Teucrians as predating the Trojan war: Herodotus 7.20.2 has Mysians and Teucrians before the Trojan war invade Thrace and northern Greece. Strabo 13.1.48 re-gards the Teucrians as having come from Crete (before they ever arrived at the Troad?).

The Gergithians are attributed further migration, interpreted by our sources as "returns" after the fall of Troy; it is only part of a more extended migration told of the Teucrians and similarly interpreted.

The Gergithes are traceable as far as Cyprus. Clearchus of Soli on Cyprus (early 3rd century BC), who also attests the two cities Gergis near Troy and Kyme respectively, describes a class of Cypriotes he calls Gergini: "One of the Gergini was a descendant of those Trojans whom Teucer¹³¹ received as his share of the captives from Troy, and with whom he colonized Cyprus."¹³² Again Athenaeus (12.524AB) quoting Heraclides of Pontus (4th cent. BC) names the lower class in Miletus as Gergithes, recounting incidents of a civil war between them and the oligarchy; they thus seem Anatolian natives reduced to serf status by Greeks like the Helots of Laconia.

The Teucer () of Homer is the half brother of Ajax of the island Salamis near Athens

(distinct from the Ajax son of Oileus of Locris), as being the illegitimate son of Telamón of Salamis

(Iliad 8.284). Before the great expedition of Agamemnon, Troy had previously been captured and

sacked by Heracles (Iliad 5.640-651) with only six ships. On that expedition Telamón received

as prize the daughter Hesione of king Laomedon king of Troy (Apollodorus 2.6.4, 3.12.7 with

Frazer's notes); by her (but not as a lawful wife) he had Teucer. We are to assume that Teucer

was so named from his mother's Asiatic ancestry. The tradition then takes him to be a leader in

migrations of his namesake people after the Trojan war, as if elected by them as a foreign prince of their line. Vergil Aen. 1.626 has Teucer calling himself "descended from the ancient race of the

Teucri," *ortum antiqua Teucrorum a stirpe uolebat*. Herodotus at 2.118.2 has Egyptian priests call the Troad "the Teucrian land," . But the Iliad

¹³⁰ Arrian frag. 95 FGH 156, from Eustathius on Iliad 2.814.

¹³¹ Evidently the Achaean, discussed below, not the father-in-law of Dardanus the founder of Troy (above).

132 Athenaeus 6.256-7, from Clearchus' book *Gergithios*, named after a courtier of Alexandria descended from the Gergini.

14.7 Gergithes and Gergashites

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nowhere so refers to it. Perhaps we are to think of the Teucrians after the war as having moved into the Troad, before they or a contingent of them traveled elsewhere.

At Iliad 8.303-5 Teucer kills Gorgythion son of Priam, whose name surely echoes the Gergithes; the "Gergithes remnants of the Teucrians" are projected back into the heroic age as individual antagonists. The supposed travels of Teucer suggest movements of the Asiatic Teucrians after the war. Vergil (*Aen.* 1.619) has Teucer come to Sidon, meet Dido's father Belus who is attacking Cyprus, and as we saw praise the "Teucris" (Vergilian mostly for Trojans) from

whom he himself is descended. Isocrates (*Euagoras* 18) has Teucer found Salamis of Cyprus and named it after the Athenian Salamis.¹³³ But Martin Bernal¹³⁴ suggests that both of Cyprus (*Herodotus* 4.162.2) and the island near Athens (*Iliad* 2.557) are derived from • as "safe harbor," comparing the port Arabic *Dar es-Salām*, ¹³⁵ If the name is Semitic, then the Cypriot city is surely the original. Teucer also went on to Spain, where his golden belt lay in the temple at Gades.¹³⁶ For Justin (44.3, cf. *Strabo* 3.4.3) says that Teucer was rejected by his father Telamón and founded first Salamis on Cyprus, then Carthago Nova in Spain. Horace (*Carm.* 1.7.32) makes Teucer, expelled by his father, the type of eternal self-sufficient wanderers, *Cras ingens iterabimus aequor*.

Olbe of Cilicia had a temple of Zeus founded by Teucer's son Ajax (named after Teucer's half-brother), whose priest kings were alternately called Teucer and

Ajax (*Strabo* 14.5.10).

If any of the travels of Teucer son of Telamón can be historicized as

movements of Teucrians, or of their subdivision the Gergithes, after the supposed fall of Troy, we may think of the Teucrians and Gergithes as part of the shadowy Sea Peoples (if indeed such existed, IL212).

Again the Achaean seers at Troy, both those named in Homer and others, are regarded as having migrated to the East, either individually or as the leaders of actual peoples.

Especially when they themselves play the role of powerful seers after death, they are plausible candidates to have brought necromancy and Sibylline prophecy to Palestine.

133 Pausanias 1.3.2 (and so Isocrates 9.19) regards king Euagoras of Salamis on Cyprus (435-37 4 BC) as descended from Teucer and the daughter of Cinyras; for Teucer in Salamis of Cyprus see Pindar New. 4.46.

134 Communication of January 1996.

135 Gordon (UT iii.491) thinks that Ugaritic *slmy* (KTU 4.261 *slmym* (KTU 4.41.1) are ethnics. , 4.313.1) and

136 Philostratus Vit. ApoL 5.5.

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Herodotus 7.91 speaks of the Pamphylians as among those dispersed from Troy with Amphilochoi and Calchas. The sixth book of the Epitome of Apollodorus recounts the returns or dispersals of the Achaeans other than Odysseus after

the fall of Troy. Strabo 14.4.3 (cf. 1.33) quotes Callisthenes¹³⁷:

Calchas died in Claros, but the people with Mopsus passed over the Taurus; some stayed in Pamphylia, others were dispersed in Cilicia and Syria as far as Phoenicia.

... , , '

Either "Mopsus" like "Tiresias" was a generic name for a seer, or one man was thought to have outlived a number of generations—which come down to the same thing. For there was a ... with the Argonauts (Pindar Pyth. 4.190). I discussed the testimonies for Mopsus at 1.33-34, including his appearance at Ascalon. Calchas is well-known from the Iliad; he appears in an Etruscan mirror divinised with wings as a sacrificial priest, studying the liver of the victim.¹³⁸ Apollodorus Epit. 6.1 lists those who after the war went from Ilion to Colophon: Amphilochoi (below), Calchas, Leonteus and Polypoites from Thessaly, and Podalirius the physician son of Asclepius (all but the first known from the Iliad).

The seers after the war found themselves in deadly combat. Calchas went to Claros of Asia Minor after the war with Amphilochoi; there he was defeated by Mopsus in a contest of divination and died of chagrin.¹³⁹ Mopsus and Amphilochoi sons of Manto the daughter of

Tiresias were half-brothers, Amphilochus as son of Alcmaeon (Apollodorus 3.7.7), Mopsus as son of Apollo. In single combat at Mallus of Cilicia they in turn killed each other, 140 but after death were reconciled and became joint patrons of his infallible oracle (Frazer on Apollodorus Epit. 6.19, without noting that they were half-brothers). Their posthumous expertise reflects the same prophetic psychology as with Tiresias and Samuel in the underworld. Vergil allows the role of seer to be

137 Most MSS and editions "Callinus," but West in IEG ii.50 reads "Callisthenes." Elsewhere Strabo (13.4.8) cites both authors.

138 LIMC v.2.601 Kalchas no. 1.

139 Strabo 14.1.27 = Hesiod frag. 278 Merkelbach-West. It had been foretold to Calchas that he would die if he met a

mantis wiser than himself (Apollodorus Epit. 6.2). The later history of the oracle at Claros is discussed by S. Levin, "The Old Greek Oracles in Decline," ANRW II.18.2 1599-1649, esp. 1628-1637.

140 Strabo 14.5.16 = Hesiod frag. 279 Merkelbach-West.

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taken up also by Anchises, who has almost the same name as Achish of Gath the Philistine (1.164).

The whole Sibylline phenomenon, and in particular the Sibyl of Cumae, has as we saw a good claim to be called "Gergithian"; Tibullus 2.5.67 connects the Cumaean and Marpessian Sibyls (the latter from next to Gergithium near Troy). The Gergithes and Teucrians are attested in Cyprus, and the witch of En-Dor has Sibylline traits. There is a beautiful parallel to the in the Gergashites, "tS'aia always collective. In Ugaritic, bn grgs appears at KTU 4.123.15, 4.377.9, not necessarily as indigenous. They appear with the Qadmonites (Gen 15,19, see 1.37), the Hivites (Achaean?—Deut. 7,1 etc., see 1.32), and (Gen 10,15-18) the men of Arwad (Aradus), Area of Lebanon, and Hamath.

According to the Rabbis (Jer. Talm. Shebiith 6.1, 36c54-6, and elsewhere), Joshua gave the Canaanites three options: emigration, peace, and war. The Gergashites chose the first:

•"pnaN1? 1? -j^m Kin -[HD tmp1? 1? irax m nr a •'»ana "The Gergashites

emigrated, for they believed the Holy One, blessed be He , and went to Africa." Somehow this tradition came to Procopius 43.10.17ff, who says that the (with Jebusites

and others) at the coming of Joshua emigrated, first to Egypt, and then to Libya. He further claims that at Tigisis of Numidia there is an inscription in Phoenician, οί ' "We are they who fled from before Joshua the bandit, the son of Naue." He adds that the Carthaginians expelled them from their territory, and that they later became known as the Moors (Mau-).¹⁴¹ The story further recalls the Western journey of the Teucrians.

En-Dor, where Saul consulted the seer, must be in some sense "the spring of Dor." We saw reason (1.33) to conclude that Dor was named after the Dorians. It first appears surely in the narrative of Wen- Amon (11th century BC) who comes to "Dor a town of the Tjeker, and Beder its prince."¹⁴² The Tjeker

appear elsewhere in the catalog of the Egyptian "Sea-Peoples": "Their confederation was the Peleset, Tjeker, Shekelesh, Denye(n) and Weshesh."¹⁴³ Identifications are much disputed. Wilson confidently identifies the Peleset with the Philistines; less confidently the Shekelesh with the Siculoi, the Denyen with the Danaoi,

¹⁴¹ Lipiftski in DCP 50 0 sv "Zarzi" of Tunisia suggests that the similarity of names underlies the story (see also the articles "Girgish" 19 0 and "Tigisi" 454).

¹⁴² ANET3 26a. ¹⁴³ ANET3 262b.

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Chapter 14: The Mediterranean Seer and Shamanism

and the Tjeker with the Teucrians.¹⁴⁴ If the Teucrians reached not merely Cilicia and Cyprus, but Palestine also (along with "Mopsus"), we have additional grounds for identifying their tribe of Gergithes with the Palestinian Girgashites.

Dorians are not out of place in the eastern Mediterranean. Besides the possibility of their presence at Dor, the Pamphyloi through whom Mopsus led his people, and whom Herodotus knows as scattered from Troy with Amphilochus and Calchas (7.91, 11.196), have the identical name of the Dorian tribe (Herodotus 5.68, see 1.32). At 1.31 we discussed the mix of peoples in Crete (Odyssey 19.175-7): Achaeans, true Cretans, Cydonians, Dorians, Pelasgians. Each has some definable relation to Palestine.

How shall we explain the parallels we have found? We can take it for granted that each

Mediterranean society, like societies everywhere, had some sort of male seer or wonder-worker. In lands of uncertain rainfall, rain-making again is an almost necessary function of such a personage. Pouring water on the ground is a natural magic to induce rain; the use of perforated buckets could have been independently devised. But the use of the torch with its

common name to imitate lightning (along with the mysterious parallel of the torch-bearing fox) surely shows a connection. In what direction? The name of the "torch" seems Indo-European

but not specifically Greek; both Israel and Hellas could have gotten it from Anatolia, where the root is attested in Hittite.

The ursine character of the seer seems specifically due to boreal shamanism; there is no common vocabulary, and both Israel and Hellas could have gotten it independently from the North.

The theme of the seer as knowledgeable in the underworld, and accessible only through a female medium, is too close to being accidental, and not specifically boreal. It is attested in Israel only at En-Dor, a site with Mediterranean connections. The Sibyl can be called Gergithian from the town Gergis, and the Gergithes are part of a dispersal of peoples and seers in Asia Minor, Syria and Phoenicia after the dramatic date of the fall of Troy; then the Canaanite Girgashites can be plausibly explained as a people migrating from Ionia. Thus I suggest that the prophetic powers of Samuel and the narration of the "witch" of En-Dor represent specific Sibylline influence.

144 But H. Goedicke, *The Report of Wenamun*; Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1975, 182, thinks the Tjeker just Semitic "males," root zkr. Drews (Bronze Age 70)

rejects the view that these Siculoi were eastern peoples who gave their name to Sicily; rather, they were the Sicilians themselves serving as mercenaries.

Chapter 15:

Sacred Space and Time in Israel and Italy¹

Rome and the native Italian cities, so far as they did not undergo foreign influence, agree with the ancient Near East or Israel only through their inheritance from remote Indo-European antiquity. The earliest indigenous documentation comes from the bronze tablets

of Iguvium (mod. Gubbio). The agreement with Hellas (and ultimately Israel) which we find (11.69) at Iguvium in the divinity overcoming an enemy with thunder and snow is such an inheritance. But the Iguvine agreement with Israel (less exactly with Hellas) in combining the sacrifice of

a bull with the libation of wine (1.152) already represents a Mediterranean loan in the name of wine, and perhaps of the bull (Iguvine toru) also.

Rome, from the earliest date at which we have authentic documents or plausible testimonies, shows influence by the Greek cities of Italy and the Etruscans, and perhaps from

the beginning by Carthage as well.

That is not surprising, since Rome and Greek Naples are the two main seaports of Western Italy. It might seem puzzling that the Etruscans with their overseas connections set most of their cities well inland except for iron-exporting Populonia (Etruscan Pupluna and Fufluna on

its coins [TLE 378-9]).² But several had separate seaports; and Rome for centuries looked much like an Etruscan city.

Rome in her religion, and her self-understanding of her civic institutions, both in peace and in war, shows a curious blend of legalism and of something like magic. The legalism is also attested at Iguvium,

1 Revision of an article, "The Templum and the Saeculum: Sacred Space and Time in Israel and Etruria," ZAW 98 (1986) 415-433.

2 Probably "the city of Fufluns," ie the Etruscan Dionysus, for he appears on a vase as the son of Semla, ie Semele (Iliad 14.325); for the vase see G. & L.

Bonfante, *The Etruscan Language: An Introduction*; Manchester: University, 1983, p. 123 [hereafter "G. & L. Bonfante"].

in large part as at Rome from Indo-European antiquity; the magic less so. The Romans attributed the most explicitly magical elements in their institutions to the Etruscans. In the next chapter we discuss magic in war: the notion of a box or building in which the military numen of the state is contained, and from which, by the use of proper formulas, it goes out to defeat the enemy. In this chapter we discuss magical features of the city itself, more or less at peace.

The sacred space of the city is marked out by a magical circle, and by a precinct set up for divination (with a common element of vocabulary); its life- span by a magical formula of the extended generation, or *saeculum*. The industry of Etruscan Populonia was iron-metallurgy from the rich mines of Elba (Latin *Ilua*); and here we find the magical or pseudo-scientific idea of regeneration of metal in the mine. These features, attributed in Rome to the Etruscans, mostly pass through Hellas and find their closest parallels in Israel; except that in Israel they are more nearly rationalized. It seems that the Etruscans preserved archaic eastern Mediterranean notions, perhaps intensifying sacral-magical features which were elsewhere softened or dropped.

In a notorious ancient controversy, continued to the present day, Herodotus (1.94) maintained that Lydians colonized Etruria, ; and Dionysius of Halicarnassus (1.30.2) that the Etruscans were indigenous, . Pallottino observes that we cannot ask where French culture came from, it was developed in France. With the Etruscans the real question is where their language came from, and here a third position arises. We shall see (11.212) that a language similar to Etruscan was known at Lemnos, among whose inhabitants were some called by the Greek name for the "Etruscans," .

On the first theory the Etruscans of Italy were colonies of some Aegean people; on the second theory, Lemnos was a colony of the Italian Etruscans; on a third, Etruscan and Lemnian are remnant islands of a pre-Indo-European language

once more widely extended. In any case, whether by migration, or by colonial and trading contacts, or by remote inheritance, the Etruscans were in touch with Near Eastern cultures. Inscribed livers for divination (1.185), attested in Assyro-

Babylonia and Italy, but rarely between,³ are a clear example.

³ Numerous liver models have been found in Hittite territory inscribed in Akkadian, and a few in Hittite: Hans G. Güterbock, "Hittite Liver Models," pp. 157-160 of *Perspectives on Hittite Civilization* (11.86 above, note 16); from F. Rochberg-Halton (ed.), *Language, Literature, and History* [Erica Reiner Festschrift], pp. 147-153; New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1987.

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If we could read the Etruscan texts better, these and many other questions might be answered. For example, it is not fully clear how the Etruscans referred to themselves. Greeks called them (with the same name as apparently for Aegean natives or pirates); Roman Etrusci or Tusci. The only indigenous version of this name proposed is on an archaic gold fibula from Clusium (TLE 489), which has been conjecturally read⁴

mi AraOia Velavesnas zamaöi Manurke mrevenike tursikina

and translated "I am the gold of Arath Velavesna; Manurke the Etrus-can made me." A unique classical text (Dionysius Hal. 1.30.3) says "they call themselves by the same name as

one of their leaders, Rasenna (')." Pallottino interprets TLE 87 (Tarquinii, 4th century BC) amce rasnal "he was zilath of the people(s) of Rasna" (comparing TLE 137,

233) on the basis of a Latin office of the second-century Empire. Thus in an inscription⁶ of AD 184, dedicated to one Q. Petronius Melior, he has been (in the dative) praetori Etrur(iae)

XV populorum bis "twice praetor of the fifteen peoples of Etruria." amce is known to represent the verb "be" with past suffix -ce. Much usage shows that zilad is some public office, and the comparison with the Latin suggests the meaning of both and me\l. But much more still escapes us.

Latin inscriptions from Tarquinii of the early Imperial period, probably set up by T. Vestricius Spurinna (consul for the second time AD 98), commemorate the exploits of his Etruscan ancestors. ⁷ The fullest, thought also the oldest by Torelli, reads (with T.'s supplements, some uncertain): V[elth]VR SPVR[inna] [L]ARTIS F(ilius) PR(aetor) II [in] MA- GISTRATE

AL[terum] EXERC[i]TVM HABVIT ALTEfrum in]

SICILIAM DUXIT PRIMVS O[mn]ium] ETRVSCORVM MARE CV[m] legione] TRAIEfcit aq]V[a clupeo et corona] AVREA [ob uirtutem donatus est]

Velthur Spurinna son of Lars, twice praetor; in his magistracy he held one

⁴ C. de Simone, "Etrusco Tursikina: sulla formazione ed origine dei gentilizi Etruschi in -kina (-girta)," Studi Etruschi 41 (1973) 153ff; but this proposal is

not noted in the work of G. & L. Bonfante.

5 M. Pallottino, *The Etruscans*; tr. of the 6th Italian ed. (1975) of *Etruscologia*; Bloomington: Indiana Univ., 1978, p. 126 [hereafter "Pallottino"]; see G. & L. Bonfante p. 115.

6 ILS 1429; compare 1047, 5013 7 Mario Torelli, 6611 , 6615.

Elogia Tarquiniensia, *Studi e Materiali di Etruscologia e Antichità Italiche*; Florence: Sansoni, 1975; for

the text cited here see p. 43.

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army, led another to Sicily; first of all Etruscans he crossed the sea with a legion; whence he was granted a shield and golden crown for merit.

VELTHVRNE appears in another text. Torelli thinks the Sicilian expedition is that chronicled by Thucydides 6.103.2, where three Etruscan ships support the Athenians at Syracuse in 414/3 BC. But now the painted tomb inscription of the rasnal (TLE 87) begins ...x]urinas and

..

certainly appears to be of a [Sp]urinas\ Torelli identifies the party buried with the Velthur

Spurinna Lartis filius of the inscription. T.J. Cornell⁸ doubts a number of these connections; but it seems firm that the Latin imperial text and the 5th or 4th century Etruscan tomb painting at least refer to the same family. T. Vestricius Spurinna is well-known from the letters of Pliny

the Younger; he carries the name of the Etruscan haruspex Spurinna who warned Caesar of the Ides of March (Suetonius *lui.* 81).

The magical features of the city presuppose a founding at a definite date, when the magical circle was drawn and from which the count of saecula began. Those features thus hardly appear in mainland Hellas, where the cities came down from Mycenaean times, and few traditions of a takeover or refounding by a new population were preserved.

Likewise we should hardly expect them to appear in the Phoenician homeland. They do appear in the founding of Greek colonies, in the capture and refounding of Canaanite cities by the Israelites, and in Phoenician colonization in the West.

Moshe Weinfeld, we shall see, attributes similar themes in Israel and Italy to a "pattern of Greek colonization," which ran parallel to Phoenician colonization, as at Carthage. To the extent that the Aeneid is based in legendary fashion on Greek traditions of colonization, Weinfeld's analysis will hold. But if Rome was ever historically settled or refounded by anyone, it was by Etruscans. Thus the Etruscan elements in Roman legend and theory about the origins of herself lend additional support to the position that not all elements of Etruscan culture were indigenous in Etruria—otherwise there would have been no occasion to set up doctrines about the founding and lifespan of cities. The contents of the *libri rituales* (Festus p. 358 L.) show the Etruscans as above all beginners:

Rituales nominantur Etruscorum libri, in quibus perscriptum est, quo ritu condantur urbes; arae, aedes sacrentur; qua sanctitate muri, quo iure portae, quomodo tribus, curiae, centuriae distri-

8 Review of Torelli in JRS 68 (1978) 167-173.

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buantur exercitus constituent(ur), ordinentur; ceteraque eiusmodi ad bellum et pacem pertinentia.

The Etruscan books are called ritual in which it is written, with what rite cities should be founded; consecrated altars and temples; with what holiness walls, with what law gates, how tribes, assemblies, centuries should be distributed; armies set up; and other matters of this sort pertaining to war and peace.

To these themes I preface two introductory sections: (15.1) on the pattern of a twelve-city league (with a paragraph on river-names); and (15.2) on the evidence for Eastern connections of the Etruscans. I then (15.3) summarize Weinfeld's materials on parallels arising from Greek colonization. The substantive sections then follow: (15.4) on the magical boundary of the city, and its analogue, the sacred precinct with its international name (Latin *templum*); (15.5) on the magical regeneration of metals in the mine, with notes on metal-names in the Mediterranean; and (15.6) on the extended "generations" of the city.

15.1 The amphictyony of twelve peoples

Politically the Etruscans agree with both Greeks and Canaanites in organizing themselves in federations of what in theory were twelve peoples. Following a seminal monograph of Martin Noth⁹ we may call such a federation an "amphictyony" (Demosthenes 5.19) of peoples "dwelling around" a central sanctuary. Across the Mediterranean such groupings agree in three features: the number of peoples is twelve; the bond of their unity is the central sanctuary which they collectively maintain, although political decisions are made there; the peoples each send one or more delegates to a council at the sanctuary, whether for peace or war. Such federations are the closest the ancient Mediterranean comes to what we would call a "nation," an organized community larger than an individual city-state or tribe.

The Etruscans were believed to have founded twelve cities in their heartland (Strabo 5.2.2), twelve in Campania in the south (Strabo 5.4.3), and twelve in the Po valley in the north.¹⁰ The difficulty of drawing up a list of any one of these shows that theory has been at

⁹ Martin Noth, *Das System der Zwölf Stämme Israels*; Darmstadt: Wissen-schaftliche Buchgesellschaft; 1966.

¹⁰ Modern works agree in the group of twelve cities in the north, but I have not easily found an ancient text which states this.

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work.¹¹ Five texts from Livy¹² attest a "temple of [the god] Voltumna," *fanum Voltumnae*, whose site remains uncertain, as the deliberative center of the Etruscans. Thus the tradition

for 434 BC (Livy 4.23.5): *Igitur dum duae ciuitates legatis circa duodecim populos missis impetrassent ut ad Voltumnae fanum indiceretur omni Etruria concilium...*

Therefore while the two states [Veii and the Faliscans (not strictly speak-ing an Etruscan people)], sending legates around among the twelve peoples, had obtained their consent that a council for all Etruria should be an-

announced for the sanctuary of Voltumna, [the Roman senate took counter-measures].

While the fanum is defined by its name as a religious center, in all five cases as here the function of the council is a declaration of war. But among the Etruscans, matters relating "to

war and peace" were governed as we saw by the ceremonies of the rituales libri.

Livy 1.8.3 states as the majority opinion that the number of twelve for the lictors of the Roman king or consul with their axes and rods (11.267) was derived from the Etruscans, quod ex duodecim populis communiter creato rege singulos singuli populi lictores dederint "be-cause of the twelve peoples who collectively made a 'king,' each contributed one lictor." Dionysius Hal. 3.61.2 states with more detail:

For it seems to have been an Etruscan custom for each of the kings () city by city to be preceded by a lictor () carrying an ax with the bundle of rods;

and when there was a joint military expedition of the twelve cities, the twelve axes were given to the one receiving complete power ().

This suggests that Livy's "king" was a temporary military commander, while the "kings" of the individual cities were more permanent. Their Etruscan name was lucumo: Servius¹³

Tuscia duodecim lucumones habuit, id est reges, quibus unus praeerat "Etruria had twelve lucu-mones, that is kings, of whom one was foremost." See further Servius on Aen. 10.202 (11.207) where in place of cities he speaks of prae-fecturas. Etruscan lauxume is attested at TLE 440. It would appear then that in the council at the fanum the cities were each represented either by their lucumo or by one (or more) other delegates, who chose

11 There were also twelve peoples (duodecim populi), of whom nothing more is known, among the Bruttii (Livy 25.1.2), Salentini (Probus ad Verg. Bue. 6.31), and Paediculi (Pliny 3.102).

12 Besides Livy 4.23.5 see also 4.25.7; 4.61.2; 5.17.6; 6.2.2. 13 Servius on Aen. 8.475, cf. on 2.278.

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a supreme commander for war from among the number of the *lucumones*. But there was also a peacetime side to the united peoples, at which *solemnia ludorum* "solemn games" were conducted and over which a priest (*sacerdos*) presided; so Livy 5.1.4-5, recounting an occasion (BC 403) when the rex of Veii (his office an innovation!) interrupted them. 14 The best known of these federations of twelve

peoples is the Delphic "amphictyony" around the sanctuary of Delphi as its center, recorded in literary sources and inscriptions. The orator Aeschines, who conducted a mission to the Amphictyonic Council in 340 BC, lists the "twelve peoples who shared the sanctuary," (Aeschines 3.116). From inscriptions, eg SIG3 145 (380/379 BC) we know (line

36) that the delegates were "hieromnemones," []. Resolutions were adopted by "the wardens and assessors of the Amphictyons and their council" (Demos 154, document), . Elsewhere (11.239) we discuss their policies in a "sacred war."

The Ionians (Herodotus 1.145) had twelve cities in Achaea and took the same number over to what became Ionia. Their center was the Panionion, "the sacred site of Mycale" (Herodotus 1.148). Plato (Laws 745DE) will

divide his ideal city into twelve parts, "and assign twelve lots () to twelve gods, and name [the lots] after [the gods], and dedicate to each god his appointed share, and name the [corresponding] tribe after him ()." Mythical Scheria, the realm of the Phaeacians, had twelve "kings" with Alcinous the 13th (Odyssey 8.390, cf. 1.22, 194).¹⁵ Noth explained the twelve tribes of Israel in terms of this Mediterranean pattern. At a later date their cult center was at Jerusalem; earlier perhaps at Shechem (Jos 24,1, cf Noth 79). He proposes that the list of the *îOÊH* at Num 34,19-29 represents the delegates to a central council. The Hebrews took from the Jordan twelve stones, one for each tribe, and set them up in Gilgal (Jos 4,19); since 'rj'pa means "circle,"

14 Cornell 67 illustrates the 13 altars (of different styles!) at Lavinium, and comments (p. 109) that probably "the several Latin communities each maintained its own altar, just as the Greek cities had their individual treasuries at Delphi. " Was the Latin league then an amphictyony of 12+1 members as at mythical Scheria?

15 I wonder if Homer has rumors of Etruria in mind when he describes the maritime Phaeacians.

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perhaps a megalithic stone circle stood there and gave rise to the Twelve pillars

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for the tribes are set up in Sinai (Ex 24,4). story.

Ishmael also had "twelve princes according to their tribes" (Gen 25,16); and Nahor had twelve sons who could be twelve Aramaean tribes, although the text (Gen 22,20-24) does not total them.

How shall we explain this Mediterranean pattern? Noth thought that the full Hebrew "amphictyony" of twelve was preceded by groups of six; and that these two numbers represented a successive administration of the sanctuary by its members during the year (p. 86):

die Sechs- oder Zwölfzahl would have dann einen praktischen Grund in dem zweimonthlichen oder einmonatlichen Alternieren in der Verwaltung des Zentralheiligtums unter den Amphictyonen innerhalb des Jahres.

Gottwald¹⁷ pointed out that the evidence for such a monthly sharing of the sanctuary is weak. We saw that Aeschines 3.116 says of Delphi that there were "twelve peoples sharing the shrine," ; but not

in what sense the shrine was shared. Plato sees his ideal city as worshiping twelve gods (the Olympian number, Horn. Hymn to Hermes 4.128; Aristophanes Aves 95) with each assigned to a tribe; in it the division into twelve was functional rather than timewise. Solomon (I Reg 4,7-19) set up twelve administrative districts cutting across tribal boundaries; each had a S^h (vs 19) over it, and (vs 7) "a month of the year was assigned to each to send provisions [for the king and his household]":

ps^hD1 ? inxfnl-L^h y n^hai a tffn

(

In the Chronicler's later report (I Chron 27,1-15) David's bodyguard had twelve divisions which rotated month by month, but again they are not correlated with the tribes. Still, the number "twelve" is so strongly fixed around the Mediterranean that some reason should be searched, and this remains the most plausible.¹⁸ Israel and Italy agree in seeing the twelve peoples in a 4x3 or

3x4 array. Ez 48,30-35 makes new Jerusalem square, each side having

16 With ^j'pa Levin SIE 272-275 cautiously compares and Latin *circulus*. Diodorus 2.47.3 describes in the land of the "Hyperboreans" a "circular temple" of Apollo, ... ; a rumor of Stonehenge? The stone circle of Callanish in Lewis of the Outer Hebrides, unlike Stonehenge, suggests a divine council in the individuality and veining of the stones.

17 Norman K. Gottwald, *The Tribes of Yahweh...*; Maryknoll: Orbis, 1979, 354- 355.

18 Here I soften my more skeptical position at 1.22. For amphictyonies see Weinfeld, *Promise of the Land* 29-31.

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three gates for three tribes—the scheme taken up by the Apocalypse.

Servius (on Aen. 10.202) comments on Vergil's description of his home town, Mantua, formerly Etruscan, *gens illi triplex, populi sub*

gente quaderni "It had three clans, and four peoples

under each clan." Servius says: *Mantua tres habuit populi tribus, quae in quaternas curias diuide-bantur; et singulis singuli lucumones imperabant, quos tota in Tuscia duodecim fuisse manifestum est, ex quibus unus omnibus praeerat. his autem totius Tusciae diuisas habebant quasi praefecturas.*

Mantua had three tribes of people, divided into four *curiae* each, over each of which a *lucumo* ruled. It is known that the *lucumones* of all Etruria

were twelve, one of whom presided over all; these held as it were the separate prefectures of all Etruria.

European river-names. By way of parenthesis, I note that the name of the river "Jordan" from which Joshua's twelve stones were taken constitutes a linguistic contact throughout the

Mediterranean world.

Heb. "I^IT may mean "river" generally (Job 40,23); Jos 4,22 speaks of "this Jordan." Homer

also knows a river name , used in the same phrase for two apparently different rivers with poor subsequent attestation: one in Elis (Iliad 7.135, Strabo 8.3.20) and one in Crete (Odyssey 3.292, Pausanias 6.21.6). For its connection with the battles of David and Nestor against a giant see 1.35.19 Did once just mean "river" generically? Pausanias 5.7.4 refers to the Palestinian river in Homeric fashion, .

Greek legend knew a man Iardanos, father of that Omphale queen of the Maeonians who became the wife of Heracles (Diodorus 4.31.5); as befitting a river-daughter she was married to one bearing the name of the mountain Tmolos (Apollodorus 2.6.3, cf. Herodotus 1.7.4, who makes it the source of amber). Almost the same name is borne by a real river in Attica (Plato Critias 112A), elsewhere a mythical one (Hesiod Theog. 338, Herodotus 3.115) later identified with the Po or Rhône; and by ' the Rhône (Polybius 3.49).

Rivers flowing into the Black Sea have names beginning with Dan-, which plainly means "river" in some languages: Danastius the Dniester (Ammianus 31.3.3-4); the Dnieper;²⁰ Tanais the Don (Vergil Georg. 4.517); cf further Danuuius the Danube (Caesar Bell. Gall. 6.25); and cf the of Thessaly (Herodotus 7.129.2).

¹⁹ See also West, EFH 370.

²⁰ Periplus Maris Pontici 58, GGM i.417.

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Such languages are Iranian and Indian. Avestan *dānus* fem. is "river";²¹ Mayrhofer²² with Sanskrit *dānu* neut. "Flüssigkeit" compares the Avestan, Ossetian *don* "Wasser, Fluss" and these river-names. Those flowing into the northern Black Sea (Don, Donets [not attested in antiquity?], Dnieper, Dniester) are thought by Mallory to have been named in an Iranian invasion.²³ If Scythians spoke a language with the same feature (1.224) they would be more probable invaders. Rhodanus and Danuuius would then have been named by Kelts.²⁴ The agreement between Hebrew Jordan and Greek Iardanos (with Eridanos and Rhodanos?) seems independent. If *dan* "river" is the same element in both sets of names, its joint appearance in Indo-Iranian and "Helleno-semitic" points to a very old contact indeed.

The foundation of the original ideal twelve Etruscan cities is attributed to the eponymous hero Tarchon. Strabo 5.2.2: "And when Tyrrhenos arrived, he named the land Tyrrhenia after

himself, and founded twelve cities, appointing a certain Tarkon (accus.) as the founder, from whom the city Tarkynia (Latin Tarquinii) is named; because of his intelligence even from childhood it is said that he was born gray-headed." In particular Mantua was founded by "Tarchon the brother of Tyrrhenos" and named after Mantus the god of the underworld (Servius on Aen. 10.200). The traditions about Tarchon are summarized by Pallottino²⁵ in his commentary on an Etruscan mirror. Lycophron mysteriously speaks (1248-9) of "Tarchon and Tyrsenos, tawny wolves, sprung from the blood of Heracles":

,

Vergil [Aen. 8.506 etc.] makes Tarchon an Etruscan leader. Thus the Etruscan Tarquinii, kings of Rome, along with the first two consuls

2 1 Yasna 60.4, cited by C. Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*; Strasbourg: Trubner, 1904, 733-4.

2 2 M. Mayrhofer, *Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen*, Heidelberg: Winter, 1963, ii.33.

2 3 JP Mallory, *In Search of the Indo-Europeans: Language, Archeology and Myth*; London: Thames & C Hudson, 1989, p. 78; he explains Dnieper as *danu apara "river to the rear" and Dniester as *danu nazdya "river to the front."

2 4 Matters are further complicated by the Avestan name of an enemy people Danavo (Bartholomae loc. cit.) and Sanskrit Dānavah "hostile demon." Also the Greek have been compared; AB Cook (Zeus iii.366-369) thought them "rivermen," for both Diomedes and Ajax the Danaoi

are compared to rivers in torrent (Iliad 5.87, 11.492). See 1.227 on the Danaoi and Hebrew Danites.

2 5 M. Pallottino, "Uno specchio di Tuscania e la leggenda Etrusca di Tarchon,"

Rendiconti della R. Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Classe di Scienze mor. etc., ser. 6 volumes 6 (1930) 49-87.

(11.104), bear the name of the hero. One unknown to literary history is portrayed in the "François tomb" from Vulci of about 300 BC being killed by an Etruscan hero; he is Cneve Tarxunies Rumax (TLE 300), "Gnaeus Tarquinius of Rome."²⁶

This Etruscan name must surely be connected with the weather-god named in the Hieroglyphic Luvian version of the Karatepe inscription (KAI 26) as Tarhui.²⁷ Gurney²⁸ gives his name in Hittite proper as Tarhund

on the basis of personal names. He appears in theophoric Cilician names of the Roman period, eg Dio 51.7.4.

What surely appears the same name is Ugaritic *trgds* (KTU 2.10.5 etc.), and as a place name *trgnds* (KTU 4.400.15). It would have been attractive to compare the Calebite 3 (I Chron 2,48), but we would have expected consonants closer to the Ugaritic. The agreement of Tarchon with the

Anatolian weather-god, combined with Strabo's testimony to a migration, further supports the theory that some of the Etruscans and their language came from the Aegean or Asia Minor.

15.2 Eastern connections of the Etruscans

One route by which the peoples of Italy were in touch with ancient Near Eastern institutions was through Carthage. Previously (1.275-6) we saw how Polybius (3.22-26) found a treaty between Rome and Carthage on a bronze tablet, often dated to the second year of the Republic, 508/7 BC; and we noted parallels to its oath (in later Latin form) *per louem lapidem* "by Jupiter the stone." We were attracted by Bernal's radical proposal (1.24) that Rome itself was so named by Phoenician traders, "citadel." Provisionally we accepted the proposal (1.220) that the Ara Maxima (Livy 1.7.10) of Heracles in the Forum Boarium was of Phoenician foundation; I can now point out that it constitutes one more in the series of "Great Altars" (1.201).²⁹

²⁶ For a speculative historical reconstruction see TN Gantz, "The Tarquín Dynasty," *Historia* 24 (1975) 539-554.

²⁷ P. Meriggi, *Manuale di eteo hieroglifico*; *Incunabula Graeca* 14, 1967; ii.73ff. But any connection is doubted by C. de Simone, "Hethitisch Tarhu etruskisch Taryu," pp. 401-406 of J. Tischler (ed.), *Serta Indogermanica* [Günter Neumann Festschrift]; *Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft* 40, 1982.

²⁸ OR Gurney, *The Hittites*; Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1952; 138.

²⁹ Cornell (69, 112) compares Pyrgi as a Greek emporium with the Forum Boarium,

which, "with its hellenizing cults, its location outside the sacred boundary of the city, and its association with the river harbor (Portus), was evidently the haunt of foreign merchants, many of them resident."

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Above (11.103) we noted the parallel between the two Roman consuls and the two Carthaginian suffetes, both called "judges."

The relations between Etruscans and Carthaginians were closer.

Etruscan cities and Carthage were allied against Phocaeen colonists in a naval battle off Corsican Alalia about 535 BC (Herodotus 1.166).

Again they were allied in a naval battle off Cumae in 474 BC when they were defeated by the Syracusan fleet (Pindar Pyth. 1.70-75); Hieron king of Syracuse dedicated at Olympia an Etruscan bronze helmet from the battle:30

BIAPON TOI TOI TYPAN'

"Hieron son of Deinomenes and the Syracusans [dedicate] to Zeus Etruscan spoils from Kyme." At about the same time are dated the gold tablets of Pyrgi (the port of Caere) in Punic and Etruscan recording a dedication of one doubly identified: in the Punic (KAI 277 Nachtrag) "Tiberius Wins king of Caere":

- ·?!) -J^o »^ i IO-Qn and in the Etruscan (TLE Sup 874) mex Quta Qefariei Velianas "Of the people {mex) — Thefariei Velianas." Aristotle (Pol. 3.5.10 = 1280a36) speaks of commercial relations, perhaps a treaty, between Etruscans and Carthaginians ().

TJ Cornell (pp. 146-147) proposes a remarkable Etrusco-Roman takeover of the image of the "goddess at the window," shown in among other works an ivory from Nimrud of the 8th century BC, ANEP2 no. 131. Jezebel with her mascara looks out of her window (II Reg 9,30) like a harlot or perhaps Ashtoreth the patroness of harlots: •p'pnn 1173 ^gtfFIL, LXX , Vg et respexit per fenestram. In reverse

Wisdom looks out her window (Prov 7,6) and sees a young man meeting

a harlot. Tanaquil the Etruscan (Livy 1.34.9) is perita...caelestium prodigiorum "accomplished in celestial signs"; she addresses the people per window. (Livy 1.41.4) and urges them to accept her son-in-law Servius Tullius as regent. When Servius became king, he took the goddess Fortuna as mistress, and she "entered his house at night through a little window" (Ovid, Fasti 6.577):

nocte domum parua solita est intrare fenestra

Plutarch (Quaest. Rom. 36 = Mor. 273BC) gives the two stories as alternative explanations of the gate named ; he notes that Servius was the luckiest of men () through his congress with Fortuna (in his version). He is comparable to Solomon to whom God gave Wisdom (I Reg 5,9).

30 Now in the British Museum: Meiggs-Lewis no. 29; LSAG2 Plate 51.7.

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We may also summarize some Roman contacts with western Greeks.

The Greek colony at Cumae just up the coast from Naples was founded about 750 BC from Chalcis of Euboea and some Greek city Kyme (Strabo 5.4.4). In 504 BC according to

Dionysius Hal. 7.5, presumably relying on a Cumaean source, Aristodemus tyrant of Cumae made common cause with the Latins of Aricia (just south of Rome) and at Aricia defeated Arruns son of Porsena the Etruscan (Livy 2.14.5-9 makes it 508 BC). About the same time we have a Greek dedication from Graviscae, the port of Etruscan Tarquinii just north of Rome, which evidently had a Greek quarter. The dedication is of a stone anchor which perhaps saved him from shipwreck:31 emi 8[...

"I [ie the anchor] belong to Apollo of Aegina. Sostratus the...made [me]..." Herodotus 4.152 speaks of one "Sostratos of Aegina son of Laodamas," , as the wealthiest trader of his time, and it is natural to see in him the dedicator at Graviscae. In 393 BC the Romans dedicated a gold bowl at Delphi to commemorate a victory over Veii,

and set it in the treasury of the Greek Messaliotes (Diodorus 14.93.4). Polybius (1.6.2) begins his history in 387 BC (on his dating) with the capture of Rome, except the Capitoline hill, by the Gauls; Plutarch (Camillus 22.3) says that Aristotle³² had accurate information about the event. In the same place Plutarch quotes the near-contemporary Heraclides Ponticus as speaking of the capture of a "Greek city Rome" (') by "Hyperboreans."

Diodorus 5.13.4, 5.20.4 refers to a time when Tyrrhenians "held a thalassocracy," referring plainly to the Italian Etruscans. When Strabo 6.2.2 refers to "pirate bands of the Tyrrhenians," in the tenth generation after the Trojan war, it is unclear whether he means the Etruscans based in Italy or pre-Etruscan sea-rovers. The same doubt arises for the "Tyrsenian pirates" of the Homeric Hymn to Dionysus 7.7-8 (1.171).

In a legend recorded by Athenaeus (15.672B) Tyrrhenians living by piracy make off with the statue of Hera at Samos. Plutarch (Quaest.

31 First published by Mario Torelli, "Il Santuario di Hera a Gravisca," *Parola del Passato* 136 (1971) 44-67; photo and further bibliography in John Boardman, *The Greeks Overseas: Their Early Colonies and Trade*; new ed.; London: Thames & Hudson, 1980, p. 206 & fn 160 p. 279; further SEG 26 (1976/7)

1137, LSAG2 Plate 73.7. The name Sostratus appears further in Egyptian Aramaic about 300 BC as omoo (Cowley 81.126). Greek vases in Etruria have a trademark (Cornell 111).

32 Aristotle frag. 610 ed. V. Rose; Leipzig: Teubner, 1967.

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Graec. 21 = Mor. 296B)³³ speaks of "Tyrrhenians" who carried off the daughters and wives of the Athenians from Brauron "at the time when they held Lemnos and Imbros," .

Pallottino (pp. 82-83) appears to regard all this evidence, together with

the testimonies in Herodotus (6.138) and Thucydides (4.109)³⁴ to early "Tyrsenians" in the Aegean and Lemnos associated with the "Pelasgians" (1.171), as still referring to historical Etruscan commerce.

It is unclear whether there is any continuity from the Egyptian records of Teresh as one of the supposed "Sea-Peoples";³⁵ or with Tiras (OTFI Gen 10,2) the son of Japheth.

A famous stele of Lemnos³⁶ in Greek script and a non-Greek language bears an obvious relation to Etruscan: thus it has *api* (twice with variations) corresponding to Etruscan *avils...sealxlsc* (TLE 98), both "years. ..40 (or 60)." It is surely the epitaph of the warrior represented on it with his spear; Heurgon³⁷ regards his name as the text in larger letters and considers him a Greek,

of Phocaea () "nephew of Siasi." Drews, 38 who hardly believes in the existence of any "Sea Peoples," comments:

Although the stele might have been seen as evidence that several hundred Etruscan colonists had come to Lemnos in the seventh or early sixth century [apparently Drews' own view], it was instead seen [by 19th century scholars] as evidence that the entire Etruscan nation had originated in Lemnos and its

environs.

Many scholars feel that the stele represents a distinct language rather than a dialect of Etruscan.³⁹ Pallottino (p. 72) illogically minimizes its agreements with Etruscan; for I see no way to separate the speakers of

33 Cf. Plutarch de fem. viri. 8 = Mor. 247A.

34 Thucydides makes it appear that at one point these sea-rovers actually held Athens.

35 Nancy K. Sandars, *The Sea Peoples: Warriors of the Ancient Mediterranean, 1250-1150 BC*: London: Thames & Hudson, 1978; 111-112.

36 Friedrich KASD 144; drawing in Pallottino Plate 9.

37 J. Heurgon, "A propos de l'inscription 'tyrrhénienne' de Lemnos," CRAI 1980, 578-600, with comments by

M. Lejeune and further discussion (600-606).

38 Robert Drews, *The End of the Bronze Age: Changes in Warfare and the Catastrophe ca. 1200 BC*;

Princeton: University, 1993, p. 59.

39 If Etruscan nefts or nefis (TLE 131, 234, 233) "grandson" were originally borrowed in Italy from Latin nepos,

and if of the stele is the same word, that would be a strong argument that the Lemnian stele was written by colonists from Italian Etruria. But the word could have been borrowed from

Greek "cousin" or some Indo-European equivalent, used to mean "nephew" (sister's son) in the matriarchal Aegean, and transferred to mean "grandson" in patriarchal Italy under the influence of nepos.

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its language from the "Tyrrhenians" attested by the historians at Lemnos, whom Pallottino (p. 82) wants to make Italian Etruscan traders or pirates. The Lemnian stele and the "Tyrrhenian pirates" of the Aegean go together: either both represent Etruscan colonists and trade, or both represent an Aegean seafaring people a form of whose language was also spoken by Etruscans. In the latter case, we

can think either that some people migrated from the Aegean to Italy, imposing a non-IE language on an IE local population, from which Etruscan civilization as we know it emerged; or that both in the Aegean and Italy were stranded relics of an old Mediterranean tongue, elsewhere superseded by the IE migrations.

Although it would be nice to achieve some clarity on this matter, for our present purposes it is enough to point out that Etruscan has intimate contacts with the eastern Mediterranean from an early date, in whichever direction colonization (if any) took place. One further ambiguous testimony to an ethnic movement is the fact that a people of eastern Sardinia, the (Ptolemy 3.3.6) has a name hard to separate from the Etruscan word for "god": Suetonius Aug. 97 quod aesar...

Etrusca lingua deus uocaretur "because in Etruscan aesar means "god."

In several forms including aiser thought plural (TLE 1.4.20 etc.) it is frequent in the texts; it is tempting to compare Old Norse aesir "chief gods," though I do not know how to judge the parallel.

Perhaps as loan words, some names of social roles in Etruscan have Greek dialectal connections. At 1.65 we discussed the doubtful parallel between Etruscan Turan ati of Venus "Mother Turan" (TLE 754, bronze mirror showing Venus and Atunis [Adonis]), Greek "tyrant,"

Hebrew (Philistine?) "rulers," and Hieroglyphic Luvian tar-wa-na-s.

Clearer is the case of purdne (TLE 465, also at TLE 87 [11.201] withzilad in the form purd), which Lambrechts⁴⁰ shows to be the title of an Etruscan magistracy; it is generally compared with , also the title of a magistrate in Greek states as well as in Italy. ⁴¹ Pindar (Pyth. 6.24) calls Zeus "prytanis of lightning and thunder," . Most striking is Etruscan plainl y "wife": thus TLE 88842 metli arnQi puia amce spitus lardai "Medi Arnthi was the wife of Spitu (son of) Larth." It must go with Homeric : in the active of the man, "marry, take to

wife"; in the middle of the woman, "to become married to." It is the regular verb in the Cretan Doric of the Gortyn code

40 R. Lambrechts, "Essai sur les magistratures des républiques étrusques," *Etudes de Philologie, d'Archéologie et d'Histoire anciennes* 7 (1959) 114-119.

41 For example, at Rhegium, SIG3 715; but it seems older in Etruria. 42 Discussed by G. & L. Bonfante 111.

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(11.278). While common in Homer, it seems especially at home with Trojans. Thus *Iliad* 13.429-30: '

, ' ,

' ,

"...the hero Alkathoos, who was son-in-law of Anchises, and had married the eldest of his daughters, Hippodameia." Even Etruscan clan "son" (1.225) has a conceivable parallel in Scots Gaelic dann "children," whence English clan "tribe."

15.3 The formulas of Greek and Phoenician colonization

As the Homeric epics show a general similarity to Hebrew texts, even apart from common vocabulary, narrative themes, or any theories of historical connection; so does the *Aeneid*—and on subjects distinct from its general reliance on Homer. Cyrus Gordon⁴³ gathered such parallels as are to be found on a surface comparative reading. It remained for Moshe Weinfeld to explain why such parallels should exist and put them in an orderly context. Readers will remember his unearthing of international legal formulas in other areas: as mediated through treaties and their loyalty oath (Vol. I Chapt. 8, esp. p. 1.254); and as mediated through royal proclamations (Chapt. 10

above, esp. 11.47).⁴⁴ Just now in a third fundamental study Weinfeld has organized parallels between the *Aeneid* and the early parts of the Hebrew Bible through the "pattern of Greek colonization."⁴⁵ He sees the Phoenicians as the mediators (pp. 20-21):

The two stages of the colonization tradition recognizable in ancient Israel, ancient Rome, Carthage, and the house of Mopsos may reflect a certain

43 Cyrus H. Gordon, "Vergil and the Bible World," pp. 111-130 of ID Passow & ST Lachs, eds., Gratz College Anniversary Volume; Philadelphia: Gratz, 5371/1971; revising his study "Vergil and the Near East," *Ugaritica* 6 (1969) 267-288.

44 We may add the possible dependence of the Twelve Tables at Rome on Near Eastern models: see Raymond Westbrook, "The Nature and Origins of the Twelve Tables," *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte: Roma-nistische Abteilung*; 105 (1988) 74-121. Westbrook contrasts the specific nature of early Roman and Pentateuchal legislation with the general principles found both in the Mishna and the work of Gaius (themselves nearly contemporary). See the parallels among Roman, Greek and Hebrew legislation already found by Grotius in the killing of a thief at night (1.4); and at 11.279 below.

45 Moshe Weinfeld, *The Promise of the Land: The Inheritance of the Land of Canaan by the Israelites*; Berkeley: Univ. of California, 1993, chapters 1 and 2.

I heard the original lectures at Berkeley in 1989 with much profit.

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historical process. CR Whittaker has demonstrated in his elaborate study of the Western Phoenicians and their colonization that both the Greeks and

the Phoenicians refer to two phases of Phoenician colonization.⁴⁶ The first phase comprises the beginning of a connection with the indigenous population (for purposes of trade), which is followed by a second phase involving a great influx of new settlers into the area and representing real colonization.

But Phoenician colonization is little known to us except through Greek and Roman historians, and the Greeks hardly chronicled the founding of their colonies apart from some inscriptions at Cyrene. Thus the process in each case is best recorded at second hand: in the adaptation of Phoenician colonial themes by the Hebrews in their takeover of the promised land; and in Vergil's reworking of Greek colonial themes in the legendary founding of Rome (perhaps more reflecting Etruscan realities).

Here I note Weinfeld's outline of narrative themes in the two phases of colonization; and append some outstanding examples of literary parallels falling under each.

In Chapter 1, Weinfeld does a "typological comparison" of "patri- archal stories" with the examples of Abraham and Aeneas:

1. A Man Leaving a Great Civilization and Charged with a Universal Mission.
2. Gap between Migration of the Ancestor and the Actual Foundation. 3. Promise at Stake.
4. The Pious Ancestor.
5. The Ancestral Gods.
6. The Burial Place of the Founder.
7. [Tension of] Canaan versus Aram, Rome versus Carthage.

In Chapter 2, Weinfeld compares the "pattern of Israelite settlement" with the "pattern of Greek colonization."

1. Inquiry at the Shrine. 2. Priestly Guidance.
3. Divine Obligations.
4. The Founder's Tomb.
5. Naming the Land.
6. Dividing the Land. [11.22 above.] 7. Divine Promise.
8. Setting Up Stones. 9. Building an Altar.

46 CR Whittaker, "The Western Phoenicians: Colonization and Assimilation," *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* (1974) 58-79. [Weinfeld's note.]

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Readers will do well to work through Weinfeld's rich treatment of each theme. A nice introduction is his quotation from the *Hippias Major* 285D (ascribed to Plato, but rejected by many) where Hippias says that the Lacedaemonians prefer to hear stories "about families, heroes, men, and foundations, how in old times cities were founded (,)." But it is mostly from Hebrew and Latin texts that we hear what such stories were like.

Here are some of the most pointed of Weinfeld's parallels, not treated in these pages elsewhere. (a) Founding a great

nation (on 1.1 above). Yahweh says to Abram

(Gen 12,2) "I will make you become a great nation," ^lia

Vg faciamque te in gentem magnam; Isaac says about Jacob, "Let peoples serve you, and nations bow down to you" (Gen 27,29):

cria«1? 1? D^iay -mir Vg et seruiant tibi populi et adorent te tribus. He compares Aen. 6.851 "You, Roman, remember

to rule the peoples with your sway,"

Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento.

I would add Aen. 1.33 "So great a task it was to found the Roman race,"

Tantae molis erat Romanam condere gentem.

(b) Birds of prey threatening the sacrifice (on 1.3). Gen 15,11 "And birds of prey came down on the carcasses," •'33" 71? tû^yn "*1, Vg descenderunt uolucres super cadauera.47 Aen. 3.226Í Harpies (Harpyiae) come down and "tear the banquet,"

diripiuntque dapes. (c) Household gods taken (on 1.5). Rachel steals her father's •", Vg idola, Luther Hausgott (Gen 31,19); Hector commends to Aeneas the "Penates of

Troy" (Aen. 2.293) [which Weinfeld suggests may in an alternate version have been carried by Creusa]. Six hundred men of Dan (twice three hundred, 11.84) guard the teraphim, Luther Haus-götzen (Jud 18,16); six hundred men take care of the Penates in Lavinium (Dion. Hal. 1.67.2).

(d) The founder's bones removed (on 1.6). The bones of Joseph are brought up from Egypt to Shechem (Gen 50,25; Jos 24,32). The bones of Orestes are brought by stratagem from Tegea to Sparta (Herodotus 1.67-68); Cimon brought the bones of Theseus from

Scyros to Athens

4 7 WV "bird of prey" can be seen as parallel to "eagle," and there is a beautiful agreement in that each is used to name the bird emblem of Cyrus the Great. Isa 46,1 1 W13 ' in reference to Cyrus, "calling a bird from the east"; at Xenophon Cyr. 7.1.4 "his ensign was a golden eagle with wings outspread on a long shaft,"

(Plutarch Thes. 36.2), where his grave was a "place of refuge for slaves," . (e) Inquiry at the shrine (on 2.1). The

Danites at Micah's house ask the Levite (Jud 18,5) "Will the journey we are beginning be prosperous?":

^ n

y n'o'p'n «ra s iç'K «im rp^nn

Dorieus before sailing for Italy asked at Delphi "whether he would capture the land he was sailing to"

(Herodotus 5.43), ' .

(f) Sacrifice of the red beast (on 2.3). At Num 19 Eleazar shall sacrifice a red heifer (vs 2 31 3) outside the camp (vs 3 runs'? -"1 ?^); its ashes are for the "water [for removal] of impurity" (vs 9, 3 "'O1 ?). At Cyrene, the great inscription of the 4th century begins "If there should come disease or famine or

BC of leges sacrae

death on the land or on the city, sacrifice before the gates, as an [atonement (katharma)] for averting evil(?), to Apollo who averts evil, a red goat."

[Al] 00[] [] 00[[]

The agreement in three themes—a sacrifice outside the city, of a red beast, as purification—is striking.

(g) Promise to the sons of sons (on 2.7). Weinfeld (Promise p. 5) compares the promises to the patriarchs and David with Iliad 20.307-8:

, .

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(Already Aeneas and Latinus appear together at Hesiod Theog. 1008-

1016.) Although Vergil likely knew Homer's original, it is the late version that he reworks (Aen.

3.97-98):

Hie domus Aeneae cunctis dominabitur oris et nati natorum et

qui nascentur ab illis.

48 SEG 9 (1944) no. 72.1.

49 Strabo 13.1.53 understood this to mean that Aeneas founded a dynasty which ruled over a reborn city at or near Troy. Some moderns think that Homer is flattering a dynasty of Aeneadae in his own time. Similar verses in the Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite 5.196-197; discussion by Edwards in the Cambridge Iliad v.298-300.

"Now the strength of Aeneas will rule over the Trojans, and the sons of his sons who will be born afterwards."

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A late Hellenistic reading (cited by Strabo 13.1.53 and the Scholiast) interprets as of the myth of the race of Aeneas founding Rome, ...

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(Apollo speaking) "Here [in your 'ancient mother'] the house of Aeneas will rule over all shores, the sons of their sons and those who will be born from them." I can add the parallel at Ezek 37,25: in i •'piin yd . tj? "oa-i an·

1]!-! na nn^ y -ntf;] •i1?^ nña'Dn1? D'PÍ!1? ap1? toft]

Vg et habitabunt super eam ipsi et filii eorum et filii filiorum eorum usque

in sempiternum, et David seruus meus princeps eorum in perpetuum. Et percutiam Uli foedus pacis. "They shall dwell there forever, they and their sons and their sons' sons, and David my servant shall be their prince forever. And I shall make with them a covenant of peace."50 At Ezek 28,25 the promise of the land is for the 3, Vg domum Israhel. For the "covenant

of peace" see Velleius Paterculus 2.77.2 in hoc foedere pacis.

15.4 The magic circle of the city

When Vergil (Aen. 1.421-426) shows Aeneas watching the construction of Carthage, he lists all the essential features of a city: Miratur

molem Aeneas, magalia quondam, miratur

portas strepitumque et strata uiarum.

Instant ardentes Tyrii; pars ducere muros molirique arcem et manibus subuoluere saxa,
pars optare locum tecto et concludere sulco.

lura magistratusque legunt sanctumque senatum.

Aeneas marvels at the massive construction, just now huts;⁵¹ he marvels at the gates, the bustle, the streets. The eager Tyrians push on: part draw out the walls, raise up the citadel, roll up stones with their hands; part choose a site for the temple ['roof'] and surround it with a furrow. They set up laws, magistrates, and the sacred Senate.

Why does a temple or a city need to be surrounded with a furrow?

At first it was a magico-religious act to render it inviolable. The ark had to circle Jericho for seven days, and on the seventh day for seven times, before the great shout (Jos 6): it seems that some original magic

50 West (EFH 226) compares the expanded phrase "sons and sons of sons" at Gen 45,10 fJ. J (LXX οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ) with Tyrtaeus 12.29-30 IEG "His tomb and his children are conspicuous among men, and his children's children and his race thereafter": ἔν

51 Magalia is surely, as claimed in antiquity, a Punic or Numidian word, but its prototype cannot be determined.

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15. 4 The magic circle of the city 2 1 9

circle needed to be undone. In the Roman tradition Achilles drags Hector three times around the walls of Troy (Vergil, Aen. 1.483, where Aeneas sees himself represented in the gate of Carthage); again perhaps to render it defenseless. The theory is clear at Sardes, which should have been made impregnable by carrying around the walls the lion born to the king's concubine; unwisely, it was not carried past the steepest part of the ramparts (Herodotus 1.84). It was the prophetic men of Telmessus (Arrian Anab. 2.3.3) who had proposed this means of safety; but in legends of this sort human folly regularly nullifies the

elusive divine protection. The walls of Jerusalem were consecrated by two processions moving in opposite directions and meeting at the other side (Neh 12,31-43). When Dido was granted by the Africans as much land as an ox-hide would encompass, she cut the hide into a single narrow thong and surrounded the future citadel of Carthage (Appian Pun. 8.1.1).

Vergil's furrow, though attributed to Phoenician Dido, is specifically Roman. When

Romulus marked the circuit of Rome, following the instructions of men from Tyrrhenia (Etruria), he did it with a bronze plow, yoking together a bull and a cow, and lifted the plow over the site of the future gates (Plutarch Rom. II). 5 3 He killed his brother Remus for jumping over such a trench or the first course of the wall (Plutarch Rom. 10.1; Livy 1.7.2). Macrobius 5.19.13 cites one Carminius: prius itaque et Túseos aeneo uomere uti, cum conderentur urbes, solitos, in Tageticis eorum sacris inuenio et in Sabinis ex aere cultros quibus sacerdotes tonderentur.

I find it in the sacred books of Tages 5 4 of the Etruscans that, when they were founding cities, they used a bronze plow; and among the Sabines, that their priests were shaved with bronze razors.

52 Appian names the citadel of Carthage on the basis of this story by folk-etymology to "leather"; but the Punic (though unattested in Carthage) must have been 3 "Stronghold," as Gen 36,33 13 the name of several cities, and particularly Nabataean Bostra, attested in Palmyrene at PAT 029 0 as also in Nabataean (Cooke 101.8); as

53 See further Plutarch Quest. Rom. 27 = Mor. 271A; Varrò de ling. lat. 5.143; Dion. Hal. 1.88. Plutarch (Mor. 271 A) quotes Varrò as saying that the wall must be considered sacred so that men can fight and die in its defense (see 1.160).

5 4 Tages has multiple connections with Tarchon. Tages was turned up by a plowman at Tarquinii, like Tarchon "with the appearance of a boy but the wisdom of a mature man" (Cicero de div. 2.50). "As a boy he gave the discipline of haruspicy [1.185] to the twelve peoples of Etruria," Tages...puer

Ptolemy 5.17.7. Alter- native explanations at DCP 83.

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purifying ceremony of the lustrum the whole army was drawn up and the sacrifice (suouetaurilia, 1.214) of a pig, sheep and bull was offered (Livy 1.44. 1-2); Dion. Hal. 4.22.1

adds that the victims were first led three times around the whole army—another type of magic circle.

Cities are founded, not only with a magic circle around them, but with a magic head underneath them. That prehistoric skulls are found out of stratigraphic context is due to the habit of keeping them as talismans. Hiel relaid the foundations of Jericho at the cost of his firstborn, and its gates of his youngest (I Reg 16,34); this may not be as claimed the result of a curse (Jos 6,26) but normal practice. When L. Tarquinius Superbus was digging for the foundations of the temple of Jupiter on what became the "Capitoline" hill, a human head with intact features (*caput humanum integra facie*) was found; and soothsayers including Etruscans said that this meant here would be *arcem...imperii caputque rerum*, "the citadel of empire and the head of the world" (Livy 1.55.5-6). Olenus of Cales, the most famous uates of Etruria, tried to transfer the good omen to his own people by drawing a picture of the temple on his own soil, and asking the Roman envoys, "Is this what you say, Romans, .. 'We found the head here'? (*hie caput inuenimus*)" (Pliny 28.15).

The Capitoline Hill at Rome together with its Temple of Jupiter and the citadel (*arx*) was thereafter seen as the primary seat of Roman rule: thus Horace (Carm. 1.37.6-8) *dum Capitolio / regina dementis ruinas / funus et imperio parabat* "while a queen [Cleopatra] was preparing senseless ruin for the Capitol and a burial for the empire." The com-
dicitur disciplinant haruspicii dedisse duodecim populis Etruriae (Festus 49 2 L.). He "sang out that discipline, and the ruling lucumones of Etruria wrote it down" (Censorinus 4.1 3 *qui disciplinant cecinerit extispicii, quant lucumones tum Etruriae potentes exscripserunt*). Perhaps it was Tarchon himself who turned up

Tages with the plow (Johannes Lydus *de ostentis prooem.* 2-3). J.

R. Wood ("The Myth of Tages," *Latomus* 39 [1980] 325-344) brings together all versions of the story, and concludes that in its original form Tages passed from infancy to adulthood to old age and death in a single day. A beautiful bronze mirror often reproduced (see Paliottino, Plate 3 7 and note 2 4 above) shows a young haruspex examining a liver, Pavatarchies (Tages?); bearded Tarxunus watches intently.

5 5 The Jerusalem temple was built without iron tools: Ex 20,25; Deuteronomy 27:5; I Reg 6,7; Josephus BJ 5.225. Circumcision and embalming must be performed with flint knives (1.80-81), and for the retention of Joshua's knives see footnote 63 below.

Archaic tools must be used for sacred tasks.⁵⁵ After the census of Servius Tullius in the

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'ya ans a ito •p'ʔita-i ap3 The

^oir n · ito òn^ia^ia His name is given in the form

Talm. le) "And what they offer there is unclean." Perhaps then the place Golgotha, or "the place of a skull"

skull of Adam was found at Golgotha: thus Epiphanius adv. Haer. 46.S.658 "the skull of the first-made man was found there." Medieval

representations of Calvary often show a skull which is to be interpreted as Adam's. Much curious information in Jeremias,⁵⁹ who speculates that already in Judaism the site of Golgotha was one of cosmic significance.

The magic circuit around a square city is paralleled by the boundaries of a sacred precinct, whose name traverses the Mediterranean. Jud 2,9 narrates the burial of Joshua at Timnath-Heres (). This seems the original form of the name, "Precinct of the

Sun," altered at Jos 19,50 & 24,30 to 0"3. out of fear of idolatry. The meaning of 0 is clear at Job 9,7 " who commands the sun and it does not rise."

Joshua made the sun stand still (Jos 10,12-13)⁶⁰ and his burial place

⁵⁶ Lauterbach i. 177.

⁵⁷ Saul Lieberman, Hellenism in Jewish Palestine...; Texts and Studies of the Jewish Theological

Seminary of America, vol. 18; New York: JTS 5711/1950; p. 161.

⁵⁸ Ed. K. Holl (GCS, 1922) p. 209, who on p. 208 (note on lines 16ff) gives a very full catena of Greek and Latin Patristic passages in agreement.

⁵⁹ J. Jeremias, Golgotha, Leipzig: Pfeiffer, 1926. ⁶⁰ For Homeric parallels see 11.59 above.

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might have been named after the feat.⁶¹ The tell at Khirbet Tibneh in rugged rocky country fits the data well enough.⁶²

The LXX after Jos 21,42 adds an account of Joshua receiving the city Timnath as his inheritance. ⁶³ Sometimes the place names in Timnath have been derived from the root H3Ö "count, assign" as "assigned territory." But ti- is not a very common feminine prefix.

Then we should compare a Sumerian loanword in Akkadian, temmenu, temennu etc. "clay foundation document of a temple." Thus in the inscriptions of Sennacherib⁶⁴ Nineveh is the tim-me-en-nu da-ru-ú, "the everlasting substructure"

of the universe; elsewhere (p. 102) more prosaically i-na tim-me-en-ni ekal "in the foundation-platform of the palace." In view of Sumerian TEMEN⁶⁵ "terrace, terre-plein, foundations," it is further attractive to propose that "sacred precinct" is not Indo-European but a loan from temennu.⁶⁶ "Precinct" would provide an excellent meaning for 30*.⁶⁷ The Greeks presumably thought that came from "cut"; thus Iliad 6.194 of Bellerophon: οἱ of others

"And the Lycians cut him a temenos better than the others." But that can just be popular etymology. Finley⁶⁸ holds that in Homer temenos normally means "royal land" and was not the gift of some other party except in this Lycian case where non-Greek customs are in effect. The Pylos Mycenaean tablet DMG2 152, much discussed, has two categories of temenos sown to wheat. Elsewhere in the Iliad (eg 8.48) a temenos can be a sacred precinct with an altar, as also in Pindar. In

61 The places called Beth-Shemesh, "House of the Sun," are apparently different from Joshua's, as is O Har-Heres (Jud 1,35) "Hill of the Sun," but confirm the meaning. The other places called Timnah are probably abbreviations of some such name.

6 2 ABD vi.557-8.

6 3 The LXX also add here that Joshua took the stone knives (1.80-81) with which he had circumcised the Israelites

and laid them up in this city.

6 4 DD Luckenbill, *The Annals of Sennacherib*; Chicago: Univ. of Chicago, 1924; p. 94.

6 5 R. Labat, *Manuel d'épigraphie akkadienne*; 4th ed.; Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1963; 173.

66 So Jacqueline Manessey-Guitton, "Temenos," *Indogermanische Forschungen* 71 (1966) 14-38. Angela Della

Volpe, "The development of Twenty-First LACUS Forum - 'cut' is possible; but this does not exclude what seems, 1994, 626-634 from Indo-European the more plausible etymology. 6 7 man might have an alternate lOf)*, as nplS has in plS.

6 8 MI Finley, "Homer and Mycenae: property and tenure," *Historia* 6 (1957) 133-159, p. 149.

15.4 The magic circle of the city

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Herodotus 9.116.1 at Elaiou "there is the tomb of Protesilaus and a temenos around it,"

. Here is an exact parallel to Joshua's tomb in the middle of a place called Timnath. If Hebrew had *ṭōṭf-njpn** "Precinct of the Sun," it would have been a complete linguistic parallel (11.60) to an inscription of Rhodes (IG 12.1.2 line 7) where the temple of the Sun had around it a precinct, .

A sacral area had three elements—temple, precinct, and altar—all of which appear in the Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite, 5.58-59: *

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"And [Aphrodite] went to Cyprus and entered her fragrant temple, to Paphos, where she has a precinct and a fragrant altar." Here are also all three words (11.43), and (1.188

etc.). The temple of Aphrodite at Paphos was her principal or only one in Cyprus; Herodotus 1.105 says that it was founded from the temple of Aphrodite Ourania in Ascalon. Thus we shall not be

surprised that the appearance of these three words in Hebrew is marginal. But a Hebrew temple (the "habitation" of the god) must have an altar, even with different vocabulary.

Thus at Isa 27,9-10 in the destruction (of Gentiles) "all the stones of the altar (30 "•jON- ' ^, LXX)" are crushed, and the fortified city becomes "a desolate habitation," U ^WÜ m 3.

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Latin *templum*, similar to , denoted a precise concept of space, probably Etruscan: a delimitation of the visible area for the sake of taking omens. Varrò {de lingua latina 7.8) defines *templum* as a "place defined by a certain set of words for the sake of augury or taking auspices,"

dictum templum locus augurii aut auspicii causa quibusdam conceptis uerbis finitus. Behind the legal verbalism of this definition we discern a primitive concept more purely magical than anything attested in the Hebrew Bible. Romulus and Remus both take hills as "their temple for augury," *ad inaugurandum temple* (Livy 1.6.4). Hence in poetry *templum* becomes "a tract of space, sea or sky"; thus a fragment of Ennius' *Annales*⁶⁹ quoted by Varrò de ling. lat. 7.6 "One [Romulus] there will be whom you [Jupiter] will lift up to the blue tracts of the sky": *Unus erit quem tu tolles in*

caerula caeli / templa...

After that it acquires the familiar sense of "religious sanctuary, temple," for which older Latin is *aedes*, "house." Hence probably it is from **temlum* with *p* for euphony and either parallel to or an Etruscan deformation of it (so Ernout-Meillet). The meaning "expansion" 69 Ennius frag. 5 4 Skutsch.

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of sky or air" is nicely paralleled by Aeschylus *Persae* 365

"when darkness seizes the *temenos* of the sky."

15.5 Regeneration of metals in the mine⁷⁰

Much of the wealth of Etruria came from the iron mines of Elba, mostly processed opposite on the mainland in Populonia, "the Pitts-burgh of antiquity," ¹

where the slag-heaps have covered the old town and necropolis. (No doubt it was uneconomical to bring timber over to the island for

preliminary smelting.) Diodorus 5.12.13 gives the island its Greek name of

"Sooty" and describes the process of smelting. Minto⁷ describes how ²

the ancient city was disinterred from its blanket of slag. Vergil, cataloguing Aeneas' Etruscan allies, says (*Aen.* 10.172-4) that Populonia gave him six hundred soldiers, "and Ilua three hundred [again!], an island rich in the inexhaustible mines of the Chalybes":

...ast Ilua trecentos

insula inexhaustis Chalybum generosa metallis.

Vergil suggests that the mining industry here was derived from the Chalybes of Asia Minor (1.174-5). His *inexhaustis* is not conventional exaggeration but points to a magical element in what was surely Etruscan thinking. For even the sober Strabo (5.2.6) states it as a remarkable feature of the island that "the pits which have been mined out are in time filled up again," as he also claims for Rhodes, Paros and India. Pseudo-Aristotle (*de mir. ause.* 93 = 837b30) says (correctly) that originally the island produced copper; and that after the copper was exhausted, a long time later "iron appeared from the same mine," . Native copper has a characteristic "dendritic" or branched structure from the manner of its deposition, and this may have suggested that it, and

other metals, were organic products. Servius (on Aen. 10.174) reads/« exhaustis Chalybum

70 See in general JF Healy, *Mining and Metallurgy in the Greek and Roman World*; London: Thames & Hudson, 1978.

71 Jacques Heurgon, *The Rise of Rome to 264 BC*, tr. James Willis; Berkeley: Univ. of California, 1973, p. 43. Populonia is further described by Luisa Band, *Etruscan Cities and their Culture*, tr. Erika Bizzarri; Berkeley: Univ. of California, 1973, 140-146; . H. Scullard, *The Etruscan Cities and Rome*; Ithaca: Cornell, 1967, 141-146.

72 Antonio Minto, "L'antica industria mineraria in Etruria ed il porto di Populonia," *Studi Etruschi* 23 (1954) 291-319.

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generosa metallis "generous in the exhausted mines of the Chalybes": and comments quanto exhausta fuerit, tanto generosior, hoc est "the more it had been exhausted, the more productive or polygonos it was." He claims to quote Pliny:

cum in aliis regionibus effossis metallis terrae sint uacuae, apud Iluam hoc esse mirum quod sublata renascuntur et rursum de isdem locis effodiuntur.

While in other regions when the mines have been completely dug out the lands remain empty, the remarkable thing about Ilva is that what has been removed is regenerated and again is dug up from the same places.

This theme is shared with the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus (from Doliche of Commagene) where a number of inscriptions appear to speak about the birth of iron: thus (ILS 4302, Rome) Ioui optimo máximo Dolicheno ubi ferrum nascitur... "To Jupiter Optimus Maximus, of Doliche where iron is born."⁷³ The Greek encyclopedists speak in the same way about the Chalybes: thus Hesychius · "Chalyboi, a people of Scythia, where iron comes into being"; the Suda replaces the verb by "is born."⁷⁴ Lying behind these testimonies is the language of Homer (*Iliad* 2.857):

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where for among the variants are and "from far-off Alybe

(Chalybe?) whence is the birth of silver." Aeschylus (*Persae* 238) has the Chorus of elders

tell the queen Atossa that "they [the Athenians] have a fountain of silver, a treasure of the earth," referring to the mines of Laurion:

Thus in the general mystery of mining and metallurgy, how metals got into the earth in the first place, there was added the notion that silver and iron were in time regenerated in the mine; a notion best attested in the archaic thinking of the Etruscans. Hebrew knows the process of mining only through the testimony of Job (28,1-2), who perhaps has in mind the copper-mines of the Sinai: •í'p'p nn-ri? mpp-i 13.Î<] ∴ njp "jaya ^n ?

rsio ?1? el ∙ ^

"There is a source of silver, and a place for gold which they refine; iron is taken from the dust, and one melts stone into copper.

can be an ever-flowing spring of water: Isa 58,11

VCPÖ ••Q-rir-X"? -itfK D^p

"

But elsewhere

73 F. Cumont, *Etudes syriennes*; Paris, 1917, 196-202 lists and discusses further inscriptions of the same sort.

74 Cumont (prev. note) p. 199.

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"like a spring of water, whose waters never fail," LXX

. Of the four metals mentioned here, silver is the one where the language most strongly suggests regeneration. This appears the interpretation in a passage of *Ethiopie Enoch*⁷⁵ pronouncing judgment on practitioners of magic and technology:

how silver is produced from the dust of the earth, and how bronze is

made upon the earth—for lead and tin are produced from the earth like

silver—their source is a fountain inside (which) stands an angel, and he is a running an

We saw that in the thinking of the goldsmith-bankers who lie behind the collections of proverbs of "Solomon" and Theognis, gold and wisdom are nearly identical (l.298ff). Job introduces his whole description of mining to ask by way of contrast (28,12) "But where shall wisdom be found? and what is the place of understanding?"

Similarly in the Greek world Heraclitus of Ephesus could look at the placer-mining in the rivers coming down from Mount Hermus, which gave Croesus the Lydian his wealth, and comment:⁷⁶ γὰρ οἱ "Those who , search for gold dig up much earth and find little." But he

for something else, "I searched for myself."⁷⁷ For the truth of the matter was this:⁷⁸

- , Αόγῳ ἐχέη "For by

himself searched

going you could never find the boundaries of Soul, not if you proceeded along every way, so deep a meaning (logos) it has." Here the Greek philosopher like the Hebrew poet goes beyond the facile equating of men with their wealth.

Of the metal-names in Greek and Latin, only chrysos "gold" has a certain Mediterranean parallel in Heb. f- (1.301). Latin aurum⁷⁹ and aes "copper, bronze" are Indo-European; "copper, bronze" is unexplained and ?³ "copper, bronze" has no parallels outside Semitic. The words for "silver," argentum and are Indo- Euro-pean; see 1.301 for a conjectural parallel in p -. But Hebrew ^03 (stem-form kasp-) could be related

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to which Strabo 11.8.9 gives as the name of the Caucasus or its southern tier; for it might have been

continuous with the land of the Chalybes source of

Kastpos,

⁷⁵ I Enoch 65.7-8, pi45 ed. Charlesworth.

⁷⁶ Heraclitus frag. 22 FVS8 from Clemens Alex.

⁷⁷ Heraclitus frag. 101 FVS8.

⁷⁸ Heraclitus frag. 45 FVS8.

⁷⁹ I have wondered whether in the sense "treasury" might attest

plus an otherwise lost Greek parallel to aurum, "place of depositing gold."

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silver. The 30D following proper names at Elephantine (Cowley 13.18- 19) has been interpreted both as "silversmith" and "Caspian."

Greek "iron" has been compared (by Persson in Frisk) with Latin *sidus* "star" on the grounds that the earliest iron used was meteoritic; but who finding a meteorite in the ground would have conjectured that it had fallen from the sky? Also the vowels of *sidera* plural

differ in length. As soon as the higher temperatures required for iron metallurgy were achieved, it was found to be very common. Canaan is a land "whose stones are iron" (Deut 8,9); the Caucasus is "mother of iron," ... Aeschylus PV 301-2. Latin *ferrum*, unexplainable from Indo-European, suggests a Mediterranean origin from the unknown peoples or technologists who brought the principles of its metallurgy. Ernout-Meillet cautiously compares Old English *bras*, *broes* "bronze" and Hebrew *Can anything be made of these?*

Rendsburg⁸⁰ has a detailed study of the words for "iron." The abnormal correspondence of consonants in Aramaic *73 (Cowley 10.10 etc.), Ugaritic *brdl* (KTU 4.91.6 *kkrm brdl* "talents

of iron") shows that the word spread by borrowing rather than inheritance. On the basis of Ethiopic names of iron like Amharic *borät*, and South Arabian *frzn*, Rendsburg conjectures that the -/ of Semitic is the expansion of an original triliteral root on the pattern of from DH3, both "vineyard." He then further compares Cushitic *br(r)* "silver" and names of an uncertain metal

in various languages, Egyptian *bi3*, Ugaritic *brr*, Sumerian *BAR*; and suggests that Latin *ferrum* is from either the triliteral **frz* or the like, or the bilateral **br*. By the nature of things the proposal cannot be decisively rejected or validated.

More plausible and tempting is Rendsburg's comparison of Heb. *'J.nil* and its like with a medieval European word. Since Chaucer, English knows a noun *brasil* for a red dye: of the

ruddy Nun's Priest he says:⁸¹ Him nedeth not his color for to dyen With brasile, ne with greyn of Portyngale.

The OED sv Brazil regards the noun as "Originally, the name of the hard brownish-red wood of an East Indian tree, known as Sappan (*Caesalpinia Sappan*) from which dyers obtain a red color." And further:

On the discovery of an allied species, also yielding a dye, in South America, the territory where it grew was called terra de brasil, 'red-dye-

⁸⁰ Gary A. Rendsburg, "Semitic PRZL/BRZL/BRDL, 'Iron,'" *Scripta Mediterranea* 3 (1982) 54-71.

⁸¹ Epilogue 13 to the Nun's Priest's Tale = 3456-7 = M648-49.

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wood land', later abbreviated to Brasil 'Brazil'. Brazil-wood was thus not named from the country, but the converse was the case.

Albertus Magnus⁸² is attested with Latin *brasilium* for the wood of the same tree. This in itself is no parallel; but enticing is the fact that the wood (OED *ld*) is "taken as the type of hardness (whence formerly turned into balls for bowling); hence the simile as hard as brazil [accented on the first syllable as

in Chaucer] still common dialectally "though not before the 19th century. English also has another word brazil (pronounced brazzle) for iron pyrites or coal containing it (since mid 18th-century). Rendsburg suggests that the meaning "hard" preceded "dye-wood" as a miner's term; and further proposes that place-names in northern Spain like Barcelona⁸³ rest on Punic *?r"Q as places which mine or ship iron.⁸⁴

IS.6 The saecula of the city and their portents

On August 2, 1956, the last Union veteran of the American Civil War and survivor of the Grand Army of the Republic, Albert Woolson, died at the age of 109—which would have been 110 according to the ancient reckoning, counting both ends. He had enlisted in a

Minnesota regiment at the age of 17 in 1864. The record book was closed and turned over to the Library of Congress, the official seal of the Grand Army went to the Smithsonian. The next day the New York Times remarked editorially that "now the old war is only a story told of men whose bones are ashes"; the front-page story noted that Woolson in his late nineties had seen the shift from muzzle-loaders to the atomic weapon of Hiroshima.

At his death four days before the anniversary of Hiroshima it was clear that one age had come to an end and another began.

Joseph also died at the age of 110 years (Gen 50,26). And likewise Joshua was 110 years old at his death (Jos 24,29). Jud 2,7-10 elaborates:

82 Mittellateinisches Wörterbuch, Munich: Beck, 1954-; i.1565, citing Albertus Magnus veget. 2.79, 2.82.

83 Pliny 3.2.2 colonia Barcino; Avienus Ora maritima 520 et Barcilonum amoenas sedes ditium "and the pleasant seats of rich Barcilonas."

84 Jean Delumeau (History of Paradise: The Garden of Eden in Myth and Tradition; tr. Matthew O'Connell; New York: Continuum, 1995; p. 104 with notes) observes that medieval maps from the 14th century on place an idyllic island Brazil in the Atlantic. He regards it as having given its name to present-day Brazil; and that its name "does not come from a plant that yields a glowing red dye, but from a Dutch term, *Hy Bressail* or *O Brazil*, meaning Happy Isle."

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And the people served Yahweh all the days of Joshua, and all the days of the elders who prolonged their days after Joshua, who had seen all the great work which Yahweh had done for Israel. [Joshua dies at the age of 110; he is buried at Timnath-Heres (11.221).] And all that generation (") was gathered to their fathers; and there arose another generation after them, who did not know Yahweh or the work which he had done for Israel.

In contrast, those who previously had gone into the wilderness with

Moses had done so badly that Yahweh swore none of them should see the land which he had promised to their fathers (Num 14,22-23); "For forty years I loathed that generation" (Ps 95,10): *ina ta-ipN D^Tm*

And so they had to stay in the wilderness "until the entire generation, that is, the men of war, had perished from the camp, as Yahweh had sworn to them" (Deut 2,14). At most a Caleb might be excepted (Num 14,24; Deut 1,36);

otherwise they were not to see the land flowing with milk and honey (Jos 5,6). But their sons who took part in the conquest did so well that during their lifetime they were a safeguard for the people, as having seen "all the great work which Yahweh had done for Israel" (Jud 2,7). Yahweh left enemies in Canaan just so that "the generations of the sons of Israel might know war, that he might teach war to such at least as had not known it before" (Jud 3,2).

Here "generation" (ill) is used in an extended sense from the one we are more familiar with, we may call it a "long generation": when a great event happens, its generation continues until the last survivor of those who saw it has died. In Hebrew and American thought, when a society has gone through a great collective experience, it continues to be marked by it as long as any of those who participated are alive.

Roman formalism defined this way of thinking with great accuracy.

The Roman antiquarian Censorinus in AD 238 wrote a work *de die natali*, "On the birthday." He defines (17.5-6) the "age" or "genera-tion" (*saeculum*), probably following Varrò, whom he quotes a little later for the contents of "Etruscan histories":

in unaquaque ciuitate quae sint naturalia saecula rituales Etrusco-rum libri uidentur docere...quo die urbes atque ciuitates con-stituerentur, de

his qui eo die nati essent, eum qui diutissime uixisset die mortis suae primi saeculi modulum finire.

The ritual books of the Etruscans are known to teach what the natural Saecula are in any given state. ...Of all those who were already born⁸⁵ on the

⁸⁵ Censorinus' Latin taken more naturally would mean "of all those born on the very day..." But the proclamation at the Secular Games (11.232) announces an

Censorinus goes on to say that the Etruscan histories claimed to have been written in the eighth Etruscan saeculum, and gives the numerical value of the first seven saecula in years;

he adds that when the tenth should be finished "there would be an end of the Etruscan name," finem fore nominis Etrusci. So among the Hebrews, when certain parties are excluded from

the assembly of Yahweh "even to the tenth generation" (Deut 23,3-4), if this is the long generation (and not just the age of a father at the birth of his son), it might have been intended

as the utmost extension of the Israelite state. It seems then that the Etruscans had somehow

carried from the Near East a formula for the utmost conceivable life-expectancy of a city or state. Censorinus 17.15 suggests that the lifespan of Rome might be 1200 years, perhaps 12

saecula of 100 years each.⁸⁶

While both Romans and Hebrews seemingly inherited formulas which attributed to their state a fixed life-span, of ten or twelve long generations, an alternative theory saw the unity of their society based on a single city felt as unique and eternal. Joel 4,20 "Judah shall be inhabited for ever and Jerusalem from generation to generation": p[^]iT i 3E>'n " Vg [3,20] et Iudaea in aeternum habitabitur, et Hierusalem in gene-ratione et generationem. ini

it, "cannot be moved but abides for ever" (Ps 125,1): neh •'piu'p taiia, :-K'i?

Vg (with different phrasing) non commouebitur in aeternum. The Romans, unaware that their volcanic hills were of very recent geological formation, thought of their city as aeterna urbs (Tibullus 2.5.23), or at least with a beginning but no ending, in aeternum urbs condita (Livy 4.4.4).⁸⁷

event "which no one had seen or would see again"; and some of those already

born would surely outlive the small group of those born on the very day.

⁸⁶ Ogilvie (p. 55) on Livy 1.7.1 states positively that "Etruscan divination had predicted a life-cycle of 12 saecula for Rome"; but Censorinus 17.15 does not quite say this,

although I do not totally follow his arithmetic.

8 7 An archaic mode of time-reckoning was to drive in an annual nail; thus Festus p. 97

L. "That was called an annual nail (*clavis annalis*) which was driven into the walls of sacred edifices year by year, so that through them the number of years might be determined." One such was driven in the temple of Minerva in the aedes of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the Ides of September (Livy 7.3.5); its purpose was to serve as a *notam numeri annorum* in an age of illiteracy. One such also was driven in the temple of the Etruscan goddess Nortia at Volsinii

Mount Zion, and by implication the city set on

15.6 The saecula of the city and their portents 2 3 1

The end of a saeculum was marked by *ludi saeculares*, "Secular Games." Because of the honorary character of presiding over a new beginning, the computation was manipulated.

Augustus celebrated Secular Games in May and June of 17 BC for which we have exceptional

documentation. Horace's extant *Carmen Saeculare* was the anthem; we possess on a magnificent white marble (now in the Museo delle Terme) the commemorative inscription with

documents, lists of participants, a description of the ceremonies, and a reference to Horace's poem;⁸⁸ Zosimus (2.6) records in the original Greek the Sibylline oracle conveniently produced; and we have the words of Augustus himself (*Res Gestae* 22). The *Quindecimviri* under Augustus determined that the correct length of a saeculum was a fixed 110 years. ⁸⁹ Censorinus 17.10-11 therefore states that the games had been or ought to have been celebrated in 456, 346, 236 and 126 BC. ⁹⁰ The real dates and historical actuality of early celebrations are controversial. Under Augustus a prominent role was played by 110 matrons (inscription line 23). The stunning agreement between Israel and Rome in the period of 110 years further suggests an old Etruscan-Levantine connection, conceivably based on actual observations of group longevity as in the American experience. No obvious numerological meaning for "110" suggests itself.

Claudius in his now lost *History*, written under Augustus, praised the Emperor's calculations in restoring the games on the correct date (Suetonius, Claudius 21.2). But

when he became Emperor himself he alleged that Augustus had set the wrong date, and celebrated the games himself in AD 47 (Tacitus Ann. 11.11) as being the 800th year since annually. Occasional nails were also driven to avert calamities—to keep the evil from getting around. See Maria Jose Peña, "La 'lex de clavo pangendo',"

Hispania Antiqua 6 (1976) 239-265; LA Foresti in American Journal of Ancient History 4 (1979) 144-56 (not seen by me). There is a parallel in the Assyrian system by which each year was named after an eponymous official chosen by lot, the limmu, and also marked by a notable event like a campaign or plague; Ungnad believed (ANET3 274) that certain rows of stela at Asshur were meant to serve as a monumental index of the limmu.

88 CIL 6.32323 (pp. 3237-3244) = ILS 5050.

89 The Greek oracle thus reads (Zosimus 2.6 verse 2); Horace Carm. Saec. 21 has undenos deciens per annos, "every

ten-times-eleven years"; and line 25 of the inscription has centesimo et [decimo anno].

90 Censorinus gives some alternatives, and his text is in a little disorder, but he does include testimonies for secular games post Romam conditam CCXCVIII (AUC 298 = 456

BC), AUC 408 = 346 BC, AUC 518 = 236 BC, DCXXVIII (AUC 628 = 126 BC). Augustus' celebration in DCCXXXVII (AUC 737 = 17 BC) on his showing was a year early.

...anno

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the founding of the city in 753 BC.⁹¹ Ever since Claudius it has been the "century" of 100 years to which objective meaning is given; we speak of fin de siècle, and I suppose that if enough people entering the twenty-first century believe hard enough that it will be different, their actions will make it so. Suetonius goes on:

Quare uox praeconis irrita est inuitantis more solemni ad ludos quos nec spectasset quisquam nec spectaturus esset, cum superessent adhuc qui spectauerunt, et quidam histrionum producti olim tunc quoque producerentur.

So they laughed at the herald's proclamation when he invited people after the solemn fashion to games "which no one had seen before or would see again," since some were still

living who had seen them before, and some of the actors brought on had been brought on previously as well.

By more solemn Suetonius is quoting the official formula of proclamation given by Zosimus 2.5 for Augustus' games, "And the heralds going around urged all to attend the festival for a sight which they had not seen before and would not see again"⁹² It went without saying that a new saeculum was introduced by marvelous signs. Censorinus

2.5 states that where men are ignorant "portents are sent from the divinity so that by them men may be advised that a certain saeculum is finished," portenta

mitti diuinitus, quibus admonerentur unum quodque saeculum esse finitum. Plutarch {Sulla 7}, although imposing his own theory of eight ages in a cycle, records that while Marius was preparing civil war against Sulla (88 BC), the sound of a trumpet () rang out from a cloudless sky, and Etruscan wise men () declared that this portended the transition to a new age. (Cf Rev 1, 10). Many sources record the appearance of a comet (Halley's, in fact) during the funeral games for Julius Caesar in July of 44 BC;⁹³ Augustus put it on a coin probably of his Secular year, 17 BC.⁹⁴ Servius⁹⁵ quotes Augustus' own words :

⁹¹ Both ends must be counted and there was no year 0.

⁹² So the inscription in a fragmentary context (line 56) has neque ultra quam semel. When the US House of Representatives impeached a President on Dec. 18, 1998 for the first time since 1868, the commentators noted it as an event that "no living American had seen before."

⁹³ Augustus' own words in his *Commentarii de uita sua* are recorded by Pliny 2.94.

⁹⁴ H. Mattingly, *Roman Coins from the Earliest Times to the Fall of the Western Empire*; 2nd ed.; London: Methuen; 1960, pl. XXXVI. 1.

⁹⁵ Servius on Vergil *Ecl.* 9.46.

15.6 The saecula of the city and their portents

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Sed Vulcatius aruspex in contione dixit cometen esse, qui significant exitum noni saeculi et ingressum decimi, sed quod inuitis diis secreta rerum pronuntiaret, statim se esse moriturum, et nondum finita oratione in ipsa contione concidit.

Vulcatius the haruspex said in a public speech that this was the comet which signified the end of the ninth saeculum and the beginning of the tenth; but, since he was speaking hidden matters against the will of the gods, he would immediately die. And before his words were finished he fell in the middle of his own speech.

It would seem that this was a computation of Etruscan, not Roman, saecula; if Augustus knew that the tenth was to be the last, he could put a good color on it by explaining that within the lifetime of some already born the Etruscan nation would be fully absorbed by the Roman. Vergil in Eel. 4.5 affects to believe that saecula comes in a fixed sequence or ordo, and that this sequence itself is repeated: *magnus ab integro saeculorum nascitur ordo* "the great order of saecula is reborn anew." (But its variation in the motto on the US dollar bill, *Novus*

ordo saeculorum, suggests that a brand-new, and perhaps

unrepeating, sequence has begun.) Vergil is fairly confident that he is so much part of the new

ordo as to survive until its consummation (Eel. 4.53-54): "O may the last part of a long life then remain to me, and breath enough to sing your deeds,"

O mihi tum longae maneat pars ultima uitae spiritus et quantum

sat erit tua dicere facta!

As Rome spread over the civilized world, her saecula acquired a cosmic significance

paralleled in the New Testament, which probably got the pattern from Rome rather than from its distant parallel in Joshua. Thus Jesus explicitly states (in Censorinus' terms) that he is living in the final saeculum: "There are some of those standing here who shall not taste death until they see the kingdom of God coming with power" (Mark 9,1) . Once generation (Vg *generatio*, Luther *Geschlecht*) is used: "This generation shall not pass away until all these things take place" (Mark 13,30). There may be a contrast between two ages (Vg *saecula*): "It shall not be forgiven him either in this age or in the age to come" (Matt 12,32, cf Luk 20,34-35). Here the Etrusco-Roman theme fuses with a Rabbinic one, where two ages are constantly compared: thus R. Jacob (Avoth IV.16) "This age is like a prozdor before the age to come," *ion ü^iun "oan nnrna1 ?nan nrn a^iyn* where must be a Greek loanword, although the original is unclear.

Chapter 15: Sacred Space and Time in Israel and Italy

The portents of the shift of the Roman saeculum—the Etruscan trumpet and the comet—are beautifully associated with the transition between the ages in the New Testament. I Cor 15,52 (cf. I Thess 4,16)

"We shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed...at the last trumpet"; as at Mark 9,1, the new age must fully come in before all who saw its conception die. Isa 27,13 "In that day a great trumpet (LXX) shall be blown" lies behind these passages; Isaiah may be thinking of the fall of Jericho. The great trumpet of Matt 24,31 is accompanied by the falling of stars (Matt 24,19, cf Rev 9,1). The blowing of the seventh and final trumpet (Rev 11,15) is the sign of the transformation of the kingdom of this world to the kingdom of the Lord and of his Christ, who shall reign "to the ages of ages," *Vg in saecula saeculorum* New Testament eschatology weaves together the Etruscan- Roman and the Hebrew-Rabbinic versions of the shift of the saecula.

Chapter 16:

The Ark of the Covenant and the Temple of Janus¹

Here I discuss an exit to battle and a return in triumph. Exit and return of what or whom? Of what I call the military numen of the state in

Jerusalem and Rome, as represented by the commanding general.

Both exit and return continue to be ritually represented in our own world.

We begin (16.1) by outlining the double motion of the military numen, normally confined in a box or building, going out to battle and returning to its home. Its exit is accompanied by (16.2) a ritual declaration of war. But since each side to a conflict has its own divinity, effort is put into (16.3) *euocatio*, "calling out" the opposing

numen to join your side. It is only prudent then to keep both the name

of your divinity and of your city secret; one Roman, Q. Valerius of

Sora (16.4), was reputed to have betrayed the true name of Rome to the enemy. After battle the numen ceremonially returns to its home (16.5) in

triumph. What is called the "triumphal entry" of Jesus (16.6) then has

old ritual features. In the return procession, especially in Rome, the

victorious general is assimilated (16.7) to the divinity. The triumphal procession in Israel and Rome has a long series (16.8) of common elements. In particular (16.9) both divinity and triumphator may be represented by an axe.

16.1 Exit to battle, return in triumph

In the contemporary synagogue service,² but not in the earliest prayer books,³ when the Ark is opened for the reading of the Torah, and for

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Revision of "The Ark of the Covenant and the Temple of Janus: The magico-military numen of the

state in Jerusalem and Rome," BibZ 3 0 (1986/7) 20-35.

2 I have used S. Singer Sc . M. Adler, The Authorized Daily Prayer Book of the United Hebrew Congregations

of the British Empire; London: Eyre & C Spottis-woode, 1925; pp. 66, 71. The pattern appears to hold throughout Ashkenazic synagogues.

3 Eg Seder R. Amram Gaon, ed. David Hedegaard; Lund: Lindstedt, Part I, 1951 (supposedly 9th century CE).

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the procession of the Torah scroll, Num 10,35 is said, "And it came to pass, whenever the ark set

out, that Moses said, 'Rise up, Yahweh, and let your enemies be scattered (LXX);⁴ and let those who hate you flee before you': -lori

-isa^i mir -

After its glad progress and return to the Ark, it is said (Num 10,36),

"And when it rested he said, 'Return, Yahweh, to the myriads of thousands of Israel'":

"»a1 ?« ntai n mrr rn-itf

It is not absolutely clear that either of the nouns in the "return" verse is truly a number; the VG has reuertere Domine ad multitudinem exercitus Israel;⁵ Luther zu der Menge der Tausende. Similarly in Christian churches on Palm Sunday the congregation exits and returns with palms in their hands, singing a processional hymn.

Although the context in Numbers is peaceful, the twin "songs of the ark" both presuppose a military use. "Thousands" (whether or not a true number) is a military term: Num 31,14 "the officers of the army, the commanders of thousands and the commanders of hundreds, who had come from the host of battle":

nanea n KQsa msa n nixan ü n ^ nf c ^nn ^mpa

" •S' ·T- ··· ···· ·T ·• ·V ·*1 :

Vg principibus exercitus tribunis et centurionibus qui uenerant de bello. The one Psalm (132,8 = II Chron 6,41) which names the ark as the abode of the God of Israel conflates the two halves of Num 10,35-

6: "Arise, Yahweh, to your resting-place, you and the ark of your strength":6

-? i-1 fi -1 ? mrr

It is the God of Israel that wins battles. —By the sea as in the song of Miriam, Ex 15,21 "Horse

and its rider he has thrown into the sea": D»n na n ias'm o-io

—By his control of the stars that bring flash floods, as of the Kishon at Tabor (Jud 5,21). —By his thunder (I Sam 7,10, Heb. cited 11.67)

"And Yahweh thundered with a great voice that day against the Philistines and routed them." It is in his capacity as god of the elements (Chapter 11 above) that he can do these things on the battlefield. But

4 Echoed at the Magnificat (Luk 1,51), "he has scattered the proud," .

5 . Gottwald (The Tribes of Yahweh...; Maryknoll: Orbis, 1979, 272) follow- ing G. Mendenhall thinks that œa^R represent small fighting units.

6 The difficult Psalm 68 may be a development of Num 10,35-36: Ps 68,2

ITT

repeats the first half, and Ps 68,18 has the "myriads of thousands."

16.1 Exit to battle, return in triumph

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it is the ark that gets him there. That (Deut 23,15) "Yahweh your God walks in the midst of your camp" is the result of the ark's being there.

When the sons of Eli bring the ark from Shiloh to Ebenezer (I Sam 4,4), the Philistines hear a shout and learn that the ark has come into the camp; and they say (4,7-8) "A god has come

into the camp...Who will deliver us from the hand of these mighty gods?":7

^ CTHSn ^ "PO "O"3<7 Crn^N 3

On that occasion the Philistines rallied and captured the ark, but it was too strong for them; it

brought the power of Yahweh concretely into their midst. At Jos 6 what destroys Jericho is perhaps the circuits of the city made by the ark rather than the trumpets and shouting. At II Sam 6,2 there is some problem with the grammar, but it would seem that the ark itself is called "Yahweh of hosts who sits on the cherubim."⁸ When it is captured a child is called Ichabod, "For the glory⁹ has departed from Israel" (I Sam 4:21-22). To touch it brings death (II Sam 6,7).

What is God's precise relation to the ark? Does he accompany it; or live in it; or is he identified with it? The Apocalypse of John suggests an answer: when (Rev 11,19) the temple of God is opened and the ark of the covenant is seen, there are "lightnings and 'voices' and thunders and an earthquake and heavy hail." The clearest way we moderns can put it is to say rationalistically that the Ark is a house or box containing the military numen of the state which through its control of the elements brings victory for its people.

There is nothing very close to this in Greek. Pandora's "box" (really Hesiod Opera 94),¹⁰ like what the ark seemed containing many ills and one a storage jar, , benefit, is a little to the Philistines; the ark, dangerous in any form, killed (at a minimum!) seventy men who

looked inside it (I Sam 6,19). Pandora's jar can be compared with Zeus' jar of evils (Iliad 24.528, cited 1.56); but neither has any military function, and both affect Hellenes rather than foreigners. In contrast

7 It might seem that the Philistines are unclear whether it is one or many gods opposing them. "

But Levin treats the verse as a lesson on Hebrew syntax": because the verb precedes "it is naturally singular; but afterwards the noun, plural in form as a superior being, precedes adjectives and demonstratives that all have plural agreement." However Luther Gott...Götter.

8 Some take this as the original title or "name" of the God of Israel, "He who brings into existence the hosts (of heaven and earth) sits on the cherubim."

9 The Psalmist (Ps 3,4) calls his God "my glory," ^133.

10 That we call it a box comes from confusion with the pyxis given to Psyche (Apuleius Met. 6.16); see West ad loc.

2 3 8 Chapter 16: The Ark of the Covenant and the Temple of Janus

Latin has a beautifully exact parallel to the Ark of the Covenant in the Temple of Janus. 1 1 At Rome,

according to Piso, king Numa decreed (Varrò de ling. lat. 5.165) "that [the gate of Janus] should always be open except when war was nowhere," ut [porta

lanularis] sit aperta semper nisi cum bellum sit nusquam. So Livy 1.19. 2 says that Numa "built Janus at the base of the Argiletum as an index of peace and war, when open to signify that the city was under arms, when closed that all peoples around had been pacified": 1 2

lanum ad infimum Argiletum indicem pacis bellique fecit, apertus ut in armis esse ciuitatem, clausus pacatos circa omnes populos significaret.

Before Augustus it had only been closed twice (Res Gestae 13), under Numa and after the First Punic War in 235 BC. Vergil (Aen. 1.294) celebrates the event, "the gates of War will be closed," claudentur Belli portae, but ends Jupiter's prophecy of the Augustan future with a curiously gloomy description of "impious Furor still inside," Furor impius intusP Servius on this passage explains the origin of the temple of Janus with reference also to an allusion of

Ovid (Fasti 1.267-276): Alii dicunt Romulo contra Sabinos pugnante, cum in eo esset ut uinceretur, calidam

aquam ex eodem loco erupisse, quae fugauit exercitum Sabinorum ; hinc ergo tractum morem ut pugnaturi aperirent templum quod in eo loco fuerat constitutum, quasi ad spem pristini auxilii.

11 See Richardson 207-8 for the history of the Temple of Janus, its (unlocated) original site between the Forum Romanum and Forum Julium, and its successive moves. See further Claridge 69.

12 RM Ogilvie, A Commentary on Livy Books 1-5; Oxford: Clarendon, 1965; p. 94, who in general locates Livy's archaisms wherever possible in Augustus' world, suggests that "the practice of closing the doors as a symbol of peace was not in fact generally recognized but was resuscitated either by antiquarians in the closing years of the Republic or by Octavian himself as a propaganda gesture." Here I do not try to penetrate behind what Romans under the Empire believed to have been archaic practices.

13 The other Augustan poets had the theory that the temple was closed to hold Pax inside and keep her from getting out. So Horace Epist. 2.2.255

claustraque custodem pacis cohibentia lanum

"and the gates holding back Janus the custodian of Peace." Ovid (Fasti 1.279- 281) has Janus explain, "When the people have gone out to war, my gate stands

wide open, unbarred, so that their return also may be open. I bar the doors in time of Peace lest she depart":

pace fores obdo, ne qua discedere possit.

But this does not fit the legends (above) about the origins of the temple.

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Some say that when Romulus was fighting against the Sabines, when he was at the point of defeat, hot water broke forth from that place and put the army of the Sabines to flight; hence the custom was derived that when they went out to war they opened the temple [of Janus] which had been built on that site, as if in hope of help as previously.

Macrobius (Sat. 1.9.17-18) gives an even more colored version: when Romulus was facing defeat, "from the temple of Janus through the gate ['of Janus' at the Viminal] a great wave of raging water broke out in torrents," *ex aede latti per banc portam magnarti uim torrentium undis scatentibus empisse*. And hence, he concludes, "it was determined that in time of war the doors should be unlocked as if for the god who went out to help the city," *ea re placitum ut belli tempore uelut ad urbis auxilium profecto deo fores reserarentur*. The god who goes out to help the city is not necessarily Janus; rather he seems nameless, the military numen

of Rome. The temple of Janus, just like the Ark of the Covenant, is a house from which the military divinity of the state goes out to overcome the enemy through his capacity as weather- god, in particular with floods as at Mount Tabor.

While some of the legend may be of Etruscan origin, the military weather-god appears also at Iguvium, as an Italic or even Indo-European inheritance: see 11.69 above for the formula of imprecation, where the parties to be obliterated include the Etruscans, Tuscer or Tuscom.

Although the Etruscan language was long extinct in the time of Alaric (AD 402, 11.248 below), the Tusci of Narnia (11.67) reported that their divinity drove off the barbarians through thunder and storm.

The closest that Mediterranean peoples came to the idea of a "nation" was in their "amphictyonies" (11.203-207) of twelve cities or tribes, sometimes sharing a central sanctuary. Since wars undertaken on behalf of the whole collectivity did not spring from the decision or needs of any one member, they required and warranted an especially sacral character. Hence the concept of a sacred war. The Hebrew "devotion" of an enemy to destruction is especially characteristic in the texts of united Israel in the earliest period.

Thus Num 21,2 "Israel vowed a vow to Yahweh and said, "If you will indeed give this people into my hand, then I will utterly destroy , LXX)

cities." The devoted thing or city is Occasionally to , LXX (Jos 6,17). their prepare war is to "consecrate" it: thus Joel 4,9 ironically to the nations ' •ltS'ltip, LXX , Vg sanctify bellum.

In Greece it is mostly the Delphic amphictyony of twelve that declares a "sacred war," (Thucydides 1.112). In it the

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aggressor is accursed, (Aeschines 3.110) and his cities razed to the ground (, 2.115). Rome conducts sacred war on her own behalf, but perhaps she got the idea from the Etruscan league of twelve cities; for (11.271) the twelve lictors with their axes that went before kings or consuls were thought derived from the twelve peoples of Etruria who elected their "king," probably a temporary military commander. The Roman patres voted any war in the formula, *puro pioque duello quaerendas [res] censeo*, "I

move that our interests be sought by a pure and pious war" (Livy 1.32.12). The penalty for refusal to take part in war, sacred or otherwise, can be stoning (Aristophanes Achar. 285 in jest; Jos 7,25).

16.2 The ritual declaration of war

The outcome of a war depends on a number of unpredictable factors.

When two infantry phalanxes are engaged, one side may suddenly give way —because of the slope of the ground? inferior training? nerve failure? Who knows? Even in modern times superiority in numbers or in technology does not necessarily guarantee victory. Then as now, very often soldiers' morale is the decisive factor. Today, combatants try hard to get world public opinion on their side—in part, to bolster morale. In the ancient world, with no instant communications and little reality of world public opinion, it was all the more important to ensure that the gods were on your side. It was some god or other who swayed the course of battle at the decisive point, often by throwing one party into a "Panic fear," Polybius 20.6.12 "a panic coming over them." And if your enemy finally confessed defeat, and a treaty (favorable to yourself) was signed, your principal guarantee that he would abide by it was his respect for his own gods (1.254). So you should set a good example by respecting your own gods.

On all these grounds it was important to start off the war on the right foot. Two common features of the declaration of war can be understood alternatively as the building of morale and as the enlistment of the gods on one's side.

16.2.1 Striking a sacrificial animal

Previously (1.274-5) we discussed the carrying out of a sacrifice with the

formula, implicit or explicit, "As this animal is struck, so may I be struck," if I do not carry out the terms of my agreement. With Saul over Jabesh-Gilead it is to initiate war; with the Roman fetial priests it is to define a ritual combat. In Rome this was one of the procedures

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carried out by the *fetiales* "by whom a just war was entered upon," Varrò (de ling. lat. 5.86) *per hos fiebat ut iustum conciperetur bellum*, to insure that the state was in the right both in the eyes of gods and of men (Dionysius Hal. 2.72).

16.2.2 Pointing or casting a spear at the enemy

Joshua defeats Amalek because Moses all day long holds the rod () of God in his hand (Ex 17,8-13). Joshua defeats Ai (11.137) by stretching out

the javelin (*pTS*) in his hand towards the city (Jos 8,18); it may only be rationalizing when the narrative represents it as the signal for the ambush to attack. Turnus begins battle by casting a javelin (*iaculum*), this is the

principium pugnae (Vergil, Aen. 9.52-53). Servius on this text preserves traditions from Varro and others. When Rome first undertook an overseas campaign in the war against Pyrrhus (280-

275 BC), she took pains to sell land to one of his prisoners so that she could still carry out the *fetial* ceremony of casting a javelin onto alien territory. On the site was built the temple of Bellona as permanent alien land, onto which thereafter a spear was thrown when war was declared against any enemy.¹⁴ We saw (1.267) how the *fetial* calls to witness the gods of three realms, *caelestes*, *terrestres*, *infern*i (Livy 1.32.10) in agreement with Greek and

Hebrew formulas. Ogilvie (p. 128) thinks that "By the beginning of the second century [BC] the old *ius fetiale* was, therefore, obsolete," citing Polybius 13.3.7. He regards its "antiquarian rediscovery...at the end of the second century" as only theoretical until Octavian revived it in

32 BC to declare war against Cleopatra, himself acting as (Dio 50.4.5)—Livy's readers would remember this. ¹⁵ But Ogilvie accepts the practice as resting on old traditions.

As with the flint in the pig sacrifice above (1.275), an archaic weapon must be used. Livy 1.32.12 preserves the detail that the *fetial*, in the presence of three grown men, throws onto enemy territory "a spear tipped with iron, or of cornelwood hardened in the fire," *hastam ferratam aut sanguineam praeustam*. Burkert¹⁶ observed that the fire-hardened stake is the weapon

of Palaeolithic times. Odysseus blinds Polyphemus with one such (Odyssey 9.379ff). Jael repeats an older

14 I cannot easily reconcile this story with the historical Aedes of Bellona near the Circus Flaminius (Richardson 57-58).

15 The fetial formulas were continued by Claudius; Suetonius Claud. 25.5. 16 Walter Burkert, *Structure and History in Greek Mythology and Ritual*; Berkeley: Univ. of California, 1979; 34.

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mode of warfare, now ascribed to a woman, when she kills Sisera (Jud 4,21; 5,26) with a tent-peg ("tn^ LXX, Vg clauum), perhaps herself fire-hardened.

16.3 Euocatio

An ancient war, from one point of view, was a contest between the tutelary divinities of the two parties, each embodying the magico-military energy of its state. This is plainly the conception behind the Iliad, even though its enlightened author uses the divine background more as a domestic comic relief to the tragedy of human conflict and death. Vergil has a deeper sense of the matter: after Venus tells Aeneas that all is lost and he must flee, she disappears. Then (Aen. 2.622-3)

"There appear the dire countenances of the gods and the great numina, hostile to Troy":

Apparent dirae facies inimicaque Troiae Numina

magna deum.

No more than with human combatants it is possible to tell in advance which divinity will get the upper hand. For one state, or its gods, may succeed in capturing the gods of its opponent. Each party must calculate the possible gain by letting loose its divinity out of its Pandora's box, and the possible loss of its capture.

The Aramaeans based their strategy on the assumption (I Reg 20,23; II.8):

•jTH'1TM Dnrt

"Their gods are gods of hills [but not of valleys, vs 28]"; Vg correctly dii montium sunt dii eorum, Luther Ihre Götter sind Berggötter. The Rabshakeh says before Jerusalem, "Who among all the gods of the countries have delivered their countries out of my hand, that Yahweh should deliver Jerusalem out of my hand?" (II Reg 18,35). When he asks, "Where

are the gods of Hamath and Arpad?" and so on (vs 34), the intended answer must be that they have been taken over by Assyria.

At Jer 49,3 (cf. 50,2) for the Hebrew

^

rōiaa •s'pa "«3 we should understand with the LXX ["30,19"] "For Milcom shall go into exile."17 It has been said of the Lamentation over the Destruction of Or that "the chief effect of destroying a city beyond the obvious physical consequences was to

17 Same reading possible at Amos 1,15 in place of "And their king (MT 03*70) shall go into exile."

it is

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force the abandonment of a city by its gods."18 The Hittites had a priest called the "master of the gods" who performed a frontier ritual which consisted of an appeal to each god displaced by the enemy to "take thought for his

place of worship and to win it back," and an indictment of the enemy gods now in possession.19 The capture of the ark (I Sam 4,21) ought to have been the end of Israel; but its divinity maintained an exceptional loyalty to his own people, and even in captivity overthrew the statue of Dagon (I Sam 5,1-5).

Aeneas already in principle, even before Venus showed him the enemy gods, realized that his cause was hopeless (Aen. 2.351-2):

excessere omnes adytis arisque relictis di

quibus imperium hoc steterat "All

the gods by whom this imperium stood have abandoned their sanctuaries and altars and departed." Vergil's scene of the gods abandoning Troy has

echoes closer to real history. In Antony's last days, Plutarch {Ant. 75.4) reports a sound of midnight revellers leaving the city; interpreters determined that the God whom Antony most resembled (Dionysus) was deserting () him. (Shakespeare in Antony and Cleopatra for his own purposes changes the god to Hercules.)

Tacitus (Hist. 5.13) reports that in the Temple of Jerusalem *apertae repente delubri fores et audita maior humana uox excedere deos; simul ingens motus excedentium* "suddenly the doors of the sanctuary were opened and a voice louder than human was heard to say that the gods²⁰ were departing; at the same time there was a huge rush of departing ones." Even Josephus (BJ 6.300) makes the departers plural, "we are departing hence."²¹

The Romans with their customary superstition, legalism and pragmatism institutionalized a procedure of bribing the enemy gods to desert their present seats and defect to Rome. In the fifth century CE Macrobius (Sat. 3.9.1-5) explains Vergil's text (Aen. 2.351-2):

Et de uetustissimo Romanorum more et de occultissimis sacris uox ista prolata est.

Constat enim omnes urbes in alicuius dei esse tutela moremque Romanorum arcanum et multis ignotum fuisse ut, cum obsiderent urbem hostium eamque iam capi posse confiderent, certo

¹⁸ Frank S. Frick, *The City in Ancient Israel*; SBLDS 36; Missoula: Scholars, 1977; 223, citing J. Dunne.

¹⁹ ANET3 354-5.

²⁰ Levin wonders if the plural *deos* is based on Heb. 0·" <?!

²¹ Stern ii.60 cites several further accounts of gods departing: thus shortly before Commodus' death

(Script. Hist. Aug. Comm. 16.2) "footprints of the gods were seen in the Forum departing from it," *uestigia deorum in foro uisa sunt exeuntia*.

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carmine euocarent tutelares deos.... Nam propterea ipsi Romani et deum in cuius tutela urbs Romana est et ipsius urbis Latinum nomen ignotum esse uoluerunt. Sed dei quidem nomen non nullis anti-quorum, licet inter se dissidentium, libris insitum, et ideo uetusta persequentibus quicquid de hoc putatur innotuit.... Ipsius uero urbis nomen etiam doctissimis ignoratum est, cauentibus Romanis ne, quod saepe aduersus urbes hostium fecisse se nouerant, idem ipsi quoque hostili euocatione paterentur, si tutelae suae nomen diuulgaretur.

Now this text is derived from a most ancient custom of the Romans and

from their most secret ceremonies. It is agreed that all cities are under the protection (tutela) of some god; and that the Romans had a secret (arcanum) custom unknown to many that, when they were besieging an enemy city and believed that it could now be taken, they called out (euocarent) its tutelary gods by a certain formula (carmine).. .. That is why the Romans in their turn wished to keep unknown the god under whose protection the city of Rome lies and the Latin name of the city itself. Now the name of the god is set down in several books of the ancients, though disagreeing among themselves; and so whatever was conjectured on this topic has become known to students of antiquity. [Rome's tutelary divinity variously reported as Jupiter, Luna, Angerona, Ops Consivia.] But the name of the city itself was unknown even to the most learned, since the Romans were afraid that, because they knew that they themselves had often so acted against enemy cities, they themselves should be laid bare by hostile evocation, if their own tutelary name were divulged.

Macrobius goes on to cite the formula of evocation as it was used against Carthage, no doubt in 146 BC; 2.2 it begins *si deus, si dea est, cui populus ciuitasque Carthaginensis est in tutela*, and invites the divinity to abandon Carthage and come over to Rome and find *loca, templa, sacra, urbs acceptior probatiorque sit* "that the places, temples, ceremonies, city are more acceptable and convenient." 2.3 It is followed by a formal *deuotio* or execration of Carthage addressed to the unknown God of Rome, *Dis pater, Veiovis, Manes, siue quo alio nomine fas est nominare*, asking it to throw panic on them. Pliny 28.1.8 citing Verrius Flaccus testifies both to *euocatio* where the priest prom-

22 Ogilvie 674 believes that originally the ceremony "was only effective in theory between communities properly constituted by the same or similar religious solemnities"; and therefore that in the case of Carthage "the old ritual was deliberately refurbished and given a new application in order to eliminate once and for all the power of Rome's great rival. If so, it was a piece of religious improvisation by the pontifices." This reconstruction only underlines the power that Romans saw as inherent in the *euocatio*.

23 A fragment of the formula also at Servius on Aen. 2.244.

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ises the foreign god "the same or better worship among the Romans," *eundem aut amplio-rem apud Romanos cultum*; and the fear "lest some of the enemy do the same," *ne*

qui hostium simili modo agerent. An inscription²⁴ from Cilicia records such a devotio by P. Servilius Vatia, proconsul and pontifex (later as a result of this exploit Vatia Isauricus) of Isaura Vetus, 75 BC: Seruilius C(aii) f(ilius) imperator, hostibus uicteis, Isaura uetere capta, captiueis uenum datéis, sei deus seiue deast, quouis in

tutela oppidum uetus Isaura fuit...uotum soluit.

"Servilius son of Gaius, imperator, after conquering the enemy, capturing Isaura Vetus, selling the captives [into slavery], fulfilled the vow, whether it is a god or goddess under whose protection the town Isaura Vetus lies,... "Macrobius lists cities so devoted, including Veii, Carthage and Corinth (no doubt in the same year as Carthage, 146 BC). Livy 5.21-

22 describes how at Etruscan Veii (396 BC) the statue of the goddess Juno (probably Etruscan Uni) cooperated with the soldiers transferring her to Rome. Hence it seems probable that both rites were Etruscan.

Macrobius' testimony that the name of the tutelary divinity of Rome was kept secret or unknown is corroborated by Servius on Aen. 2.351: Romani celatum esse uoluerunt in cuius dei tutela urbs Roma sit et

iure pontificum cautum est, ne suis nominibus dii Romani appellarentur, ne exaugurari possent...et pontifices ita precabantur, "Iuppiter optime maxime, siue quo alio nomine te appellari uolueris."

The Romans wished it hidden what god had Rome under its protection, and by a law of the pontiffs it was forbidden for Roman gods to be called by their own names, to prevent their being alienated... And the pontiffs prayed thus, "Jupiter Optimus Maximus, or by whatever other name you wish to be called."

Plutarch²⁵ summarizes that "the Romans believed that silence and ignorance [about his name] was the safest and surest protection of a god."

Macrobius (we saw) testified that the name of Rome's tutelary divinity, though kept secret, had leaked out and was to be found in various books; but that the secret of the true (Latin!) name of Rome itself was perfectly kept. (Here is a suggestion that Róma was not the Latin name of the city, partially confirming Bernal's proposal [1.24] that it was in fact Phoenician, 0 "height.") New and secret names

24 L'année épigraphique 1977.816. Cf. J. Le Gall, "'Evocatio,'" L'Italie pré-romaine et la Rome républicaine; Mélanges offerts à Jacques Heurgon; Collection de l'Ecole française de Rome, no. 27; 3 vols.; Rome: 1976, i.519-524.

25 Plutarch Quest. Rom. 61 (= Mor. 279A).

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play a substantial role in the Semitic world. The prophets give Jerusalem stated new names (Isa 1,26; Jer 3,17; 33,16; Ez 48,35; Zach 8,3); more mysteriously, it will be called "by a new name that the mouth of Yahweh will give" (Isa 62,2). God tells Moses that he appeared to the patriarchs as El Shadday, "but by my name Yahweh I was not known to them" (Ex 6,3). The angel or god at the ford who renames Jacob as Israel is able to refuse his name to Jacob, evidently on the grounds that their wrestling bout is a draw (Gen 32,29); with more right the angel avoids telling his name to Manoah (Jud 13,18).

New names of God and his city are prominent in the Apocalypse.

The believer (Rev 2,17) gets a white stone with a new name (his own) "which no one knows but the receiver." The Christ (Rev 19,12) has a name written "which no one knows but himself," unless it is revealed at 19,13 as "the Word of God." At 3,12 Christ will write on the believer three names: "the name of my God, and the name of the city of my God..., and my own new name." On Yom Kippur (Mishna Yoma VI.2) the priests and people hear "the expressed Name (Wmaon DP) come forth from the mouth of the High Priest" in his recitation of Lev 16,30; 26 also at the recitation of the priestly

blessing Num 6,24-26 "in the Temple [but not in the provinces] they pro-nounced the name according to its writing" (Mishna Sotah VII.6), 1333 DB!" !. The higher reason for secrecy in all these cases is that the name reveals the character of the one named, and only the party intended can accept the revelation. There also seems to be a lower

reason: if you know the true name of a party, you have power over them. The fact that the unclean spirit of Mark 5,8-9 tells Jesus his name "Legion" proves that Jesus had already acquired control over it.

The "unknown god," of Act 17,23 would have an especial resonance at Rome.²⁷

Mishna Sanh. VII.5 says that the law of blasphemy (Lev 24,16) holds the accused innocent until he actually "pronounces the Name itself," Dt»n ana"*» 1S7. But this implies further that the mere act of pronunciation (except by the High Priest as prescribed) is itself blasphemy. Also the penalty involves not just stoning as in Leviticus, for "all that have been stoned must be hanged" {Sanh. VI.4) ' l^pon-^ d

26 Levin notes that the Kaufmann codex omits this sentence; and that the High Priest presumably is represented as pronouncing the Name at the conclusion of Lev 16,30 also at Yoma III.8, IV. 1 and IV.2.

27 See BAGD sv (p. 12a) for possible other testimony to an unknown god

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in line with Deut 21,22 "And you shall hang him on a tree": -^ in'« rp^m Vg

adpensus fuerit in patíbulo. The Romans had an indigenous equivalent to crucifixion, "hang him from a barren

tree with a rope"

(Livy 1.26.6), infelici arbori reste suspendito. The Passion narrative at Mark 14,64 (// Matt

26,65) has the high priest accuse Jesus of blasphemy () and tear his garments (as the judges are required to at Sanhedr. VII.5). Thus there is some indication that Mark or his source is trying to fit Jesus' crucifixion into the Rabbinic pattern of execution for blasphemy,

ie speaking the ineffable Name. Perhaps the "I am" of Mark 14,62 is thought of as a substitute for the divine Name as at Ex 3,14 LXX. But whether or not the Sanhedrin had the power of capital punishment, Romans executed Jesus in Roman fashion.

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We saw that the true name of Rome was surrounded with even more safeguards than that of

its tutelary deity. But somebody somewhere (it seems) did preserve the tradition of the city's name. What would happen if it were revealed? Servius on Aen. 1.277: urbis enim illius uerum nomen nemo uel in sacris enuntiat. denique tribunus plebei quidam

Valerius Soranus, ut ait Varrò et multi alii, quia hoc nomen ausus enuntiare, ut quidam dicunt, raptus a senatu et in cruce leuatus est, ut alii, metu supplicii fugit et in Sicilia comprehensus a praetore, praecepto senatus occisus est .

For the true name of that city [Rome] nobody speaks even in sacred ceremonies. Once a certain tribune of the plebs Valerius Soranus, according to Varrò and many other authorities, dared to speak this name; according to some, he was seized by the Senate and

crucified; according to others, for fear of punishment he fled, but was seized in Sicily by the praetor, and by order of the Senate was executed.

Likewise Pliny 3.65: Roma

ipsa, cuius nomen alterum dicere²⁸ arcanis ceremoniarum nefas habetur, optimaque et salutari fide abolitum enuntiauit Valerius Soranus, luitque mox poenas.

²⁸ Mommsen added nisi here "except in secret ceremonies" to explain how the name was handed down at all; but the agreement of Pliny's text with that of Servius shows that the antiquarians were at a loss to explain its preservation.

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Rome itself, whose other name it was held impious to speak <even> in secret rites of ceremonies; Valerius Soranus pronounced that name, which had been suppressed with excellent, salutary fidelity, and soon paid the penalty.

Servius on Georg. 1.498 says that the tribune revealed rather the name of Rome's tutelary divinity, as does Plutarch. ²⁹

Macrobius and Pliny speak of a secret, arcanum or arcana. So Solinus 1.5-6 quo minus enuntiaretur caeremoniarum arcana sanxerunt "secret ceremonies forbade [the name of Rome] being spoken." Hence the notion arose that the maintenance of Roman imperium rested on keeping secret a hidden truth, arcanum, more or less identified with the name of Rome itself. Later authors play on this doctrine, while severely transferring the arcanum to the realm of geopolitics. Thus Tacitus, Hist. 1.4, discussed by Brizzi,³⁰ with reference to the "year of four emperors," AD 68-69, euulgato imperii arcano posse principem alibi quam Romae fieri "after the arcanum of empire had been disclosed, namely, that the princeps could be made elsewhere than at Rome." In the fourth century Claudian (de bello Gothico 104) asks Jupiter to prevent rising barbarism from "grasping the arcanum of our great empire," arcanum tanti deprendere regni. Rutilius 2.42 says that by letting Alaric enter Italy (AD 402), Stilicho "became the betrayer of what had been the Empire's arcanum," proditor arcani quod fuit imperii: namely, perhaps, that Italy was vulnerable to invasion.

The career of Quintus Valerius of Sora was reconstructed from scattered data by Cichorius³¹ and is generally accepted. Cicero, listing orators "among the allies and Latins" (*apud socios et Latinos*), *Brutus* 169, includes Q. D.

Valerii Sorani, uicini et familiares mei; Soranus is mostly considered not a name but an ethnic, and the brothers Quintus and Decimus Valerius his "neighbors and friends" came from Sora 60 miles ESE of Rome near Cicero's home town of Arpinum. Cicero calls Quintus *litteratissimum togatorum omnium* (*de oratore* 3.43) "most learned of all Roman orators." The brothers were elder contemporaries of Cicero, who in 56 and 45 BC corresponds with Quintus Valerius

29 Plutarch *Quest. Rom.* 61 = *Mor.* 278F.

30 Giovanni Brizzi, "Il nomen segreto di Roma e Yarcantum imperii in Plinio," *A.*

Spallino et alii (eds.), *Plinio il vecchio sotto il profilo storico e letterario* [acts of two congresses]; Como: Banca Briantea, 1982; pp. 237-251.

31 Conrad Cichorius, "Zur Lebensgeschichte des Valerius Soranus," *Hermes* 41 (1906) 59-68.

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Orca son of Quintus (*Epist. ad fam.* 13.4-7), praetor 57 BC and probably son of Quintus "Soranus"; he had worked for Cicero's return to public life (post red. in senatu 23). We have scattered testimonies to Q. Valerius' grammatical works.³² Augustine (*de civ. Dei* 7.9) drawing from Varrò quotes his lines (perhaps corrupt and variously emended)

*Iuppiter omnipotens regum rerumque deumque progenitor
genetrixque deum, deus unus et omnes.*

"Almighty Jupiter, begetter of kings, of all things and of gods, mother also of the gods, one god

comprising all." Varrò as quoted by Augustine explains how Soranus could give Jupiter the feminine attribute *genetrix*. Pliny in the Preface (33) to the *Natural History* says that he has adopted his mode of reference to authors from the *of Valerius Soranus*; this implies that the *Epoptides* was a large encyclopedia. Köves-Zulauf,³³ in line with the secret revealed by

Soranus, thinks the title means *tutela*, "tutelary [divinities]," but if so the work must have included much else.

Cichorius saw that Plutarch Pompey 10.4 must narrate the execution of this Q. Valerius by Pompey (Cn. Pompeius Magnus) in Sicily in 82 BC, for Plutarch describes the Quintus Valerius put to death as "a man of exceptional scholarship and learning." And this puts Valerius' career in political context. Pompey, a partisan of Sulla (L. Cornelius Sulla [Felix]), likewise in Sicily executed the consul and Marian leader Cn. Papirius Carbo.

Plutarch's circumstantial account suggests that Varro's alternative tradition—death by crucifixion— was a theoretical punishment for breaking a religious taboo. It was natural that Q. Valerius, as a Latin, like all such with Roman citizenship, who had risen to the rank of tribune of the plebs, should support the Marian party against Sulla's aristo-cracy. Earlier in 82 on Nov. 1 (the Kalends) the Samnite Pontius Telesinus³⁴ took advantage of the civil war between Sulla and the Marians to attack Rome. After a desperate battle he was defeated by

32 H. Funaioli, *Grammaticae romanae fragmenta*, vol. 1, Leipzig: Teubner, 1907, pp. 77-79.

33 Thomas Köves-Zulauf, "Die "" des Valerius Soranus," *Rheinische Museum* 113 (1970) 323-358.

34 At some points the Samnites were in league with the Marians against Sulla; on this occasion it is plain that Telesinus saw an opportunity to carry out his own goals. Telesinus claimed to be a descendant of the Samnite C. Pontius who had forced a Roman army to surrender at Caudium, 321 BC (Scholiast on Lucan 2.137, ed. H. Usener, Leipzig: Teubner, 1869, i.59). Pontius is Oscan for "fifth," Latin Quintus-, thus Pontius

Pilatus praefectus iudaeae (so known from his inscription at Caesarea) hailed from somewhere in Oscan territory.

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Sulla at the Colline Gate; the tribune of the plebs went out of office on Dec. 10 and lost his personal immunity. Velleius Paterculus 2.27.1-3 says that Telesinus "hated the name of Rome," *Romano nomini infestissimus*; and before the battle urged his men to take Rome:

dictitansque adesse Romanis ultimum diem uociferabatur eruen-dam delendamque urbem, adiciens numquam defuturos raptos Italicae libertatis lupos, nisi silua in quam refugere solerent esset excisa.

...saying that the last day for the Romans was at hand, and crying out that the city must be overthrown and destroyed, for the wolves that attacked Italian liberty would never disappear unless the forest where they took refuge was cut down.

The Italian coinage shows VITELLIU "Italy" (ie "Calf-land"?) and the Italian bull goring the Roman wolf.³⁵ Perhaps as

tribunus plebis Q. Valerius of Sora was in a special position to attend secret ceremonies at which the name of Rome or of its god was spoken. Could he as a scholar have published the secret name of Rome in his book, whose title suggests such contents? But Servius on Aen. 1.277 (11.247) goes on to say that "not even Hyginus, speaking about the site

of Rome, records this name of the city," hoc autem urbis nomen ne Hyginus quidem, cum de situ urbis loqueretur, expressit: and Macrobius,

as we saw, testifies to the same. Now since Valerius' encyclopedia was

in the hands of Pliny and presumably others, if the name had stood there somebody should have recorded it.

Thus it is more likely that the tradition refers to an event than to a publication. Brizzi and Alfonsi³⁶ suggest that in some way his speaking

the name was a political or even military act (which the Sullans could

point to as treasonable) to throw the victory to the Marian party and their Samnite Italian quasi-allies: Telesinus would be emboldened by possessing the true name of that Rome which he hated.

16.5 The return of the numen to its home

We saw that Num 10,³⁶ and its parallels envisage the return of the military numen back to the ark at rest, whether it is in a tent (Il Sam

³⁵ The coin is illustrated in M. Cary, *A History of Rome...*; 2nd ed.; London: Macmillan, 1954, p. 320. Cary states that the lettering is Oscan (where U has a distinct form from V): a genitive?

³⁶ Luigi Alfonsi, "L'importanza politico-religiosa della 'Enunciazione' di Valerio Sorano (à proposito di CIL I, 12, p. 337)," *Epigraphica* 10 (1948) 81-89.

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7,2), or in a booth in the open field (II Sam 11,11). Ps 132 (11.236) recalls David's act of bringing the ark into the city, and perhaps is the text for an annual or occasional liturgical reenactment. With or without the ark, the returning victorious Israelite general is greeted by dancing women holding tambourines, as with Jephthah (Jud 12,34) and with Saul and David (I Sam 18,6). Ps 24,8 celebrates the entrance of Yahweh "mighty in battle," ' 1133 , through the gates of city and temple. The most complete form of

a return to the city is David's procession with the ark at II Sam 6,12-19, showing many special features, separately discussed below. The connection between Ps 132 and II Sam 6 is discussed in detail by Seow.³⁷ Solomon installs the ark in his new temple in the seventh month (I Reg 8,1-2), that is,

in the autumn. Under the monarchy it seems that on the old Feast of Booths, as Israel relived its outdoor days (Lev 23,42) when the ark rested in the Tabernacle, somehow the entry of the ark into the Temple was repeated.

The Feast of Booths is to be an occasion for the nations to go up to Jerusalem (Zach 14,16). Psalm 118, used at the Feast of Booths (11.256), is an entrance of unspecified parties through the "gate of Yahweh" (11.263).

In Rome, which saw many more victorious generals than Israel, the declaration of war and opening of Janus (when not already open) remained an archaic ceremony; but the return of the general was institutionalized in a ceremony of unparalleled detail and splendor: the triumph. It has captured the world's imagination as the most concrete example of her imperial self-awareness. The ceremony was intimately bound up with the city Rome: when Antony celebrated a triumph in Alexandria (Plutarch Ant. 50.4), what offended Romans was that "he made a gift to the Egyptians of the honorable and sacred rites of his fatherland () on account of Cleopatra."

Once an obscure phrase suggests that some features of a triumph may have been legitimately carried out elsewhere than in Rome. Gerasa of the Decapolis put up a "triumphal" arch (still partly extant) for the visit of Hadrian in AD 130. The Greek inscription³⁸ has: "Good fortune! On behalf of the safety () of the emperor ... Hadrian

3 7 CL Seow, *Myth, Drama, and the Politics of David's Dance*; Harvard Semitic Monographs no. 44; Atlanta: Scholars, 1989, esp. pp. 104-117.

38 CB Welles in Carl H. Kraeling (ed.), *Gerasa: City of the Decapolis*; New Haven: Am. Schools of Oriental Research, 1938, p. 40 1 no. 58; WF

Stinespring, "Hadrian in Palestine, 129/130 AD," *JAOS* 59 (1939) 360-365. Reprinted in EM Smallwood, *Documents illustrating the principalities of Nerva, Trajan and Hadrian*; Cambridge: University, 1966; no. 76.

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... and the fortune and continuity of his whole house, the city of the Antiochenes on the Chrysorhoas, formerly Gerasenes, by the will (?—) of Flavius Agrippa [dedicated] the gate with a 'triumph' () in the year 192 [of the city's era of 63 BC]."

Most striking are the numerous archaic features of the triumph, scrupulously preserved for more than a millennium by a rigid legalism.

The very extensive documentation is conveniently laid out by Ehlers.³⁹ The most recent full-length treatment is that of Versnel,⁴⁰ oriented in the end towards an anthropological explanation of the triumph; it is supplemented by two studies of Warren in the same year.⁴¹ The one feature in which it does

not exactly fit the theme of exit and return is that the Roman triumph does not return to the temple of Janus, which appears in it only marginally,⁴² but to that of Jupiter Capitolinus.⁴³ The soldiers marching behind the returning

victor in the Roman triumph cried out *io triumphe* (eg Horace *Carm.* 4.2.49), and the Arval priests in their ancient chant⁴⁴ said five times *triumphe*. Cicero (*Orator* 160) from antiquarian knowledge for a long time consciously

pronounced the noun (acc. *pi.*) *triumpos* as the correct form, until he gave in to general usage. Varrò (*de ling. lat.* 6.68), no doubt correctly, derives *triumphe* from ; the Greek may be both an epithet of Dionysos and the name of a song in his honor.⁴⁵ It is surely an anachronism of the Roman period when Arrian reports (*Anab.* 6.28), from what he regards as inferior sources, that Alexander held a Dionysiac procession through Carmania, on the grounds that processions () after military victories were already called by a title of Dionysus, . The difference between Latin and Greek is

39 W. Ehlers, "Triumphus," *PW VIIA* 493-511.

40 HS Versnel, *Triumphus: An Inquiry into the origin, development and meaning of the*

Roman triumph; Leiden: Brill, 1970.

41 Larissa Bonfante Warren, "Roman triumphs and Etruscan kings: the Latin word *Triumphus*," *Janua Linguarum series major* 44; The Hague/Paris: Mouton, 1970; pp. 108-120; eadem, "Roman Triumphs and Etruscan Kings: the changing face of the triumph," *JRS* 60 (1970) 49-66.

42 When Augustus celebrated his triple triumph in 29 BC he first ordered the gates of Janus to be closed (Orosius 6.20.2); but this was less part of the triumph than a claim of universal pacification.

43 See Richardson 221-224 for the Temple's illustrious history.

44 Arthur E. Gordon, *IILE* no. 75 = *ILS* 5039 = *CIL* 6.2104.

45 The words , and , all denoting some form of verse or meter, seem to have non-Greek forms of the Indo-European numerals for 1 (or 2), 3 and 4 prefixed to a common stem; but no further precision seems possible. See DA Hester, "'Pelasgian'—a new Indo-European language?,"

Lingua 13 (1965) 335-384, esp. p. 354.

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naturally attributed to triumphus having passed through Etruscan, though (by the nature of the texts) it is not attested there.

Greeks recognized the kinship between the two words and used as translation of triumphus. Thus Polybius 6.15.8 "the so-called by [the Romans]." Zonaras 7.21, 4 6 excerpting Dio Cassius, writes as if were an actual transliteration of the Latin, "The procession of the victory celebration, which they called a thriambos,...,"

, .

Triumphus and are surely equivalent at Augustus RG 4 although both texts have gaps. Dubuisson⁴⁷ regards Polybius as having coined the verb for the Roman sense. Ctesias (early 4th century BC) is quoted by Photius as having twice used the verb of the Persian kings, once absolutely, ,⁴⁸ once with object "celebrating a triumph over the Magus." 4 9 But this is more likely the language of Photius than of Ctesias. Often as here the object of

the verb is the party triumphed over or led in triumph, as Plutarch (Comp. Thes. & Rom. 4) "[Romulus] triumphed over kings and generals," .

is often paraphrased by as in Zonaras: Dionysius Hal. 9.35.5 "the Senate voted the celebration of a triumph." So Josephus J 7.122 of Vespasian's triumph, .

In turn pompa went into Latin, already in Plautus: Ovid ex Pont. 2.1.20 spectata triumphi...est mihi pompa "I saw [through popular

report] the celebration of a triumph." Hence Rabbinic OÜ1S "procession, solemnity", used of a public as opposed to a private (173) wedding at Bab. Talm. Baba Bathra 145b.

Pomp and triumph naturally belong together in English. Thus

Theseus to Hippolyta in *Midsummer Night's Dream* 1.1.17 But I

will wed thee in another key, With

pomp, with triumph, and with revelling. Similarly Samson Agonistes 1311-1312

This day to Dagon is a solemn Feast, With Sacrifices,

Triumph, Pomp, and Games.

But it is Shakespeare's predecessor who most fully grasps the tragic arrogance of the triumph. Marlowe in *Tamburlaine* Part I, II.v:

4 6 In the LCL Dio Cassius i.193.

4 7 Michel Dubuisson, *Le latin de Polybe: les implications historiques d'un cas de*

bilinguisme; Etudes et Commentaires 96; Paris: Klincksieck, 1985; p. 31. 4 8 FGH 68 8 F 16.64 from Photius Bib. 72 pp. 43b-44a.

4 9 FGH 68 8 F 13.15 from Photius Bib. 72 pp. 37ff.

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Tamburlaine.

Techelles. Usumcasane.

Is it not passing brave to be a king And ride in triumph through Persepolis?

O, my lord, it is sweet and full of pomp! To be a king, is half to be a god.

It is patent that in Israel the return of the ark is a celebration of Yahweh's power. Likewise at Rome the triumph is an honor paid to Jupiter and perhaps to other gods too; the prominent role of the military victor is a further indication (11.257) that in some sense he represents the god. Tacitus Hist. 4.58 has the legate Vocula in Gaul say *Te, Iuppiter Optime Maxime, quem per octingentos uiginti annos tot triumphis coluimus*, "You, Jupiter Optimus Maximus, whom for eight hundred and twenty years [751 BC—AD 70] we have worshiped with so many triumphs,...." At Livy 28.9.7 (207 BC) the consuls petition the Senate *ut pro re publica fortiter feliciterque administrata et deis immortalibus haberetur bonos et ipsis triumphantibus urbem inire liceret*, "that for a brave and successful defense of the state, honor should be given to the immortal gods and they themselves [ie the consuls] permitted to enter the city in triumph"; the two clauses are aspects of the same event. Servius on Aen. 9.624 in context of a triumph says *quia non tantum Ioui, sed et aliis diis qui bello praesunt, sacrificatur* "since sacrifice is made not to Jupiter alone but also to the other gods who preside over war."

16.6 The "triumphal entry" of Jesus

It is customary to call Jesus' entry into Jerusalem his "triumphal entry." It differs from the Roman triumph or from David's entry into Jerusalem in that it does not presuppose a prior exit. But intrinsically it follows their pattern closely, and the Pauline letters twice (11.265-267) speaks of Christ as "triumphing." I cannot trace the usage of referring to Jesus' "triumphal entry" behind the Middle Ages. The Austrian Cistercian Hermann of Runa of the 13th century says in his Serm. 21.150 on Palm Sunday that the crowds acclaimed Jesus *quia praesago spiritu eum triumphatorem diaboli et mortis*

et uitae largi-torem cognouerunt, "because by a prophesying spirit they knew him as the triumphator over the devil and death, and the bestower of life."

It was rather in Jesus' passion that the Fathers saw him as participating in a triumph, and there playing a double role: thus Ammonius on Joh

50 CC Cont. Med. 64.85; I was led to this text by consulting the Corpus Christianorum computer disk for triumph *.

16.6 The "triumphal entry" of Jesus 2 5 5

14,3151 "While being triumphed over he triumphed, while being crucified he crucified," . Duff⁵² has compared the narrative of Jesus' entry into Jerusalem with both the Hebrew theme of return and the Roman triumph; in its peaceful and simple style it plainly parodies or reverses the military theme of both. Here I point out that the Roman institution itself has ancient Near Eastern connections.

Jesus' entry into Jerusalem was itself imitated or parodied by the famous entry of the Quaker James Nayler into Bristol on October 24, 1656 [Old Style]. A small group of men and women, part riding, part on foot, proceeded in heavy rain on the muddiest part of the way so

that the men "received the rain at their necks and vented it at their hose and breeches." Nayler sat alone in silence while the others sang "Ho-sanna" and "Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Israel"

in a "buzzing melodious noise."⁵³ Modern historians feel that Nayler passively accepted the women's extravagant devotion, and that George Fox did much less than he could have to vindicate his colleague. The subsequent Parliamentary debate over several weeks, and Nayler's savage punishment, are history.⁵⁴ Jesus' entry into Jerusalem raises two questions: What time of year did it happen? What does Hosanna mean?

16.6.1 Jesus' entry as in the autumn?

Lev 23,40 prescribes that at the autumn feast of booths people should take branches of palm,

myrtle and willow; Mishna Sukkah III calls a wreath of these three a Lulab and adds a citron (31). We have

51 PG 85.1493B. Similarly Origen Exhort, ad Mart. 40, PG 11.617C.

52 Paul Brooks Duff, "The March of the Divine Warrior and the Advent of the

Greco-Roman King: Mark's Account of Jesus' Entry into Jerusalem, (1992) "JBL 111

55-71.

53 They had started from Glastonbury, where the legend placed Joseph of Arimathea; Blake apparently believed that on an earlier visit the Saint had brought the young Jesus, "And did those feet in ancient time / Walk upon England's mountains green?"

54 I cannot verify the description of Nayler in the Encyclopaedia Britannica, 11th ed. (1911) as "a rawboned nude [rude? unadorned?] figure, with lank hair reaching below his cheeks" (this and other sources erroneously give the date as Oct. 24 1655). H. Larry Ingle, First

Among Friends: George Fox and the Creation of Quakerism; Oxford: University, 1994 (p. 147 and p. 323 note 60) draws mostly from the contemporary letter of George Bishop to Margaret Fell [later to marry Fox], Oct. 27 1656 (London: Library of Society of Friends; Swarthmore MSS; 1:188). If this has been printed in full somewhere I have not seen it.

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letters of Bar Kochba both in Greek⁵⁵ and Aramaic⁵⁶ requisitioning "palm branches and citrons," [] = "pn1? 1?".

Mishna Sukkah III.9 prescribes use of Ps 118,25 "O Yahweh, save now!"

« 3 ' N3N

AT · TT which goes on "Blessed is he who comes in the name of Yahweh."

Bab. Talm. Sukkah 30b and following uses K3IWIH as if a noun to denote either the myrtle or the wreath. All four Gospels at Jesus' entry have "Blessed is he who comes..."; Matt 21,8 and Mark 11,8 speak of "branches" and Joh 12,13 precisely "palm-branches" (

, 11.265); and Matt 21,9, Mark 11,9 and Joh 12,13 , where Pesh has the correct Aramaic equivalent It is hard to believe that all these features have been transferred

from an autumn ceremony to the spring. In our own world children would never have jackolanterns and cry "Trick or treat" in April. The natural conclusion (which Levin pointed out

to me long ago) is that Jesus really entered Jerusalem in the autumn, six months before his death. Matt 21,17 "He spent the night" in Bethany () is suitable for the feast of Booths,

since means "lie in the yard" or courtyard; at Herodotus 8.9 means "bivouac" for the evening before a midnight sail.

If we take it as a firm conclusion that the event described as Jesus'

triumphal entry into Jerusalem can only have taken place in the autumn, the relationship between the Synoptic Gospels and John's will appear rather different. The Synoptists will have telescoped Jesus' entry into Jerusalem together with his arrest and death six months later.

But John at 7,1-13 represents Jesus as having gone up to Jerusalem precisely at the Feast of Tabernacles! It is true, John says it was in private (7,10), and puts his processional entry

where the Synoptists put it, in the week of Passover (perhaps out of deference to their tradition). John seems to understand no more than they do that its symbolism was possible only at Tabernacles. But John understands the feast well enough, as a celebration to ensure the coming rains (11.175), that on its last day he has Jesus speak of thirst and drinking (Joh 7,37-

38). Furthermore John is able to fill in the six months between Tabernacles and Passover with an appropriate series of events. Midway in the narrative comes the winter festival of (Joh 10,22), that is Hanukkah. What this means is: John in his characteristic style still

55 Baruch Lifshitz, "Papyrus grecs du désert de Juda," *Aegyptus* 42 (1962) 240 - 256; often reproduced.

56 Joseph A. Fitzmyer & Daniel J. Harrington, *A Manual of Palestinian Aramaic Texts*; *Biblica et Orientalia* 34; Rome: Biblical Institute, 1978; no. 60.

16.7 The victor assimilated to the god

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records a series of episodes which will nicely fill the six months of winter between the date when we must put Jesus' entry and his arrest.

Although the discourses of Jesus do not sound like the sayings we know from the Synoptists, and his adversaries remain the mysterious,⁵⁷ we reach the surprising conclusion that it is John and not the Synoptists that has the chronology approximately correct.

16.6.2 "Hosanna" as reinterpreted

Mark 11,9 and Joh 12,13 begin the crowd's acclamations with simply,

which is naturally taken as a Messianic appeal from Ps 118,25 "Save!"—a political provocation. Matt 21,9 expands . It is

hardly possible to take this as "saying 'Save!' to the son of David"; furthermore, Matthew and Mark agree in . Pope⁵⁸ thinks that an original Semitic vocative in /- has been misunderstood by the Evangelists, and that the crowd intended "Save, O son of David!...Save, O Most High!" John reports the tradition in such a way that hosanna can have that sense; Luke omits the foreign word altogether. But Talmud Sukkah cited above shows that by the second century hosanna had been reinterpreted as the name of the

wreath of leaves. Perhaps Mark and Matthew record a similar reinterpretation, although it is tempting to give hosanna the politically provocative sense. Jerome (Epist. 20), writing to Pope Damasus on osanna, understands the original meaning but does not see the problem in the following datives; his "Hebrew Matthew" gospel for *áv* read *osianna barrama* (Epist. 20.5) with the same problem as the Greek. Anyway in the Church hosanna becomes an acclamation of praise simply. Eliot (*The Hippopotamus*) so interprets it, and ingeniously makes loud hosannas rhyme with damp savannas.

16.7 The victor assimilated to the god

Since the Israelite ark clearly represents or contains the God of Israel, when the king accompanies or replaces the ark in entering the city, he also in some sense must be representing the God. This side of the

57 Everything in John's Gospel exists on two levels. Probably the final author lived in a community where the synagogue of "Jews" was hostile to the new Church; but had a Galilaean tradition where ' meant hostile "Ju-daeans." Joh 7,1 "And after that Jesus walked about in Galilee (); for he did not wish to walk about in Judaea (), for the Judaeans (ol) sought him to kill him."

58 Marvin H. Pope, "Hosanna," ABD iii.290-291, with bibliography.

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Israelite ceremony is not so clearly marked; but special features of the Roman triumph make it there unmistakable.

16.7.1 The face painted red

Pliny 33.111 quotes Verrius that "the face of the statue of Jupiter himself was regularly on festivals painted with cinnabar {minium), as were the bodies of those triumphing; Camillus triumphed thus" *louis ipsius simulacri faciem diebus festis minio inlini solitam triumphantiumque corpora; sic Camillus triumphasse*. So Servius on Vergil *Eel.* 6.22 (cf. on 10.27) *triumphantes facie miniata, et in Capitolio Iuppiter* "Those who triumph do

it with their face covered with cinnabar, and likewise Jupiter on the Capitoline." For (Pliny 35.157) the cult statue of Jupiter Capitolinus was done [in the sixth century BC] by the Etruscan terra-cotta artist Vulca, and was painted with minium.

Clearchus tyrant of Heracleia (366-353 BC) likewise called himself "son

of Zeus" (υἱόν) and painted his face red ().59 Sap Sol 13,14 (1.241) says that the maker of the statue of a god "smears its skin

with ocher and reddens it with rouge," .

16.7.2 "Look behind you"

A slave rode behind the victor in his chariot, holding a heavy golden crown over his head, and kept saying to him, "Look behind you," (Zonaras 7.21); 60 Epictetus (Arrian Epict. 3.24.85) adds that such remind those triumphant that "they are men," Tertullian (Apol. 33.4) gives the Latin for both phrases, Respice post te, hominem te memento. For (Zonaras) a bell and whip were fastened to the chariot, showing that the general might still be scourged or wear the bell of one condemned to death (to warn others not to contract his miasma). Tertullian uses these materials to prove that the Emperor is not (as claimed in the imperial cult) a god; but the need of a reminder shows that everything else about the ceremony tells the triumphator he is a god.

16.7.3 The ornaments of Jupiter

David at his entrance with the ark wore a "linen ephod" (II Sam 6,14)—a ritual garment which did not block his "uncovering himself."

The triumphant general wears what are called the insignia of Jupiter.

59 Memnon in Photius 222 ed. Becker (iv.48 ed. R. Henry, Budé 1965). 60 LCL Dio Cassius j.198.

16.8 Common features of the "triumphal" procession

Thus Livy 10.7.10 refers to qui lous Optimi Maximi ornatu decoratus curru aurato per urbem uectus in Capitolium ascenderti, "the one who, decked out in the ornaments of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, and carried through the city in a golden chariot, ascends the Capitol ." Servius on Eel. 10.27 triumphantes qui habent omnia lous insignia, sceptrum, [tunicam] palmatam, "triumphing generals who have all the insignia of Jupiter, the sceptre, and the tunic

decorated with palms." Juvenal 10.38 says the victor is in tunica lous. At the end of the day he is one that has "placed his laurel wreath in the lap of

Capitoline Jupiter,"

Seneca Dial. 12.10.861 laureamque in Capitolini Iouis gremio re-posuerat.

Versnel (58ff) concludes that these items of dress were removed from the statue of Jupiter on the Capitoline; and that even if the kings of Rome once wore the same dress, this does not merely prove that the triumphator represents the king, but also that the king in turn had represented Jupiter. Elsewhere I hope to discuss the starry robe worn by dignitaries on state occasions. When Scipio Africanus conducted his triumph over Carthage in 201 BC, he wore (Appian Pun. 66) "after ancestral custom a purple [toga] with golden stars embroidered on it," ás , .

16.8 Common features of the "triumphal" procession

16.8.1 Indecency and dance

The sexual (as well as military) prowess of the victor is celebrated (11.90).

David in his dance surely "uncovered" himself as Michal accuses him of doing (II Sam 6:20). His dance is anticipated by Miriam and other women after victory when the ark had not yet appeared; at Ex 32,19 the "calf" (really a bull, 1.194) gets the dance. The soldiers in the Roman triumph were privileged to insult their general. Thus Julius Caesar's soldiers shouted at his

Gallic triumph (Suetonius Jul.

51) "Townsmen, take care of your wives, we're bringing in a bald adulterer,"

Urbani, seruate uxores; moechum caluom adducimus.

As Roman boys might wear a bulla or locket containing a phallus, the same was fastened underneath the triumphal chariot of the Roman to ward off the evil eye. Pliny 28.39 (cf Macrobius Sat. 1.6.9) Fascinus, imperatorum quoque, non solum infantium, custos, qui deus...currus triumphantium sub his pendens defendit medicus inuidiae "The phal-

61 That is, the text Helvia, On Consolation.

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lus (fascinās) was not only the guardian of boys but of emperors; and this god(!)...hanging underneath the chariots of those triumphant defends them as a physician against envy."

There was a ritual game carried out by Roman youths on horse-back, the "game of Troy" (Troiae lusus, Suetonius Aug. 43.2), which Julius Caesar put on as a sequel to his triumph (Suetonius Julius 39.2).

Pliny 36.85 suggests that it was marked out on the ground of the Campus Martius in a mosaic pavement like a hopscotch court. Such a lusoria tabula was found incised on the probable site of the Lithostroton (Joh 19,13) in Jerusalem, and if we like we may assume that the mocking of Jesus (Mark 15,16-20) was a form to which all prisoners were subjected there.⁶² Vergil (Aen. 5.588ff) compares it to the Cretan labyrinth, which Homer only knows as a dancing-floor (Iliad 18.590-606), and not under the name labyrinthos; Theseus carried out a similar dance at Delos also compared to a labyrinth (Plutarch Thes. 21).

16.8.2 The number of the slain

When David and Saul returned from war the women came out to meet them, singing "Saul has slain his thousands, and David his ten thousand" (I Sam 18,7):

vn'aa-m in i la^to nan

• ..:• ; *-j -

.

It is picked up by the Philistines themselves at I Sam 21,11; 29,5.⁶³ (In a less advanced age, Samson killed only a thousand, Jud 15,16.)

Actually this may have been a necessary condition for a triumphal return when the words became interpreted as true numbers (11.236).

For at Diodorus 36.14 Roman soldiers, when their general with them had killed at least six thousand of the enemy, "hailed and acclaimed him emperor,"

64 Valerius

.

Maximus 2.8.1 cites a law of unknown date that "nobody should triumph unless he had killed five thousand of the enemy on one field," lege cautum est ne quis triumpharet nisi qui quinquē milia hostium una acie cecidisset. (It was because emperors had requested triumphs for

6 2 Jack Finegan, *The Archeology of the New Testament...*; Princeton: University, 1969; 161.

6 3 The general gets all the credit for the casualties created by his men. At I Sam 18, 6 "when David came back from smiting the Philistine (>Flt?'1?ari)," the ethnic may be collective

rather than referring to Goliath alone.

6 4 For the required number of the slain see further Appian Bell. Civ. 2.7; Dio 37.40.2.

16.8 Common features of the "triumphal" procession

"small battles," ob leuia proelia).⁶⁵ Appian Claudius, after losing 5,000 of his own men, killed 5,000 of the enemy and asked for a triumph on this basis, but was refused (Orosius 5.3.7).

This law regularizes the feeling expressed in soldiers' songs such as those for Aurelian (Versnel 381): they are cited in the *Historia Augusta*, Aurelian 6.5 and 7.2, here conceivably from a good tradition: *Mille mille mille decollauimus unus homo mille decollauimus mille bibat quisquís mille occidit tantum uini nemo habet quantum fudit sanguinis.*

"A thousand, thousand, thousand we beheaded; as one man we be-headed a thousand; may whoever killed a thousand have a thousand drinks; no one has as much wine as he shed blood."

Mille Sarmatas, mille Francos semel et semel occidimus mille Persas quaerimus.

"We killed a thousand Sarmatae, a thousand Franks once and again; now we are looking for a thousand Persians." With good will we can add up the thousands in each song to five exactly. Archaic and bloody as these customs are, perhaps five thousand slain does not quite surpass the power of a simple infantryman to count. But the hundred thousand killed by a single modern weapon, and the many millions envisaged by the theorists of "thinking the unthinkable," not quite yet bygone history, transcend all finger-enumeration.

16.8.3 The procession moves to the sound of the trumpet

So at David's entry (II Sam 6, 15, the shophar). Psalm 47, 6 refers to some representation of the entry or enthronization of Yahweh, "God has gone up with a shout, Yahweh with the

sound of the shofar (LXX Jerome iuxta Heb. bucinae)": laits' *?ip3 mrr nr- nnn mn^K n^y ,
The third day of Aemilius Paulus'

triumph in 167 BC (Plutarch Aem.

Paul. 33.1, cf. Appian Pun. 66) was introduced by trumpeters, with themes of battle. The trumpet used at a triumph was

6 5 Valerius says that this law was supported by a second law of L. Marcius and M. Cato (tribunes 62 BC) which required generals on their return to certify that their reports to the Senate about enemy and Roman dead had not been (respectively) exaggerated or minimized. See Robert Develin, "Tradition and the Development of Triumphal Regulations in Rome," *Klio* 60 (1978) 429 -

447, p. 436.

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the straight metal tuba, not the curved bucina originally a cow's horn.

The beautiful relief of Marcus Aurelius in his triumphal chariot (AD 176), slightly restored, 66
our

best representation of a Roman triumph, shows one in the background blowing a long straight tuba. The tuba is used for ceremonies, Varrò {de ling. lat. 6.14) *sacrorum tubae*.

Polybius carefully renders tuba by and transcribes bucina by (15.12.2) and its derivatives. Bucina is in military use, Vergil Aen. 7.519 *qua bucina signum / dira dedit* "where the
dire bucina gives the signal"; it is curved so that Ovid Met. 1.335 can call Poseidon's seashell-horn a bucina...*tortilis* "twisted bucina."

Jerome translates the (curved) HSitS1 'as we saw by bucina, but NT by tuba. The advent of the Son of Man, when he is "coming" () on the clouds of heaven, is marked by "a great trumpet" (Matt 24,30-31), , Vg cum tuba, Pesh -. Both a

Latin and a Greek word for "trumpet" went into Rabbinic, regularly for the armies of Gentiles. At Midrash on Psalms 18,14 Pharaoh sought to hearten [his host] "with all kinds of bucinae, horns, shophars and salpinges,"

oira^oi rinati rnnpi oirp n ^on On Ps 89,16 "Happy is the people that know the sound of the blast,"

Lev. Rabbah 29.4 comments, "But do not the nations of the world know how to sound the blast? What a host of horns they have! •n1 ? tsr manp nöD What a host of bucinae (OiypU) they

have! What a host of

salpinges (OliS^O) they have!" The trumpet was thought an Etruscan invention: one Tyrsenos discovered it (Pausanias 2.21.3), and already Aeschylus (Eum. 567-8) speaks of the .

16.8.4 The victor's twelve attendants The Roman

triumphator, necessarily one with the full imperium of the Roman state, was exceptionally on his triumph privileged to exercise that authority within the pomerium that surrounded the city walls. So inevitably at his triumph he was preceded by his (twelve) lictors, (Appian Pun. 66); the victor "bound branches of laurel on the fasces " (Zonaras 7.2167), . Each of the fasces was an ax (11.267) surrounded by rods. The chiefs of the

66 H. Stuart Jones (ed.), A Catalog of the Ancient Sculptures preserved in the Municipal Collections of Rome: The Sculptures of the Palazzo dei Conservatori; Oxford: Clarendon, 1926; pp. 25-26 and Plate 12.

67 In the LCL Dio Cassius, i. 192.

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(twelve) tribes of Israel (each represented by a rod at Num 17) join Solomon to bring the ark from the hill of Zion to the new Temple (I Reg 8,1) · The Twelve whom Jesus named appear at Mark 10,32 just before they reach Jericho, and again at 11,11 just after Jesus enters Jerusalem.

Their number corresponds to that of the tribes (Matt 19,28 // Luk 22,30). Perhaps we may think of the victor as representing his amphictyony (11.239) returning to his central sanctuary or fanum.

16.8.5 Entering through the gate

The gates of city or temple through which the ark or Davidic king passes

are seen as animate and self-opening, Ps 24,7: •"pili

•'nna -îKtom "Lift wiyti -lyfr

up your heads, O gates (Jerome iux. Hebr. portae); and be lifted up, O everlasting doors (LXX)." The Psalm for Succoth or the Feast of Booths is some kind of an entrance liturgy for a merely human procession (11.256), Ps 118,19-20 "Open for me the gates of righteousness; I shall enter through them, I shall praise Yah. This is the gate (LXX , Vg

porta) of Yahweh; the righteous ones shall enter through it":

pp. rnitf pi?pii;tf •«•p-inna irrw'ir •"p^i rnrr1? nyœ'rrrn But in the Gospel context "Blessed is he who comes..." suggests the entrance of a king or God.

The Roman triumph passed through a Porta Triumphalis: at Augustus' death flattery proposed that his funeral should pass through it, Suetonius Aug. 100 (cf Tacitus Ann. 1.8) funus Triumphali Porta ducendum. Versnel 132-163 concludes that it was free-standing and discusses it at length; it was perhaps the model for the imperial arches like that of Titus.⁶⁸ Josephus BJ 7.130 describes it at Vespasian's triumph (AD 71) as "the gate () which has its name among the Romans from the fact that triumphs () are always sent () through it."

In the New Testament the theme of "entrance" is transferred to "entering the kingdom of God"; it restores the condition of the old entrance liturgy, "Who shall ascend the hill of Yahweh?". Jesus says (Matt 7,13, cf Luk 13,24-25) "Enter through the narrow gate,"

, Vg intrate per angustam portant, Pesh KIT1?« Kinm l^IU. With the word for "door," the new church

⁶⁸ But Richardson 301 regards it as an actual gate (unlocated) in the Servian wall. Claridge 250 puts it near the present S. Omobono (map p. 242 no. 11).

26 3

often found an "open door," Rev 4,1 (cf 3,8; I Cor 16,9; II Cor 2,12; Col 4,3). For Jesus himself is the door, Joh 10,9 , Vg ego sum ostium, Pesh 1 N3K; or

alternatively, he stands by the door, Rev 3,20 , Vg ecce sto ad ostium.

A gate went into Rabbinic in a text which speaks to us directly, though in an artificial context.

Lev. Rabbah 18.1 concludes from Koh 7:1 that "though each one tastes of his death (0 Di?3 1

•ptartantaoxi ∴ each is sixty nine

taken care of

12,5 "For man goes to his eternal home (IO^lī? n^"

), each righteous man has an eternity of his own (1021 ? ^aa D^iy)." It illustrates: "Parable of a king who enters a city, and with him his duces and eparchs and soldiers:

although each one enters by the same gate,

according to his rank": nu D

^a1 ? •' irmi in « io -p^as ·333 ·73® -«ais

16.8.6 The palm of victory The

triumphator at Rome "wore a wreath of laurel and held a branch Zonaras 7.21 (II.262)70

. Also the army in his right hand, " carried laurel, Appian Pun. 66 ..., cf Plutarch Aem.

Pauli. 34.3. Tibullus 2.5.117-118 describes the scene:

Ipsē gerens laurus; lauro deuinctus agrestis miles "io" magna uoce "trumphe" canet.

Messalinus before his chariot will have [images of] conquered towns, "himself carrying the laurels, while his soldiers, crowned with wild laurel, will cry out loud lo trumphe." The laurel wreath was put "in the lap of Jupiter Capitolinus" at the end of the day (11.259). The triumphator underneath

his toga picta wore a tunica palmata (Livy 10.7.9), a "tunic embroidered with palms." In Claudius' triumph M.

Crassus Frugi was dressed in ueste palmata (Suetonius Claud. 17.3).

Tertullian Apol. 50.3, describing the martyr burned at the stake, cries *Hic est habitus uictoriae nostrae, haec palmata uestis, tali curru triumphamus* "This is the dress of our victory, this our tunic palmata, in this chariot we triumph."

Already in Greece the palm is the sign of victory, Aristotle Mag.

Mor. 1196a36 ó "he who receives the palm." In all the ancient languages the palm-frond is seen as a hand with fingers

69 Hebrew "p^S may represent either or the accusative . 70 In the LCL Dio Cassius, i.195.

"pöinta, cf Mark 9,1 etc.

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(1.18). In the Aramaic of Tema (5/4 cent BC) l^pi (KAI 228 A 18) are an offering or sign of victory. We saw the use of palm-branches with the other species at the feast of Succoth (11.256). II Makk 14,4 uses of a palm-branch given to a king (Demetrius I, 161 BC); and at 10,7 (164 BC, 1.157) in the entry of Maccabeus "thyrsos (from the cult of Dionysos!), branches and palms (Vg

palmas)," ... 71 I Makk 13,37 uses an Egyptian word (Vg baen), Eg. b'j,72 for the palm-branch given by Demetrius II to Simon (142 BC); and (I Makk 13,51) (Vg ramis

palmarum) for the palms in the grand entry of Simon. Joh 12,13 at Jesus' entry follows the language of I Makk, where the crowd take up , Vg ramos palmarum, Pesh ^ 30.73 I cannot determine whether the Coptic versions of Joh 12,13 have the Egyptian word. Porphyry de abst. 4.7 says that Egyptian priests "make their bed of palm-branches, which they call bais," , ; Jerome (adv. Iovin. 2.13)74

translates cubile eis de foliis palmarum quas baias uocant contextum erat. I Makk surely illustrates a Palestinian Aramaic usage, further attested at Lev. Rabbah 30.2 where two come before a judge; "if one of them takes a palm-branch in his hand we know that he is the victor":

Knis] «im -py-p -pio no n JNÛ 1 ?«

16.8.7 Those led in triumph; the sacrifice In two passages

from the letters attributed to Paul takes an object, but of a different nature.

16.8.7.1 Victorious soldiers led in triumph II Kor

2,14 "But thanks be to God who always leads us in triumph (, Vg triumphat nos) in Christ and manifests the sweet odor () of his knowledge through us in every place." In what capacity are the parties involved being "led in triumph" or cites a number of scholars who are sure of that

"triumphed over"? Duff

71 both as "palm" and "purple" has been proposed as the source of "Phoenicia."

72 Erman-Grapow i.446.

73 The Pesh. here is Rabbinic "branch" (Bib. Hebr. HDifo Jud 9,48), originally distinct from 30 "booth," but

perhaps conflated in usage. 74 PL 23.303A.

75 Paul Brooks Duff, "Metaphor, Motif, and Meaning: The Rhetorical Strategy behind the Image 'Led in Triumph' in 2 Corinthians 2:14," CBQ 53 (1991) 79-92.

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"Paul compares himself to a captured prisoner of war led to his execution by a triumphant general." But this interpretation requires difficult and (as I see it) forced exegesis; and I do not see why we need to abandon the sense found by LSJ here "lead in triumph, as a general does his army." The soldiers were as much part of the event as the prisoners or more so. The verb triumpho in classical Latin is intransitive except when it takes an accusative cognate; thus Gellius 2.11.4 of L.

Sicinius Dentatus, a republican tribune of the people, triumphavit cum imperatoribus suis triumphos novem "with his generals he participated in nine triumphs." But in the Fathers can take an object of the soldiers following the victor. Thus Dionysius of Alexandria (quoted in Eusebius HE 6.41.23): at the trial of a Christian, soldiers profess themselves Christians also and frighten the judge into letting

them go free, "God thereby leading them gloriously in triumph," . Again, the "sweet smell" of II Kor 2,14 suggests that Paul knew the Roman triumph to be accompanied by sacrifices with incense: thus (Plutarch Aem. Pauli. 32.2) "every temple was opened and was full of

wreaths and incense ()." This again implies that Paul is identified with the winning rather than with the losing party.

16.8.7.2 Captives led in triumph (and executed)

Kol 2,15 has several problems of interpretation which we can here pass over; the relevant phrase is clear apart from the uncertain subject (God or Christ?), (Vg triumphans illos) "triumphing over them," ie the "principalities and powers," or equivalently "leading them in triumph. " Here

plainly the principalities and powers are the conquered prisoners, in line with Ps 68,18. An archaizing Latin inscription describing the triumph of Gaius Duillius in 260 BC probably says that "he first led in triumph freeborn Carthaginians," Cartacinie[ns]is [incejnuos.⁷⁶ One more feature of a triumph is the execution of prisoners, above all a captured general.

Gideon executed the captured Midianite kings (Jud 8,18-21), and Samuel hews Agag in pieces "before Yahweh" (I Sam 15,33). Zonaras 7.2177 affirms execution as a general rule, and so Cicero Ver. 2.5.77 idemque dies et uictoribus imperii et uictis uitae finem facit "the same day ends the imperium of the conquerors and the life of the conquered." Thus (Livy 67 summ., 104 BC) In triumpho C. Marii ductus

⁷⁶ CIL 1.2; Gordon 11LE 48.

⁷⁷ In the LCL Dio Cassius, i.200.

power,

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ante currum eius Iugurtha cum duobus filiis et in carcere necatus est, "In the triumph of Gaius Marius, Jugurtha with his two sons was led before his chariot and put to death in

prison."⁷⁸ Vespasian halted his triumph at the Capitoline in accordance with an "ancestral custom" (, Josephus BJ 7.153-4) until the death of the enemy general was announced, in this case Simon bar Giora. In the Pauline context this suggests the ultimate destruction of Satan; in Mark's context of the "triumphal entry" with its reversed symbolism

it is turned upside down to suggest the sacrificial death of Jesus.

When the soldiers mocked Jesus by putting on him the garments of a king, or when the Alexandrians mocked Carabas (11.118), the underlying symbolism becomes complex. We saw above that the garments of the triumphator assimilate him not merely to the old kings but also to Jupiter the god of victories, who from his own statue provides the *louis ornatum*.

Gregory of Nyssa *In Christi Resurrectionem* 5 7 9

sees the

mocked Jesus as participating in a triumph, or "The soldiers conducted a triumph by mocking the Lord of the

heavenly army."

Thus he participates as victor and divinity on the one hand, as captive and sacrificial victim on the other.

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We saw (11.262) that the Roman triumphator exceptionally was allowed to exercise his *imperium* within the *pomerium* that surrounded the city walls. As at all times outside the city he was preceded by his twelve lictors bearing the *fasces*, on his triumph he was exceptionally entitled to have them inside the city as well, with their *fasces* garlanded with laurel. Perhaps rather we should say that at the triumph he enjoyed his full and complete power, at all other times diminished by custom or law. Notoriously the *fasces* consisted of "bundles" of rods surrounding an axe. Livy 2.5.8 describes an execution: *missique lictores ad sumendum supplicium; nudatos uirgis caedunt securique feriunt* "the lictors were sent to carry out the punishment; the victims were stripped; the lictors scourge them with rods and strike [their heads off] with the axe." The authority for life and death of the triumphant is 78 Plutarch *Marius* 12.3-4 indicates rather that Jugurtha was allowed to starve to death in prison.

7 9 PG 46.688A.

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concentrated in the axe. And to the extent that the triumphator represents Jupiter, it would seem that Jupiter also is represented by the axe.

Yahweh, Zeus and Jupiter (we saw, Chapter 11) can all act as gods of the thunderstorm; How is such a god represented? A basalt statue of a weather-god from Til Barsib of about 1100 BC shows him standing under the solar disk with a three-branched lightning in his left hand and an ax in his right; I do not easily find a transcription or translation of the Luvian hieroglyphs on the stele. 80 We see Yahweh as a woodsman at Isa 10,33-34 with its unique vocabulary: "Behold, the lord Yahweh of hosts is lopping off boughs with a crash...The stands of the forest will be cut down with iron; and Lebanon will fall [at the hand of?] the mighty one:" luci?

... nlio s mrr " ran ~TM? linoni' ^.??

In context, "Lebanon" seems to stand for Assyria, which controlled it.

The Assyrian (apparently Tiglath-Pileser III) said "By the strength of my hand I have done it" (Isa 10,13); Sennacherib boasted that he had cut down the forest of Lebanon (Isa 37:24). Tiglath-Pileser III roofed his palaces at Calah with Lebanese cedar, and Sennacherib another palace with cedar from Amanus and "Sirara" (eastern Lebanon?).⁸¹ But all is Yahweh's doing, and in cutting down the forest of Lebanon the Assyrian is cutting the source of his own strength. Thus Yahweh says to the Assyrian (Isa 10,15), "Shall the ax (Vg securis) vaunt itself over him who wields it, or the saw magnify itself against him who wields it?":

iL "is'nn

is^p-^y -il&an ^arr _ ü N nan iKarrn He has a controversy with (probably) Israel as represented by the cedars (Isa 2,12-13), against Tire as similarly represented (Ez 31), and out of political context breaks the cedars of Lebanon (Ps 29,5).

Temporarily the Assyrian acts as the ax in his hand, but his role as woodman is permanent. The Celtic god Esus appears precisely as a woodman, chopping down a tree on the pillar of nautae Parisiaci under Tiberius (ILS 4613, cf. 1.195), now in the Musée de Cluny. Thus the symbol of the ax represents Yahweh's roles as bringer of the storm, as woodman, and as lord of history.

The felling of a tree can stand for the fall of an empire. In the Iliad (13.389-391 = 16.483-485) the death of a hero on the battlefield is

80 ANEP2 no. 532.

Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin; see Horst Klengel, *Geschichte und Kultur Altsyriens*; Leipzig: Koehler & Ameland, 1967; Plate 33.

⁸¹ Brown, *Lebanon and Phoenicia*, 191-193.

A similar stele from Sam'al of the 9th century BC is now in the

! ? ? li?}]

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compared to the cutting of a great tree by woodworkers on the mountains with their sharp axes for ship timber. Vergil extends the symbol to a whole city when (Aen. 2.626-631) he makes the fall of a tree stand for the fall of Troy.

Mediterranean words for "axe" have some enticing similarities but no firm connections. Hebrew *qardom* in *io!Hp* (I Sam 13,20) and *!3* have a similar non-Semitic structure but no attestation outside Hebrew. Greek *goes* with Sanskrit *parasuh* (Frisk); neither can be clearly connected with Akkadian *pilakku* (Heb. *Tf^a*) which as it seems means only "spindle" and never "axe. "

goes with Latin *ascia* and Old English *xx*. It is tempting to compare Akkadian *hassinnu* (eg Gilgamesh X.iii.44) and Rabbinic Aramaic *WSn* (Bab. Talm. Shabb. 123b "the carpenters' axe," 3 *N^sn*); any ancestor would have to be an old culture-word taken over early both by Semitic and by Indo-European.

The double ax is the most prominent motif in the palace of Knossos, and the palace's name in some language may mean "palace of the double axe": a document in Linear (DMG2 205) has been interpreted as donating honey to the "Mistress of the Labyrinth," *da-pu2 (?) -ri-to-jo po-ti-ni-ja*. Late sources (Frazer on Apollodorus Epit. 1.9) describe the ball of thread which Ariadne gave Theseus to find his way out; the story is

known to Cant. Rabbah on 1.8.83 Plutarch⁸⁴ attests that the statue of Zeus at Labraunda of Caria carried an axe.

The story ran that Heracles gave the ax of Hippolyta to his mistress Omphale queen of Lydia, who passed it on to her successors. King Candaules gave it to one of his companions to carry until it was taken in war by Arselis, who built the statue and called it Labrandeus, "for the Lydians call the ax ." AB Cook⁸⁵ saw the labarum of Constantine as the final version of the labrys. Labraunda certainly seems a variant of the pre-Greek labyrinthos. Drews⁸⁶ regards Plutarch's

82 Rabbinic cp^El "axe" (Midrash Tehillim on Ps 105,10) must be just a loanword from TTÉAEKUS like Syriac

83 "Imagine a large palace with many doors, so that whoever entered could not find his way back to the door, until one clever person came and took a coil of string and hung it up on the way to the door, so that all went in and out by means of the coil."

84 Quest. Graec. 45 = Mor. 301F.

85 Zeus ii.513-703. Eusebius Vita Const. 1.31 (PG 20.945A) describes the of Constantine and calls it Roman.

86 Robert Drews, "Light from Anatolia on the Roman Fasces," AJP 93 (1972) 40-51.

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story as "valid evidence that in the early sixth century the Lydian king was attended by a single 'lictor' who bore an axe."⁸⁷ It is remarkable then that the Porsenna who

at Rome held royal power (Dionysius Hal. 5.35), which must have included the fasces, had a tomb which Pliny calls a labyrinth.⁸⁸ At 36.84-93 Pliny describes four "labyrinths" known to him: those of Egypt, Cnossus, and Lemnos;⁸⁹ and the tomb of Lars Porsenna at Clusium,

which he describes with quotations from Varrò. The grandiose architecture there described can hardly have existed in full;⁹⁰ but Scullard⁹¹ thinks it related to the "vast labyrinth of cuniculi and burial chambers" 3 miles northeast of Chiusi.

At Etruscan Vetulonia near Elba there was found an archaic stele (7th-6th century BC)

showing a warrior with plumed helmet, a round shield with hexagonal design, and holding a double axe.⁹² The inscription, perhaps the oldest one known, reads (TLE 363):

[a?]veles feluskes tusnutn [...] panala! mini muluvaneke hirumi[.] a<pers naxs The warrior was apparently

Aulus Feluske, and "Hirumina of Perugia(?) dedicated me." Silius Italicus 8.483-8 among institutions which came to Rome from Vetulonia includes the bundle of rods (fasces) and the axes (securae) along with the trumpet:

bis senos haec prima dedit praecedere fasces et iunxit totidem tacito terrore secures

"This city first granted that the twice-six fasces should go ahead, and added the same number of axes with their silent terror." The excavation of a tomb of the sixth century BC there

produced actual miniature iron fasces complete with a double-headed axe.⁹³ The two Roman consuls in alternate months were preceded by twelve

87 Greek labyrinthos is first attested by Herodotus 2.148.1 of an Egyptian "laby-rinth," but the usage at Cnossus must be older. Frescoes of a maze have been found in the Hyksos palace at Tell el Dab'a, ancient Avaris: Manfred Bietak, "Connections Between Egypt and the Minoan World: New Results from Tell el-Dab a / Avaris," pp. 19-28 of WV Davis & C L. Schofield (eds.), *Egypt, the Aegean and the Levant: Interconnections in the Second Millennium BC*; British Museum, 1995.

88 Porsenna's capture of Rome (1.171) is attested by Tacitus Hist. 3.72.

89 Since Pliny has the "Lemnian" built by Theodoros of Samos (1.303), it is probably an error for the temple of Hera at Samos, which (34.83) he calls the "Samian labyrinth."

90 Guido A. Mansuelli, "Il monumento di Porsina di Chiusi," *Mélanges Heurgon* (note 24 above) ii.619-626.

91 HH Scullard, *The Etruscan Cities and Rome*; Ithaca: Cornell, 1967; p. 156. 92 Pallottino plate 30 and p. 130.

93 Pallottino plate 31.

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lictors bearing axes in bundles of rods (Suetonius Julius 20). They, were known to be insignia

magistratuum Etruscorum (Macrobius 1.6.7).

Dionysius Hal. 3.61-62 believed that a commander of the united Etruscans had twelve axes,

one for each city, and that the Roman kings adopted all twelve. So Livy 1.8.3 (11.204) explains

that the number was derived from the Etruscans "because each of the cities which united to elect the king [ie a temporary commander in battle] contributed one lictor," quod ex duodecim

populis communiter creato rege singulos sin-guli populi lictores dederint. Mussolini, who restored fascismo, modestly forewent twelve lictors, but set up two large fasces on the balcony

of the Palazzo Venezia where he made public appearances.⁹⁴

Not only the axes but their number seems an Aegean inheritance.

The ordeal of Odysseus is to shoot an arrow through a line of twelve axes, - (Odyssey 19.573-4, cf. 21.76). The most natural assumption is that the axes "are not everyday tools, but votive axes whose handle terminates in a metal ring that allows the axes to hang from a peg."⁹⁵ And then we will naturally ask, How did Odysseus happen to have twelve non-functional axes in his house? What can they be but the insignia of his royal authority?

At Num 17 the twelve tribes are represented by twelve rods (HEQ).

Both and have the double meaning "rod" and "tribe"; the tribe was so named as being led by a man carrying a staff, as very frequently for other nations in the Hebrew Bible as well. That "the rod (tû32>') shall not pass from Judah" (Gen 49,10) implies the continuity and permanence of the tribe. ⁹⁶ If twelve rods corresponding to twelve tribes were gathered together into a bundle they would resemble a single fascis (minus the axe) of the twelve which preceded the Roman king or consul. Perhaps then the original meaning of the fascis was the unity of clans

in one "amphictyony" (11.239) under the protection of a divine woodman.

Once again the New Testament brings out the latent sense of Hebrew materials in a Roman context. The reconstructed "Q" document of Jesus' sayings likely began with the words of John Baptist, "Even now the ax is laid at the root of the trees" (Matt 3,10 = Luk 3,9). It ended with "Wherever the corpse lies, there the 'eagles' () will be gathered together" (Matt 24,29 = Luk 17,37). The birds combine the

⁹⁴ R. de Felice and L. Goglia, *Storia fotografica del fascismo*; Laterza: 1981, passim.

⁹⁵ Oxford Odyssey iii.105.

96 There is a fairly close phonetic parallel between *sabotEylko* [^]ptOlB (Deut 12,14) "your tribes" and "broadwords," but the meanings are not that close.

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sense of the Near Eastern and Etruscan vultures on the battlefield (1.280-282) with the eagles

of the Roman legions. God's "wrath to come" is concretized and separated from him in the quasi-autonomous axis. The trees which are to fall stand for the whole of history. The historical agent is now Rome, which with its fasces takes over from Assyria the role of ax in the hand of the lord of history.

Chapter 17:

Levels of Connection Between Greek and Hebrew

17.1 Summary

Since Vol. I came out, several books have given me by contrast a clearer picture of my own enterprise. One ("SIE") is by my associate Saul Levin;¹ I saw its MS chapter by chapter as I was writing, but the whole makes possible a synoptic view and page references. Another ("EFH") is by ML West,² which among other things much extends the work of Walter Burkert.³ Fortunate delays in my writing and in de Gruyter's printing schedule have let me revise this volume in view of West's work, as he revised his in view of mine. While I have entered here what I found most relevant in these two authors, students will miss much unless they look through both books for themselves. The same is true of the œuvre of Moshe Weinfeld, in particular two new books; my indebtedness to both is recorded in the text. ⁴ I now then reposition my own work in the oblique light that these three authors have thrown on it.

Each of us studies one or more levels of connection between Greek and Hebrew texts. — Levin builds bridges between the Semitic and Indo-European language families at the earliest possible date, although

Saul Levin, *Semitic and Indo-European: The Principal Etymologies; with Observations on Afro-Asiatic*; Amsterdam Studies in the Theory and History of Linguistic Science; Series IV; vol. 129; Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1995; referred to here as "SIE."

2 ML West, *The East Face of Helicon: West Asiatic Elements in Greek Poetry and Myth*; Oxford: Clarendon, 1997; here referred to as "EFH."

3 Walter Burkert, *The Orientalizing Revolution: Near Eastern Influence on Greek Culture in the Early Archaic Age*; Cambridge: Harvard, 1992; English tr. with extensive revisions by the author.

4 Moshe Weinfeld, *Promise of the Land: The Inheritance of the Land of Canaan by the Israelites*; Berkeley: Univ. of California, 1993; *Social Justice in Ancient Israel and in the Ancient Near East*; Jerusalem: Magnes & Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995.

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Hebrew and Greek often provide the best examples; from time to time he cites texts in which those primeval etymologies continue to link historic Israel and Hellas. —West's enterprise (after a first chapter

"Aegean and Orient") is a literary one: to cite Semitic (with Sumerian and Hittite) texts which he regards as having influenced Greek epic

and lyric. An earlier article of his⁵ sees such influence by Near Eastern poetry as the latest stratum of Homeric epic, which is then to be traced back through Ionian epic, Aeolic epic, and two stages of Mycenaean

epic to its remotest roots in "Indo-European praise poetry." West sees

the primary Eastern influence on Greek epic as the style and themes

of Akkadian epic, although he often finds Hebrew reflexes of the Akkadian. —Weinfeld's vision is of international legal formulas in treaty, law and

cult practice; he begins with Akkadian influence on Hebrew, but regularly extends it to Greece and Rome. Of the three scholars, his work is closest to mine: my Chapter 8 ("Treaty

and Loyalty-Oath," Vol. I) and Chapter 15.3 ("The formulas of Greek and Phoenician colonization") begin as summaries of his discoveries; Chapter 10 also owes much to his discussion of divine justice.

In partial contrast to Weinfeld, I regard the shared vocabulary⁶ of Greek and Hebrew embedded in their texts as the strongest indication of genuine cultural parallels. I begin from the vocabulary recognized in Emilia Masson's scrupulous work,⁷ while extending it in several directions; I treat parallels lacking shared vocabulary more cautiously. West's work confirms what I suspected from Weinfeld: in Semitic-Greek relations, translated matter and literary motifs hardly ever generate loan-words; ⁸ The shared vocabulary, though embedded and transmitted in literary texts, did not get there by translation but by shared enterprises: movement of women, trade by land and sea, exotic imports, viticulture, warfare, sacrificial cult, weddings, goldsmithery and banking, mythology, treatment of friend and enemy.... Where shared vocabulary infiltrates translated texts, it is because the text

The purpose of my volumes is humanistic: to help the reader better appreciate by comparison the Hebrew and Greek texts (and Latin ones too) we have always had in our hands. In Israel (1.1) the texts them-

⁵ ML West, "The Rise of the Greek Epic," JHS 108 (1988) 151-172.

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Previously I have often written "common vocabulary"; in this chapter the adjective "common" is restricted to "common nouns" naming things, in contrast to "proper" nouns naming persons, tribes, places and gods.

⁷ Emilia Masson, *Recherches sur les plus anciens emprunts sémitiques en grec; Etudes et Commentaires* 67; Paris: Klincksieck, 1967.

⁸ Levin observes that this rule does not follow everywhere, eg in Middle English translations from the French.

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themselves are the primary deposit of the cultural achievement, along with the institutions of church and synagogue which carried them. In Hellas the art and architecture stand nearly on the same level as the literary texts, but during many centuries were unknown or unnoticed, except through Roman copies or imitations. In both countries the great novelty is the society which produced the texts—and for which the texts are the primary witness.

Levin, as I know from long friendship, values Greek and Hebrew texts equally; but his austere philology values the languages, along with Sanskrit, above all because of the accuracy with which their writing systems express the sound of words, and in particular the accents. And the writing system is no small matter: its clarity encouraged progressive refinement of the texts; without it they could never have come down to us through so many generations of custodians. — West the exemplary editor of Hesiod defines his priority in the index (p. 640) of passages discussed, where the "emphasis is on passages illustrated rather than those which illustrate": Greek texts are listed fully; Akkadian and Sumerian very briefly, Hebrew only a little

less so.

His favorite among Semitic texts may be Gilgamesh (p. 65): "The Gilgamesh epic is deservedly the most famous work of Mesopotamian poetic literature. It is by some way the longest, and the most affecting."

—Weinfeld's focus is always the Hebrew Bible, especially Deuteronomy; he is ambivalent how far its emphases are truly anticipated in Mesopotamian texts, as in royal proclamations of justice (11.47). He is unique among scholars of the ancient Near East in discerning continuations of its legal institutions in Greek and Latin texts, which how-ever (it is perhaps fair to say) fall into West's category of things illustrating rather than illustrated. — But all of our projects supplement, rather than contradict, each other.

I differ thus far from my fellows that I see Hebrew and Greek (with Latin) texts as equally warranting illustration rather than serving to illustrate something else. By their shared features (1.10-14)—continuity of preservation; phonetic script; an origin from a whole people; theism and humanism; exemplary character and originality—they constitute the societies they define as two poles of a unique emergence. It is my presumption (borne out I trust by the evidence) that the relations between them are not one-sided but of mutual

influence. It is problematic for me whether the texts of the ancient Near East—lost for many centuries, lacking a learned tradition, mostly fragmentary, written in defective scripts—can lay claim to a comparable exemplary character. The Gilgamesh epic comes closest; but any modern version, pieced together out of various recensions, owes such resonance as it achieves in our ears

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more to the historical connotations of its translator's language than to its own. 9 - Anyway, here I compare Biblical and Classical texts with each other rather than with something else; to lay out their differences, or better complementarity, remains a task for the future.

In this chapter I survey my work, and excerpt that of my colleagues, in the easier manner: from the outside in, moving backwards in time; stripping off the most accessible and recent layer of Greco-Semitic connections, then on to the next, and so on, ending with the deepest parallels yet discernible. Where I have adequately treated a topic before, I summarize; hence some unevenness of coverage. Let me then outline my results here in the opposite order, forward in time, starting at the earliest relationships we can find.

Shared structures of Indo-European and Semitic (17.6). Here Levin in his two books ("IESL" and "SIE") made a breakthrough by the discovery of morphological parallels (including vowels) between the two language families, rather than contenting himself with a comparison of consonantal roots. I note some of his stronger parallels that continue as constituent elements in the culture of Israel and Hellas (and other societies too).

Ethnics and noun-endings (17.5). In a joint article¹⁰ Levin and I propose that three grammatical forms are preserved for nouns and adjectives of all sorts by the names of foreign peoples: masculine eponyms, masculine collectives or plurals, feminine singulars. Very likely, the ethnic names jointly known to Hebrew and Greek rest on earlier names of the same formation.

Shared vocabulary (17.4). I propose that Israel and Hellas have a broad commonality composed of parallel enterprises with the same names for key elements. At 1.19-21 I list those enterprises as treated in these chapters; now I rearrange the names by likely origins. They include old wandering words, indigenous names of Mediterranean things, Canaanite and Akkadian loanwords in Greek, names of exotic imports from further east, words from the Aegean or Anatolia carried eastwards into Canaanite, and words from Egyptian and

Persian. An impartial focus on Israel and Hellas alike by itself frees the shared vocabulary from the straitjacket of "Semitic loanwords in Greek."

9 But at the very least, the Gilgamesh epic, unlike all other Ancient Near Eastern works, lends itself to modern literary adaptation. See the essays in the large collection edited by John Maier, *Gilgamesh: A Reader*; Wauconda: Bolchazy-Carducci, 1997. Its special status warrants separate study.

10 JP Brown & S. Levin, "The Ethnic Paradigm as a pattern for nominal forms in Greek and Hebrew," *General Linguistics* 28 (1986) 71-105.

17.2 Translation, evident and presumed

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Where the suffixes of words themselves are comparable, they often follow the ethnic paradigm (17.5).

Men and cities of the Mediterranean (17.3). The Hebrew Bible and Greek literature stand on a sturdy joint framework of political history: names of cities and peoples (with their gods); dynasties of rulers, from shadowy echoes of the Hittites to the regimes of Egypt, Assyria, Babylon and the Old Persian empire. The historical names grade off into figures of legend and myth.

Translation, evident and presumed (17.2) Closest at hand are the deposits of translation in the historical period, certain or plausible, mostly so effective as to dispense with the transliteration of one language into another. Here fall treaties and other legal formulas which Weinfeld has made

his own; shared proverbs, once carried by gold-smith-bankers whose trade constitutes their earliest metaphor; and the style and motifs of Mesopotamian epic which West has so fully cataloged.

Again here we shall entertain broader possibilities about the language translated from.

17.2 Translation, evident and presumed

17.2.1 Juristic formulas

Treaties. I outline their structure in Chapter 8 (vol. I), extending in some areas the work of Weinfeld. West (EFH 19-23) summarizes the materials and adds a helpful table of

"Matching phrases to do with oaths and treaties." By definition the treaty (or loyalty oath) is the basic text translated between peoples. Our earliest witness to its origins is Hittite. But the concrete curses of the oath-taker on himself

must have multiple origins, and a few shared words appear: naphtha (1.279) was borrowed from Akkadian into Hebrew, Greek and Latin; the parallel between "vulture" and often "bird of prey"

,

(1.281), more likely came from contact on the battlefield than from a treaty-text; the onomatopoeic

similarity of verbs for "lick" (1.282, SIE 275-7) is a linguistic constant. The cognate accusatives "vow a vow, pour an oblation, observe an observance" (1.257-8) show close caique-translation (in which direction?) resting on a parallel structure of IE and Semitic.¹¹

¹¹ At 1.257 I proposed that the parallel I Reg 8,31 "a curse to adjure(?) him," ^1? n'pK, LXX ; Sophocles Oed. Col. 952 (etc.) àpàs "he uttered curses" connected Heb. 1?« "curse" with the root " and Greek ; but the style of translators suggests rather an accidental similarity of sound.

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Civil law-codes. The Eastern connections of Greek civil law have previously been noted. The one substantial Greek civil law-code, that of Cretan Gortyn, in one place runs parallel to

the Pentateuch.¹² To keep property in the male line, the Gortyn code prescribes (VII.15-18)

"The heiress is to be married to the brother of her father, the oldest of those living." It goes on (VII.21-24) "And if there should be no brothers of the father, but sons of the brothers, she is to be married to that one (who is the son) of the oldest":

KA ME TÖ [], , TOI []

interpreted as ai , -In such a case Num 36,6 has , iöi ás .

Moses prescribes "Let them become wives to whom they think best; only, they shall become wives within the family of the tribe of their father (DiTlLN ")." Even more

specifically, the daughters of Zelophehad (Num 36,11) "became wives to sons of their father's brothers" just as at Gortyn:

wtiii ' ^1?... nr^nm where the Vg interprets "in correctly filiis patru sui "to sons of their paternal uncle."

Criminal law-codes. Morton Smith¹³ holds that Greek law-codes might have derived materials from Egyptian ones. Westbrook (11.214) contrasts the casuistic style of the XII Tabulae and the Pentateuch with the general principles found in the contemporary works of the Mishna and Gaius. Now I can cite what I consider a remarkable set of parallels in near-perfect sequence between the "Covenant Code" of Exodus 21 and the ninth book of Plato's Laws, like the Gortyn code set in Crete!

I tentatively propose that the Exodus code is a local version of an international code which somehow served as Plato's model.¹⁴ I leave it for others to determine whether Plato shows further parallels to the Akkadian law-codes.

¹² Ronald F. Willetts, *The Law Code of Gortyn*; *Kadmos Supplement I*; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1967. The parallel to Mosaic law in the case of the woman inheriting is the only one noted by Willetts (p. 24); he seems to regard its features as reflecting an original matriarchy.

¹³ Morton Smith, "East Mediterranean Law-Codes of the Early Iron Age," pp. 38*-43* of *HL Ginsberg Memorial Volume* (ed. Menahem Haran); *Eretz-Israel 14*; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1978.

¹⁴ See further the parallel (11.173) of a married couple "leaving father and mother" between *Leges* 6.776AB and *Gen* 2,24.

echoing the old IE-Semitic pair eye and *Gen* 9,6 "He who sheds a man's citations of Euripides *Electra* 857-8 and

blood, by man shall his blood be shed" (1.5). See my

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(1) Death for violence done to father or mother. *Ex* 21,15 prescribes death merely for striking (3) father or mother, *Leges* 9.869C for killing them.

(2) Penalties for killing a slave. Exodus 21:20; Leges 9.865C, 868A (slightly out of order).

(3) The Lex Talionis.15 (a) "Eye

for eye" etc. Ex 21,24 (Lev 24,20; Deut 19,21); and so Hammurabi 196. Lacking from

Plato's Leges; however the rule of eye for eye (but not other body-parts) appears at Demosthenes 24.140, and life for life, is ascribed to Solon (Diogenes L. 1.57) and Charondas at Thurii (Diodorus 12.17.4). Now I can add Quran 5.46 "life for life, eye for eye, nose for nose, ear for ear, tooth for tooth," correctly cited as an (expanded) Jewish formula:

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.'*...'

' .'*...'

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' .

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V,? I?

^r^b

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ear (11.316). (b) "Blood for blood."

J

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Aeschylus Choephoroi 400-402. 1 6 Plato Leges 9.872E speaks of "the justice which avenges the blood of kindred," at least in reincarnation.

(c) "As he has done..." Lev 24:19-20 "As he has done, so shall it be done to him." Plato Leges 9.872E continuing "[Avenging Justice] has decreed that one who has done any such [crime] should necessarily suffer the same things he has done," quotes Aeschylus Choephoroi 314 (or its source); see Hesiod frag. 286 cited 1.5.

(4) The goring ox to be killed. Exodus 21:29; Leges 9.873E. 1 7 (5) Theft of an ox.

Ex 21,37, not in Plato; but see 11.18-19.

(6) Lawful to kill a thief at night. Exodus 22:1; Plato Leges 9.874B, see citations at 1.4. The old root-parallel between Hebrew 333 "steal" and Greek (11.323, SIE 214-220) appears in Ex 22,1 333 (LXX), Plato Leg. 9.874B "theft"; the linguistic agreement was inevitable, though resting on the archaic institution of cattle-raiding (11.279).

Other legal formulas. Elsewhere Weinfeld has found parallels between the Near East and the Greco-Roman world in instructions for

15 See my discussion in "From Hesiod to Jesus" 331-335.

16 Cited at "From Hesiod to Jesus" 331; see further West EFH 575.

17 And see the discussion "From Hesiod to Jesus" 331 with the citation of Aristotle Ath. Pol. 57.4.

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temple visitors;¹⁸ in the discipline of the Qumran sectaries and Hellenistic guilds;¹⁹ in the conduct of a census.²⁰ We noted (11.47) his study of

Near Eastern royal proclamations as echoed both in Israel and in Greece. Finally (11.214-218) we excerpt his comparison of the pattern of Israelite settlement in the promised land with Vergil's language about the settlement of Aeneas in Italy, both resting on the style of Greek (and Phoenician) colonization.

17.2.2 Proverbs

We compared the proverb-collections ascribed to Solomon and Theo-

gnis (vol. I, Chapter 9),²¹ and in an Excursus (1.316-326) parallel proverbs later attested. The only shared vocabulary (1.303-305) is in the denominative verb "to test" (fQ, , probably Egyptian) with the noun for "gold", Greek : Hebrew , the Phoenician word, appears elsewhere in Proverbs but not in this context. The phrase "testing gold" has a special position in both collections, less as a proverb than as defining the profession of goldsmith-bankers who carried the proverbs. The earliest groupings of shared proverbs are Egyptian, but they are highly international material; shared proverbs from the Talmud are likely of Greco-Roman origin.

17.2.3 Epic themes

Here, in the body of the text, and in the Appendix, I add some of the more

striking materials from West's East Face of Helicon ("EFH"). I omit two categories: pages where he cites parallels from my Vol. I without notable additions; proposed etymologies which I feel insufficiently plausible. West frequently cites the 17th-century book of the Corpus Christi scholar Zachary Bogan²² which anticipates much 19th-

18 "Instructions for Temple Visitors in the Bible and in Ancient Egypt," pp. 224-

250 of Sarah Israelit-Groll (ed.), *Egyptological Studies; Scripta Hierosolymitana* 28; Jerusalem: Magnes, 1982.

19 Moshe Weinfeld, *The Organizational Pattern and the Penal Code of the Qumran Sect: A Comparison with Guilds and Religious Associations of the Hellenistic-Roman Period; Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus* 2; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986.

20 Moshe Weinfeld, "The Census in Mari, in Ancient Israel and in Ancient Rome," pp. 293-298 of D. Garrone (ed.), *Storia e tradizioni di Israele*, 1991.

21 The two collections were compared by Joseph P. Schultz &c Lois Spatz, *Sinai and Olympus: A Comparative Study*; Lanham: Univ. Press of America, 1995, p. 290, but without specific examples.

22 Zachary Bogan, *Homerus sive comparatio Homeri cum scriptoribus sacris quoad normam loquendi*; Oxford, 1658. Mostly I note where West cites Bogan, but passes by his copious references to later scholars.

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century work. Most of West's materials are epic motifs: features of heaven and earth (West's Chapter 3); aspects of style and technique (his Chapter 4); and phrases and idioms (his Chapter

5). The remaining are West Asiatic illustrations of passages from Hesiod, Homer, Greek lyric, and Aeschylus. His parallels rarely include loanwords: when they do, as in the words for "concubine" (, ttfl^a), at Iliad 9.447-457 and Gen 35,22 etc. (EFH 373; SIE 234; 1.65, 1.298), it is because the texts refer to shared enterprises. Another reader might make a quite different and perhaps better selection from West's materials. Mostly I have suppressed his parallels to Akkadian in favor of citing actual Greek and Hebrew texts.²³ Attitude of prayer (EFH 42-43). "And [Solomon] spread out his palms to heaven," tTOtfri 33 fo'IEPl (I Reg 8,22); "And he lifted up invincible hands to heaven,"

(Pindar Isthm. 6.41). And [Moses] spread out his palms to Yahweh," -1?« 33 fc'-ia»! (Ex 9,33); "lifting up hands to Zeus," (Iliad 6.257).

Casting pollution into the sea (EFH 53).²⁴ Micah 7,19 "And you

will cast into the depths of the sea all their [our?] sins": DniK't3n-l73 nippli

^ Iliad 1.314 "And they washed off their defilement and threw the washings into the salt sea": oi '

Features of a pantheon (EFH 107-113). The Homeric pantheon compared with Mesopotamian, Hurro-Hittite, and Ugaritic conceptions. In particular they are categorized as heavenly and chthonic "gods of heaven and gods of earth": Zakur stele (KAI 202B,25-6) p"IN

""[n^Rl l]"»aa; TI1?«!; Euripides Hecuba 146

I can add the Aramaic apotropaic formula Jer 10,11 ' .

"Let the gods who did not make heaven and earth perish from earth and from below the heavens":

-|· tfynKp -mì o rni ? 1? ^ K^otf"1? -

Widow and orphan (EFH 129-130). Ex 22,21 "You shall not'op-press any widow or

orphan," 30?1<"73, LXX . Hesiod Opera 330 one who "wrongs orphan children," incurs the wrath of Zeus. Widow and orphan go together, Andromache to Hector (Iliad 6.432) "Do not leave your child an orphan, your wife a widow":

23 These notes (and others elsewhere here) will make up for a peremptory dismissal of West's enterprise at 1.15.

2 4 Citing Cyrus Gordon, Before the Bible 13, 259.

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' , A god puts sentries to

sleep (EFH 182). I Sam 26,12 "For a deep sleep from Yahweh had fallen on them,"

DiTl̄?? 'i1??} ntm n Iliad 24.445 "For Hermes the courier had poured sleep over them":

''

^

The god identifies himself (herself) and says "Fear not" (EFH 185).

Gen 26,24 "I am the God of Abraham your father; Fear not («1 •?«)."

Iliad 24.171-3 Iris to Priam "Be of good cheer (6ápaei)...fear not ()...am the messenger

of Zeus (toi)." I can add: at Mark 6,50 Jesus says Homerically "Be of good cheer, it is I, fear not", , where the Old Syriac takes as a word of power and transliterates 10.

Features of a standard dream (EFH 186-190). "The dream-figure comes and stands by the dreamer's head" and numerous other themes.

Speaking to one's own heart (EFH 199, Bogan 306). Of the god: Gen 8,21 "Yahweh said to his heart," is'p-^K , Iliad 17.200 "[Zeus] said to his heart," öv . Similarly of human beings. But Gen 8,21 is unique, and perhaps needs accounting for instead of the Greek.

The heavy hand of the god (EFH 223-4). I Sam 5,6 "The hand of Yahweh was heavy" on the Ashdodites, mrp—p T3DF11; Iliad 1.9725 "Nor will [Apollo] sooner withdraw the heavy hands of

plague,"

' ö "Not without a god"

(EFH 224, Bogan 76). Il Reg 18,25, Rabshakeh to Hezekiah "Is it without Yahweh that I have come up against this place?":

n-rn mpiarr1??; •^ mrr •nir'paari

LXX ... Iliad 5.185 "It is not without a god that he rages thus" ' ö '

"Sons

of the Achaeans" (EFH 226, Bogan 5). '

is standard in the Iliad, but in Hebrew the eponym is normally singular; the only exceptions are

I Chron 15,15 "sons of the Levites," •.1? L XX oi ; Amos 9,7 "as sons of the Kushites,"

D^Bto "OS?, LXX uiol . Since I have interpreted the Hebrew 1 "Hivites" as Achaeans, and at Jos 11,19 they appear with the "sons of Israel," 'JIOÊP "•33., the plural idiom is

perhaps Greek rather than

Semitic.

2 5 Variant reading attested by MSS and Zenodotus.

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"All that breathes and creeps" (EFH 235). Gen 1,30 "Everything

that creeps on the earth in which is the breath of life": 0a] 11—IE?'« piN'T^ y È>OÌ~l LXX

, ô . Iliad 17.447 = Od. 18.131 "of all things that breathe and creep on the earth":

yaïav cf. Horn. Hymn to Demeter 2.365. An exceptional parallel!

Yesterday and the day before (EFH 242, Bogan 14). Ex 5,7 etc. "as previously," ^tí "710113, LXX (where the Hebrew "third day" as usual counts both ends); Iliad 2.303 -() ie "years ago"; Herodotus 2.53 .1 reversed ex yesterday.

King suffers pains of a woman (EFH 251, Bogan 117). Ps 48,7 "Trembling seized [the kings] there, travail as of a woman giving birth":

^

rrfpr o

Iliad 11.269-272 Agamemnon's wound likewise pains him as with labor-pains, ; Ps 48,7 LXX
Homericallly .

"How long will you be idle?" (EFH 257). Jos 18,3 "How long will you be idle?" to go in and
take

the land . Who knows but the god may show favori" (EFH 258, Bogan 113).

Il Sam 12,22 "Who knows but that Yahweh will be gracious to me and the child live?":

"^, "öl <" "" ini"« "?"

LXX Homericallly Iliad 11.792 "Who knows but with the god's help you might move
his spirit?":

' ' ...

Whatever one wishes. (A) The God does whatever he wishes (EFH 267, Bogan 397). Ps
115,3 "Our God is in the heavens, he does whatever he wishes":

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trotsi'a -írn'^ i

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LXX ["Ps 113:11"] Odyssey 6.188-

9, Nausicaa to Odysseus, "Zeus himself the Olympian allots good fortune to men, to the
bad and the good, just as he wishes, to each," ' ' '

, as) "May the God give you whatever you wish" (EFH 274). Psalm 20:5

"May [Yahweh] give you according to your heart," ^

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Odyssey 14.54 (cf. 17.355) "May Zeus ...give you whatever you most wish": ...

Thief as "Daysleeper" (EFH 327, Bogan 422). Job 24,16 "In the dark they dig through houses, by day they shut themselves up, they do not know the

6

light." Hesiod Opera 605 .

Dust and ashes (EFH 340, Bogan 169). Ezekiel 27:30 (cf. Job 30:19)

"They cast dust (LXX) on their heads, and wallow in ashes (LXX)":

•îti^sn.; '-1 ?! la y •l'rin

Iliad 18.23-25 "Achilles with both hands took up grimy dust () and poured

it over his head...and put black ashes () on his sweet-smelling tunic."

Fasting for battle (EFH 390-1, Bogan 193). Saul curses the man who eats food before evening (I Sam 14,24); the people urge mourning David to eat but he refuses (II Sam 3,35). Achilles refuses food and drink until he has avenged Patroclus at sunset (Iliad 19.209, 306).

Wife's maid as surrogate (EFH 419). Sarah sends Abraham to her maid (Gen 16,1-16); Rachel and Leah send Jacob to their maids (Gen 30,1-13). Odyssey 4.11-14, Menelaus has a son Megapenthes by a slave woman, since Helen can bear only Hermione.

Birth from tree or stone (EFH 431). Jer 2,27 "Saying to a tree, You are my father, and to a stone, You gave us birth":

•urn' rm •|3i<t 7i FIN - yy i '

Odyssey 19.163 (Penelope to disguised Odysseus), "You are not from that proverbial oak or a stone": où yàp

cnrò ' cnrò

One strikes a rock with a rod for water (EFH 447). Moses in a doubled story (Ex 17,5-6; Num 20,8-11) does so. Poseidon brought out water at Lerna by striking the rock with his trident ();² so Atalanta in Laconia with her spear (, Pausanias 3.24.2); and Dionysus in Messenia with his thyrsus (Pausanias 4.36.7).

Following the (previously) unyoked cow (EFH 448). Diviners told the Philistines to put the Ark on a cart drawn by two unyoked cows, and determine from their destination who had caused the plague (I Sam 6,7-12). Tyrian Cadmus found the site of Thebes by following an "unyoked heifer" (

), Euripides Phoen. 640.

26 West in his commentary ad loc. calls this a "kenning" and notes the Attic equivalent "housebreaker."

27 Scholiast on Euripides Phoenissae 185.

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"Lord of weapons" (EFH 546). West cites numerous passages where Akkadian uses *belu* as "owner" etc., and so Hebrew and Greek . Note particularly Gen 49,23 *D^hsn ""ipⁱ??* "lords of arrows, arch-ers," LXX ; Euripides Iph. Aul. 1260 ' "lords of bronze weapons."

Death as eternal sleep (EFH 573). Jer 51,39 *Q^hirnMⁱ*, LXX ("28,39") ; Aeschylus Ag. 1450

What is the source of such parallels? West in his Chapter 5 "A Form of Words" (covering phrases and idioms, similes, metaphors, figures of speech, exclamations, hymns and prayer) sees some or all of them as "Semiticisms in

Homer" (p. 220). Besides parallels in the Hebrew Bible cited above, most have earlier parallels in Akkadian epic verse. I note a couple of especially elegant Greco-Akkadian parallels lacking comparable Hebrew. Achilles confronts his opponent (see EFH 215) "Who and from what breed of men are you, that dare come against me?"

[Iliad 21.150]

And from the Anzu epic:

Who are you, that comes to fight me (lit. to my battle)? Again (EFH 543) West cites Bacchylides frag. 4.69-72:

On the iron-bound shield grips the webs of tawny spiders () appear, while pointed spears and two- edged swords are overcome by rust () beside Akkadian Erra and Ishmun:

Over our battle gear spiders' webs are woven ...

The points of our sharp arrows are bent; our
swords, from lack of slaughter, have developed verdigris.

Among extant texts, that is, the Semitic have priority in time.

But when at an uncertain date the first Greek-speakers came into the peninsula, it was not deserted; people were there speaking some other language or languages, perhaps Luvian, perhaps not. Also the Trojan adversaries of the Achaeans might have spoken some sister language of Hittite. And the Greek epics cannot be separated from the new situation that the Greeks found themselves in. Where did they get the idea of heroic epic? Perhaps it was already indigenous. Dactylic hexameter has no Indo-European cognate. So themes and style of heroic narrative may have been equally ancient in the Aegean, but unknown and unrecorded like the heroes themselves, *careni quia uate sacro* (1.11).

West (p. 220) notes with surprise:

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We shall find that Homeric and other Greek poetic diction is characterized by many turns of phrase that do not correspond to normal Greek idiom as we know it from Classical prose, but do correspond to oriental idiom.

(Edward Said²⁸ warns us generally against imagining a uniform "Orientalism," whether in linguistic idiom or anything else.) But classical

Greek prose has its own linguistic borrowings from the East.

So while some of the parallels industriously gathered by West and his predecessors may well have entered Greek as translations from Semitic (or Hittite), others may simply represent the style of heroic narrative in the whole region from the Aegean to Mesopotamia,

where the question of origin can hardly be posed. West's materials then en bloc are less clearly translations from East to West than the legal formulas and proverbs.

17.3 Names of rulers and cities

Greek and Hebrew verse and legend are carried out against the same geographical background, from Sardes (1.336) to Babylon, from Damascus to Egyptian Thebes. As soon as we look at their historical works, supplemented by inscriptions, coin-legends, and papyrus (the last mostly from Aramaic-speaking Elephantine), we find that the two literatures are equally knowledgeable about the deities worshiped in those lands— we have noted many. And the dynasties of their kings form a shared chronological framework.

In Greece the Assyro-Babylonian kings are figures of the past, but Sennacherib (704-681 BC, 30 II Reg 18,13) appears in Herodotus 2.141.2 as (1.341), whose bowstrings are gnawed by mice in Egypt. Nabonidus (556-539 BC) appears as at Qumran, 29 and

with a consonantal shift as of Herodotus 1.74—appearing at

the eclipse of 585 BC, a little before his true time. Pharaohs of the 26th Saite dynasty anchor the narratives of Herodotus and Jeremiah: Necho II (610-595 BC) is of Herodotus 2.158.1, who tried to dig a Suez

canal; and 13] of Jer 46,2, defeated at Carchemish. Apries (589-570 BC)

is of Herodotus 2.161.1, who ended ill; 11 Jer 44,30, who seems to know the same story.

Others known to Herodotus (Psammetichus I, 664-610 BC; Amyrtaeus ab. 460) are attested in the Aramaic papyri. Likewise the Achaemenid rulers from Cyrus (560-530

28 Edward W. Said, *Orientalism*; New York: Vintage 1979.

29 "Prayer of Nabonidus," ed. Milik in *Rev. Bib.* 63 (1956) 407-415.

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BC) to Artaxerxes I (465-424 BC), known from their own records in Old Persian, form the backbone of Herodotus' tale and of Hebrew history from Second Isaiah to Ezra (again supplemented from Elephantine). Equally the cities and tribes of the Aegean and Near East constitute a common setting for legend and history; below (17.5) I select out their names which fall in shared linguistic patterns.

17.4 The shared vocabulary

For centuries, scholars have looked for Semitic loanwords in Greek (and Latin). Emilia Masson,³⁰ who has drawn up the most reliable minimal list, has helpfully surveyed the work of many predecessors, including Bochart (1646), Gesenius (1815), Movers (1849-1856), A.

Muller (1877). I have worked carefully through the studies of Muss-Arnolt,³¹ H. Lewy,³² and Maria-Luisa Mayer,³³ among others. Burkert³⁴ now summarizes "There is a marked presence of Semitic loan-words in Greek." Zimmern collected on a large scale Akkadian loanwords, mostly in Hebrew and Aramaic, but as attested also in Greek.³⁵ The reality of loan-words in Greek from other language families has attracted less attention. Fournet³⁶ summarized the scanty literature on Egyptian loan-words in Greek (but omitting proper nouns); from my ignorance of Egyptian, I hesitate to go much beyond him.

Rüdiger Schmitt has analyzed with phonetic care the Median and Persian vocabulary in Herodotus, mostly of men's names;³⁷ Iranian common nouns in Greek are surveyed by Hemmerdinger.³⁸

30 See footnote 7 above.

31 W. Muss-Arnolt, "On Semitic Words in Greek and Latin," TAPA 23 (1892) 35-156.

32 Heinrich Lewy, *Die semitischen Fremdwörter im griechischen*; Berlin: Gaertner, 1895.

33 Maria-Luisa Mayer, "Gli imprestiti semitici in greco," *Rendiconti dell' Istituto Lombardo, Cl. Lettere* 94 (1960) 311-351.

34 W. Burkert, *Orientalizing Revolution* 35.

35 Heinrich Zimmern, *Akkadische Fremdwörter als Beweis für babylonischen Kultureinfluss*; 2nd ed.; Leipzig:

Hinrichs, 1917.

36 Jean-Luc Fournet, "Les emprunts du grec à l'égyptien," *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris* 84 (1989) 55-80.

37 R. Schmitt, "Medisches und persisches Sprachgut bei Herodot," *ZDMG* 117 (1967) 119-145; see also his *Die*

Iranier-Namen bei Aischylos, Österreichische Akad. der Wiss., phil.-hist. Klasse, Sitzungsber. 337; Publications of the Iranian Commission no. 6; Vienna 1978.

38 B. Hemmerdinger, "158 noms communs grecs d'origine iranienne, d'Eschyle au grec moderne," *Byzantinoslavica* 30 (1969) 18-41.

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Levin has put the comparison of the Indo-European and Semitic language families on a solid new footing by establishing clear morpho-logical parallels in the formation and affixes of nouns and verbs. He thus goes beyond the limitation to root-consonants alone in the work of Möller,³⁹ Cuny,⁴⁰ and Bomhard;⁴¹ and likewise (it seems) in the Italian work of Alfredo Trombetti, and the Russian work of TV

Gamkrelidze & VV Ivanov, and VM Illic-Svityc. I summarize some of his discoveries in 17.5 and 17.6 below.

In the present volumes the study of loan words in Greek (and Hebrew too) becomes ancillary as the key (though the principal one) to the comparison of their societies on equal terms. A second key is the comparison of their art objects, above all those with a shared name in the two languages; I have made a beginning on this elsewhere.⁴² There has been less interest in discovering loan words in Hebrew: for a survey of Egyptian loan words in Biblical Hebrew the relevant entries in Ellenbogen⁴³ will serve, where also Iranian words there are gathered.

In previous comparative work (except with Weinfeld), the focus has been on Greek literature as the thing illustrated, with Hebrew and other literatures in the subordinate role of

the thing illustrating. No-body assumes that Hebrew texts were known in Greece directly; rather, Hebrew with Akkadian texts are used to document Semitic words or motifs which are presumed to have moved over to Greece, most likely via Phoenician or Aramaic. This presumption has traditionally served to obviate further search for an Indo-European etymology of the Greek word; and also to attest what is seen as an alien infiltration into Greek culture. But if we attribute equal importance to the Hebrew texts, we shall often see that the word in question is equally a loan into Canaanite from Akkadian—which for Canaanites was no less a foreign language than Greek. And when we consider the shared vocabulary of Greek and Hebrew as a whole, we are led to a new viewpoint.

39 Hermann Möller, *Vergleichendes indogermanisch-semitisches Wörterbuch*; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1911.

40 Albert Cuny, *Invitation à l'étude comparative des langues indo-européennes et des langues chamito-sémitiques*; Bordeaux: Bière, 1946.

41 Allan R. Bomhard & John C. Kerns, 1994.

42 "Images and their Names in Classical Israel and Hellas," pp. 7-32 (with illustrations) of Asher Ovadiah (ed.), *Hellenic and Jewish Arts: Interaction, Tradition and Renewal*; the Howard Gilman International Conferences I (Delphi, June 18-24, 1995); Tel Aviv University: Ramot Publishing House, 1998.

43 Maximilian Ellenbogen, *Foreign Words in the Old Testament: Their Origin and Etymology*; London: Luzac, 1962.

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For the shared vocabulary proceeds from a whole linguistic geography of sources, where "Semitic loanwords in Greek" are much less than half the whole, perhaps not even its major constituent. It naturally groups itself under cultural enterprises, where typically each contains loanwords from several different sources. The chapters of this and the previous volume take up the loanwords by enterprise. Here we cross-classify them by probable source. The end of the Hebrew Bible suggests that we cut off the Greek materials early in the Hellenistic age. Hebrew and Greek lose their old statuses as donor and recipient respectively.

Rather, their literatures appear in parallel as influenced by a similar spectrum of sources (besides each other), and as raising those influences to a new level of culture. It will become less important that Hebrew literature is preceded in the Near East by millennia of literate societies; for we must assume that Greek literature was also preceded by many centuries of partially literate Aegean societies.

I mostly omit the large body of etymological proposals in the existing literature which I regard as less than highly probable. Of the Greek words which Emilia Masson considers as "genuinely borrowed from a Semitic language" I doubt some connection for two only.⁴⁴ In her "possible" list of 12 I raise seven ("balsam," &c "lion," "cave," "moth," "musical instrument," and "tambourine") to probability, while sharing

her doubts about the others. But I add many items of shared vocabulary from different sources to her list, and reinterpret a number which she calls "Semitic loanwords."

Martin Bernal with great generosity has circulated two long lists with hundreds of proposed Semitic and Egyptian parallels (respectively) to Greek words. I

have entered a few of his Semitic-Greek proposals here with credit to him; I pass by the Egyptian ones since they do not seem to create Greek-Hebrew contacts. Various authors have proposed Semitic etymologies for figures of Greek myth and

44 Masson (p. 44) regards "meal-tub" since Aristophanes (*Equités* 1296 etc.) as derived from the Semitic represented in Hebrew "basin" (Ex 12,22),

"goblet" (Zach 12,2), "utensils" generally (ni3D II Reg 12,14); but the meaning is not all that close, and we would expect the doubled labial to appear in Greek as --. Likewise (p. 22) she regards "horse-blanket" (Xenophon *Cyr.* 8.3.8, acc. sing.) as derived from the Semitic represented in Heb. riniD3 "cloth-ing" (Ex 21,10 etc.), LXX : but the Hebrew is never used for an animal covering; the form of the words is fairly different, and no better in other Semitic languages. We would almost expect Xenophon's word rather

to be Iranian—Agatharchides 20 calls it Ethiopian.

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legend; I have rarely accepted these except when the Greek name is given an appropriate meaning by our sources, or the myth points to Canaan. Saul Levin has proposed many new parallels between Indo-European and Semitic; I note them here where they continue to generate cultural connections between historical Israel and Hellas.

Looking back over my own practice, I suggest ideal criteria to authenticate proposed linguistic parallels in the historic period—criteria which become less and less helpful as we move back into the prehistoric.

(1) Shared words are normally nouns, the names of things exchanged between cultures on known or plausible routes.

(2) The items named are precise rather than general parallels.

(3) Verbs and verbal nouns are best authenticated when they take a shared noun as object.

(4) The words of the two languages should ideally agree phoneme by phoneme, where vowels and accent can be as important as consonants.

(5) It is even stronger if the words agree in inherited suffixes (17.5).

(6) The thing denoted is a feature of shared enterprises, and its name appears in texts of a similar genre describing them—ideally, along with other loanwords.

(7) Less than perfect phonetic correspondence can be plausibly explained by folk-etymology, phonetic change or the like.

(8) Divergence of meaning with good phonetic correspondence can be explained by semantic parallels elsewhere.

But a large part of linguistic change is unknown to us, and we can be sure that many prehistoric parallels have been lost or distorted beyond recognition. It is tempting, but dangerous, to move one step further back into that unknown. Some criteria outweigh others: that and mean the same city overrides

the phonetic differences—in fact suggests some new law. Relations within the Semitic and IE families—better understood, even so still holding many mysteries—are a key to relations between contiguous language families. In the end, etymology demands prudent intuition, and is as much art as science.

As I survey the literature, I am struck by the partiality of scholars for connections which they have themselves proposed or at one time championed. Perhaps in rare instances this is true of myself as well. The surest sign of linguistic insight is the critical intelligence to sift out assayable nuggets of history from the fool's gold of bright ideas—above all one's own. A reviewer's highest praise should be reserved for the materials an author silently omits.

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17.4.1 Canaanite loan words in Greek Here we

consider words which from the beginning were part of Hebrew and its sister tongues (although they may exist also in Akkadian), as indicated by their root-formation or by the

fact of their naming Canaanite things; we may assume that they were carried west by traders of Ugarit, Phoenicians or Aramaeans.

Resting on West-Semitic roots, "down payment" from root mi? "he pledged" (1.74, EFH 24).⁴⁵ "balsam" from Dfo'3 (1.97, SIE 112), with Rabbinic root

D03 "be sweet." yauAos "Phoenician freighter" and y "serving vessel," both with "bowl" (also Ugaritic gl) from root "be round, roll" (1.146)? "frankincense" from

nD'31?, root p1? "be white" (1.210, EFH 40). (Aeolic) "myrrh" from ĪQ, associated with "HO "be bitter"

(1.95, EFH 40).⁴⁶ "tent," prob, from a Phoenician noun with root ptf "dwell" (1.179, 11.330). — - "sacrifice" owes its permanent -vowel to the guttural in the root 2 (1.199, SIE 247, EFH 40).

Naming Canaanite things, "tablet" from n^H "door," also name of the fourth letter (1.52, EFH 20, 50, 561). "camel" from ·?03 (1.338). "lion" from frī (1.340). "lute" from 21 (1.155). "date(-palm)," folk-etymology to "finger" from Mishnaic ^ "date" (.19).⁴⁷ "bird-cage" from Dl^S with Amarna ki-īu-bi (1.341). "silver vessel" with niJap (l.167).⁴⁸

Jewish loanwords in Greek. There is a large body of Jewish loanwords in the LXX, often in the Aramaic form of the Targums, which continued thereafter in Hellenistic Jewish literature, the New Testament, and Patristic Greek.⁴⁹ Thus "passover" at Ex 12,11

LXX for Heb. 03 where Onqelos 03 and often in the NT. At Ex 12,19 the LXX has "sojourners" for Heb. "133 where Onqelos has Km"1 !:; so Isa 14,1 LXX for

"3 where Jonathan y-\\Vi.

4 5 Note its connection with "Phoenician" Thais, 1.77.

4 6 It is tempting to compare Latin amarus "bitter"; but there is no obvious connection, and the Latin initial vowel is problematic.

4 7 The Aramaic of Sefire has (KAI 228A 18-19).

4 8 Latin names of farm-implements seem derived from Punic agriculture (1.145): dōlium "cask" from marra "hoe" with Rabbinic 10, cf. further 0 from Hatra (F. Vattioni, *Le Iscrizioni di Hatra*, Sup.

n.28 agli Annali [1st. Or. di Napoli, 1981], no. 281.4). Levin (SIE 396-7) discovered that Heb.īKn"IU "very much," of beautiful Abishag (I Reg 1,4), Vgpuella pulchra nimis, was

picked up by Romans as *asadmodum* (unexplained) in the same context! Plautus *Bee* 838 of a *bella...mulier*·, at Plautus *Poeti* 24 6 in the mouth of a Punic character.

4 9 A selection is discussed in my "The Septuagint as a Source of the Greek Loan-Words in the Targums," *Biblica* 70 (1989) 194-216, esp. 200-201.

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It appears in Jewish Greek at Philo *de confusione* 82 (LCL iv.54); in Justin Martyr *Dial.* 122.1; and Eusebius *Hist. Ec.* 1.7.13, who supposes that there were archives in Jerusalem tracing descent from "those of mixed ancestry."

The principal Jewish loanword entering pagan Greek (and Latin) was for the "sabbath," Ex 16,25 LXX for 3»', where Onqelos Xruts. The Greek is mostly treated as a neuter plural of a festival. It appears in an early Hellenistic papyrus⁵⁰ tallying brick () re-ceived in the month Epeiph of some year; on the 6th and 8th a thousand () are received; against the 7th the scribe noted .

Time-measurement by the sabbath spread widely. Meleager of Gadara (*Anth. Pal.* 5.160, first century BC) on his Jewish lover: *psychr*

"

"Even on the chilly Sabbath [when lighting a fire was forbidden] Eros is warm." Suetonius *Aug.* 11 illustrates a common misconception, *ne Iudaeus quidem...tam diligenter sabbatis ieiutin seruat* "not even a Jew keeps the Sabbath fast as diligently" as I do. A decree of Augustus, by all

appearances genuine, in Josephus *AJ* 16.163-4 mentions and prescribes penalties for thefts "from the synagogue or ark," .

51 Besides other proper nouns it makes

(11.123) "child born on the Sabbath."

17.4.2 Akkadian loanwords in Hebrew and Greek Here we note words

first attested in Akkadian or Sumerian which later appear in the alphabetic scripts of Greek and

Hebrew—two languages equally heard as foreign by Akkadian speakers. All are culture-words originating from Mesopotamia.

the trade-name for "gold" (1.301-4, SIE 170), Mycenaean ku-ru-so, Heb. f-, is exotic in Hebrew where 3! is normal, but regular in Phoenician (fin), Ugaritic (hrs), and

Akkadian huräsu (CAD 6.245). "tunic," Mycenaean ki-to, has suffixed forms in Hebrew, 3 and 3, but l'irò in Eg. Aramaic; Akkadian kitû (CAD 8.473), itself perhaps from Sumerian GADA (1.204; SIE 289, EFH 14). "mina" is the normal unit of weight throughout our area, Hebrew 30, from Akkadian manu (CAD 10A.220); see 1.307, SIE 169, EFH 24. "sheqel," LXX is 1/60 mina as weight or coin; Akkadian siqlu, whence Heb. 'Pjttf, Aram.

chrysos,

,

50 P. Cairo Zenon 59762 = CPJ no. 10, i.136.

Ugaritic tqł (1.307, SIE

51 MSS - (Josephus] 3.134) "ark" trans-literates pi s II Reg 12,10; in both forms lacking from LSJ with Sup.

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145, 286). "Fine flour," is Talmudic KTÖO and Akkadian samidu (1.343). The "sacred precinct," (with Latin templum) appears in Hebrew only in place-names, Timnath 30; but surely represents Akkadian temmenu "foundation" (11.222) and Sumerian TEMEN (SIE 291, EFH 36). "brick," Hebrew surely has its Greek form from Aramaic {CUO1?;52 it first appears both in Greek and Hebrew with respect to the architecture of Babylon, Akkadian libittu (CAD ix.176); see 1.83, EFH 39 note 153.

17.4.3 Names of exotic imports from farther East These entered Greek

and Hebrew partly via Akkadian, partly via the Red Sea trade, but none are "Semitic loan-words" except by folk-etymology. There are more such in the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

All names of jewels fall in this category, "jasper" with Heb. na®'^ appears also in Akkadian but presumably is from some uncertain language, Hurrian or Urartian (1.87). "sapphire," with ~P3D perhaps came from India (1.332). and "emerald," in Hebrew £3

as in Akkadian barraqtu (CAD ii.113) has a folk-etymology to pH3 "lightning," but surely is

ultimately from Sanskrit marakata (1.332; SIE 207-8 otherwise). Later appear "beryl" with R^hTQ (1.333); and "pearl" (Theophrastus de lap. 36) with Rabbinic mai o and ^h.53

Likewise for several spices, "cassia," must be from the Phoenician equivalent of Heb. ^hlPijp; but this is surely folk-etymology to the root SJ3p "scrape" of a far-Eastern word, for cassia and cinnamon come from southeast Asia (1.70-72, 94-5; 11.331; SIE 288-9).

Likewise then with , Heb. "pūlp. "nard," with 3 is ultimately from Sanskrit naladah (1.148-151). "galbanum," with HJa'pn is of uncertain origin (1.150). Later appears "pep-per" with Mishnaic 'PS ^ha (1.335). —Very likely , a name of "cotton" (or fine linen?), though attested late in Greek, is pre-Hellenistic, for 03*13 appears in Esther, no doubt from

Sanskrit karpasa (1.339). , Heb. ^h-13, "byssus" is a luxury import of uncertain origin, "silken"⁵⁴ as a Greek word is from (Strabo 15.1.34), traditionally "Chinese" (source unknown) ; Rabbinic •' (Bab. Talm. Shabb. 20b) is a loanword from the Greek.

52 In later Targums of Gen 11,3 and Ex 24,10 (Jastrow i.689).

53 I hope to discuss elsewhere the widespread texts where the pearl appears. 54 Periploous Maris Rubri 39 (GGM i.288).

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17.4.4 Loanwords from Egyptian Hebrew

and Egyptian are much closer than Greek and Egyptian; it is not easy for the outsider to judge the source of shared vocabulary.

Hebrew is thought to have well-established loan words from Egyptian like "seal," Eg. htm (1.75); D'in "footstool," Ugaritic hdm, Eg. hdm.w;⁵⁵ "spear," Eg. hnj.t (EG iii.110). Hoch finds very numerous loan words in Egyptian from West Semitic languages.⁵⁶ Hebrew and Egyptian apparently share East-Mediterranean terms as for "olive oil," ir and (EG v.618);^{3N} "wolf" with s3b (EG iii.420) "jackal."

Greek and Hebrew share knowledge of the names of Egyptian kings (11.286), places (1.329), and gods (1.333); but Greek took up only the common names of very specifically Egyptian items.

Greek soldiers and visitors in Egypt noted impressive objects and named them ironically. They called the great herbivores of the Nile "river horses," Herodotus 2.71

oí ; and the great amphibians "lizards," Herodotus 2.69 , comparing them to animals which lived in Ionia on the walls.⁵⁷ But Job honorifically calls the one "Behemoth," 1013 (40,15), either a plural of majesty or a Phoenician singular reinterpreted; and the other mythological "Levia-than," 11? (40,25). The stelae of the kings Greeks called "roasting-spits," Herodotus 2.111.4 (our familiar obelisk is from Strabo 17.1.27), as we refer to "Cleopatra's Needle";⁵⁸ Jer 43,13 literally calls them nnSÛ "pillars" (LXX). The enormous

burial monuments of the kings Greeks called (Herodotus 2.8.1) "muf-fins" (Ehippus 13.559), probably as folk-etymology of a true Egyptian word with definite article pi-; but no good candidate has been proposed.⁶⁰ Neither the Hebrew Bible nor Rabbinic mentions the "pyramids."⁶¹

5 5 Erman-Grapow ii.505, who however treats the Egyptian as a loanword from Semitic.

5 6 James E. Hoch, *Semitic Words in Egyptian Texts of the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period*; Princeton: University, 1994.

5 7 Herodotus 2.69. 3 gives Egyptian for "crocodiles," ; Eg. hms.t Erman-Grapow iii.96.

58 Attested since AD 1693, OED x.291c. 5 9 Kock ii.256 from Athenaeus 14.642E.

6 0 Horace (Carm. 3.30.2, cf. 1.11) sees pyramids as flawed symbols of eternity; ML West ("Near Eastern Material in Hellenistic and Roman Literature,"

HSCP 73 [1968] 113-134 see p. 13,2) finds hieroglyphic antecedents.

61 I cannot forbear noting the Anglicization of Egyptian for the "double crown" of the two Egypts. On the Rosetta stone (OGIS 90.44) "the so-called royal pschent" where the Demotic 2 6 has p3 shnt.

Classically it is shm.tj, Erman-Grapow iv.250. From the English of Egyptolo-

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Of the Egyptian loan-words in Greek listed by Fournet, and those in Hebrew by Ellenbogen and others, a few run parallel, and D^a'p (pi.) "monkey" correspond to Egyptiang//

(Erman-Grapow v.158), itself likely from an African language (1.44). The products of Egypt were much used there and elsewhere both as cosmetics and in embalming. and "nitre" (the variation already shows a loanword) with " serves in both capacities; Egyptian ntr (1.241). Greeks stereo-typed Egyptian names of products as neuters ending in -i: "mascara" (1.241) "gum" () is perhaps Jonah's gourd l^p (1.331). The "touchstone" is surely Egyptian] '3 "stone for testing"

(1.306). Fournet 73 regards "linen strip" with Hebrew "pio as derived from Egyptian sndwt (Erman-Grapow iv.552); see 1.209. Greek "basket" appears early in Egypt, perhaps before Alexander; it and Heb. 3 "ark "are from Egyptian 4bt (Erman-Grapow v.561); see 1.35; 11.168."

Especially two products of Upper Egypt, one white and one black, enter Mediterranean languages. Latin ebur with Hebrew •-,30 (I Reg 10,22) "tooth of elephant" is from Egyptian 3bw, both "ivory" and "elephant"; the source of Greek is uncertain (1.337). "ebony," with Heb. •" (Ez 27,15 Q), is from Egyptian hbny (Erman-Grapow ii.487), itself likely a loan from some African language such as Nubian (I.197). 62 Ivory and ebony appear together at Herodotus 3.97 as Ethiopian tribute to Persia, and at Ez 27,15 in the trade of Tire

(ivory in the paraphrase "horns of tooth," niJlp); and in exact Egyptian form ebum...ebur in a letter of Augustus (1.89) The Egyptian words for ebony and ivory (hbny... 3bw) are likewise recorded as appearing together in the texts,⁶³ and I would hope somewhere to compare actual hieroglyphic documents with Augustus' text.

Generally Greek and Hebrew record Egyptian items as "black"; Greek Phineus and Hebrew Phinehas reflect P3-nhsj "the Negro"

(1.181). Egyptian peasants were "blackfeet," (11.31). Egypt itself is "the Black Land" "because of its exceptionally black soil";⁶⁴ this is Egyptian Km.t (Erman-Grapow v.126), probably the

gists it made its way into Joyce's Ulysses 15 where in the whorehouse of Nighttown Bloom's Hungarian grandfather Lipoti Virag chutes down the chimney flue: "On his head is perched an Egyptian pshent."

6 2 "Ebony" is conjectured at Cant 3,10, and may appear in Ugaritic at KTU 4.402. 6 hbn.

63 Erman-Grapow ii.487 with the Belegstellen ad loc.

6 4 Plutarch de Iside et Osiride 33 (= Mor. 364C); so Herodotus 2.12.2

... .

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same as 0 the son of Noah and father of Misrayim (Gen 10,6)—in Ps 105,23 etc. "the land of Ham" is synonymous with on m

17.4.5 Loanwords from Iranian These items from

the fully historical period mark a large area of shared Greek and Hebrew experience with Medo-Persian administrative realities. Thus "treasure" (Theophrastus Hist. Plant. 8.11.5), Titian T33 "the king's treasures" (Esther 3,9), Bib. Aramaic RTDÜ Ezra 5,17 (LXX ["2 Esdras 5,17]), Parthian gnz65 (1.40). The "daric" (after king Darius) crossed with "drachma": beside D', i3"llî< (11.335). "Magian," with actual Magians tOEttO at Elephantine; Old Persian magus (Darius, Beh. 1.36, Kent 117); Quran 22.1 S (1.342). Two flower-names are probably Iranian: "rose," with Targumic Kill (1.339); and one of the names of the "lily,"

and in view of the Persian city with Old Persian Çûsâyâ (1.331). "headdress" (Plutarch Artaxerxes 28.1, conjectured at Herodotus 7.90) is likely to stem from the Persian period; then cf.

3 Esther 1,11—both must go back to an unknown Persian original, "arsenic" (Pseudo-Aristotle Prob. 38.2 [966b28] with folk-etymology to "male"), appears in the boat-building text Cowley 26.21 tOTtf;

, modern Persian zarniq (Frisk i.152). "trou-sers"⁶⁶

, Dan 3,27 lineano "some garment" (LXX ["3,94"]); modern Persian salvar; Quran 16.81 sârabJla acc. pi. "coats."

Here I propose a novelty: it is well established that "wall" (since Homer) is derived from Proto- *dighä- (Kent 191), cf. English dike and ditch; then Heb.

p^ "siege-wall" II Reg 25,1 (LXX) may be a loan from a Median version (Old Persian didä-). An undoubted parallel from the same Indo-European root is the word for "paradise," which I hope elsewhere to study in detail. It enters Greek as the or hunting-park of the Persian satraps (Xenophon Anab. 1.2.7 etc.); the forest of Lebanon under Persian control is the 0?3 of the king (Neh 2,8,

LXX ["II Esdras 12,8"]). In the Avesta (Videvdat 3.18) it is an "enclosure," pairi.daēzqtt which would be exactly *; it is probably the pa-ra-da-ya-da-a-ma of Artaxerxes II at Susa (Kent 154).

Persian administration was well known in the person of the "satrap," that is a "kingdom-protector," xsaçapâvâ (Darius Beh. 3.14),

(Xenophon Oec. 4.11, Herodotus 3.89.1 "satrapies" acc. pl.), variously spelled elsewhere in Greek. "Satraps" at Esther 8,9 are

65 Gignoux 51.

66 Antiphanes frag. 201 (Kock ii.97).

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•'^ and similarly in Aramaic (Dan 3,3). In the trilingual of Xanthos (1.29) the Aramaic

has3,theGreektheLycianaverbxssadrapazate.Thecompoundisno,tPersianbut

Me-dian, for the rebel Fravartish/Phraortes assumes the name Xsadrita (Darius Beh. 11.15); the working language of the Empire was Median.

Finally, the title of the Old Persian ruler, "king of kings" (only sparsely attested in earlier Akkadian) is calqued in Greek and Hebrew.

At Aeschylus Sup. 524 (EFH 557) the Chorus addresses Zeus as "lord of lords, most blessed of the blessed": , / At

Deut 10,17 Yahweh is "God of gods and lord of lords,"67

0\ •'P/lfO ^ \-f7K Darius (Beh.

1.1) calls himself xsaya&ya xsayadiyänäm. Some Artaxerxes at Ezra 7,12 is K'O'pa Rabbi cAqabya (Avot III.l) said "Know before whom you are to give account: before the King of the kings of kings":

^ ^ ^ OD1?

It seems uncertain whether (either in origin or in later understanding) the title meant "king par excellence" or "king ruling over minor kings." I hope elsewhere to study in more detail both the names of the "satrap" and the title "king of kings."

17.4.6 Anatolian, Aegean and Greek loanwords in Hebrew These are the exact counterpart of "Semitic loanwords in Greek." As Akkadian words assume an altered form in Hebrew, Anatolian and Aegean words assume an altered form in Greek. West (EFH 38),

contesting the position that became a Greek loanword in Hebrew (below), states "there is no other evidence of early Greek loan words in Hebrew." Here, casting our net a little wider, we gather evidence for such.

"Philistine" loan words in Hebrew (1.65). Goliath (I Sam 17,5) wore a "helmet" (2J3l3), elsewhere U31p (Ez 23,24); the variation points to it as foreign, the attestation as Aegean-Anatolian. Hence we compared

6 7 In two other features the Pentateuch suggests signs of Iranian influence. The man of Zebulun J3 Num 34,2 5 must have the name of Pharnakes,

(Herodotus 7.66.2 in the genit.); it is hypocoristic for some name in Farna- "Glory"; see R. Schmitt, "Medisches und persisches Sprachgut bei Herodot,"

ZDMG 11 7 (1967) 118-145, p. 136. (But it is doubtful that Ugaritic arsm KTU 4.153. 2 can be Iranian Herodotus 7.69.2, Driver Dtnx passim, Darius Beh. 1.4 Arsäma, as Gordon suggests.) Also the "sheqel" of silver (^gB Lev 5 , 1 5 etc.) may not be a weight but the Tyrian silver sheqel of the Persian period.

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Iliad 15.536 with Hittite kupahi "turban" or the like (1.165-

6). —The "concubine," Heb. Efa^S, obviously foreign, has counterparts in and Latin paelex (with its perfect fit to the Heb. stem piylags-, 1.65). Rabin claims it as Indo-European, and Levin now in his full treatment (SIE 234-7, see West briefly EFH 373) suggests that it is Messapic. In any case it is North Mediterranean. —The "tyrant" (voc. Horn. Hymn 8.5), undoubtedly related to Hieroglyphic Luvian tar-wa-na-s "king," is surely reflected in "OID "rulers" of the Philistines, as well as in Etruscan. —Some Philistines carry Asiatic names (1.164): with Goliath (rrjpa) we compare Lydian Alyattes (); with Achish (E7'"ON) Anchises

(). Achish appears in the new Phoenician inscription from "Philistine" Ekron⁶⁸ as ppu "IB BPDK "Achish...ruler of Ekron."⁶⁹

...

Anatolian cult objects. "Tambourines" (, •"•an) seem of Asiatic provenance (1.152-5); Siberian tūngūr sounds both like the drum and its

Mediterranean names (11.166). Ancient grammarians⁷⁰ like moderns connect the Greek with "strike"—IE , cf. Sanskrit tu(m)pati "hurt." The Hebrew noun

is primary and its participles represent the root directly, without the Greek suffix of instrument -avo-, both Greek and Hebrew must be from some. Anatolian IE language. — The words T31? and -have both meanings "torch" (11.172)

and "lightning" (11.67).

The IE root lacks the m infixed; but the Hebrew doubled stop pre-sumes it. Thus the Hebrew must be derived from some language, presumably Anatolian, where the nasal had been infixed as in the Greek, and the vocalism of the suffix altered.⁷¹ Speculative Greek loanwords in Hebrew. In

the pages above I have proposed some Greek originals for Hebrew nouns; and while I hope that scholars will give the proposals serious consideration, and ideally find arguments to approve or reject them, I am not prepared to let the discus-

⁶⁸ IEJ 47 (1997) 1-16.

⁶⁹ The editors transcribe his name as Ikausu from the inscriptions of Esarhaddon (Borger 60 line 58) and interpret it as "the Achaean," which we see rather in the "Hivites,"

^

a

"•inn. His four ancestors—he is IIP Kl« "[CP —are all believed to carry

Semitic names by the editors. The Phoenician text and these names are new evidence for the early Semitization of the Philistines.

The temple is dedicated to Irans¹? "Ptgyh his lady"—a new Anatolian goddess? Aaron Demsky ("Discovering a Goddess," Biblical Archeology Review, Sept./Oct. 1998 [24.5.53-58]) sensationally proposes to read rp^ nab, ie Greek "Lady"! The fourth character is poorly written. On this reading, merely translates. See as city-name (11.314).

70 Scholiast on Aristophanes Ploutos 476.

71 West (EFH 576) misses the Hebrew connections of the Greek.

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sion here rest on them. I list them for reference. At 1.2261 noted Yahuda's proposal thattruir "harlot"

is primary and the root denominative, and the noun derived from "woman," on the grounds that "(foreign) woman" and "harlot" are nearly identical. Of the words discussed below as having undergone contamination (11.303), "altar" with ni33 "'high place'" (1.201-4) is most likely to have had a Greek origin. If there is a connection between and Tj'PO "king,"⁷² the Greek must be the original, since waw cannot begin a Hebrew word except "and."

Elsewhere I hope, with all due caution, to make the radical proposal that Hebrew "justice" is derived from in the Elean dialect form ZI KAI A (for),⁷³ ie zdikaia, with the root sdq everywhere in Semitic denominative . At 1.342 I modestly suggested that IE "lentil (-shaped flask)" might underlie 3 "(oil-)flask."

Later Greek loans to Semitic. Rabbinic has many hundreds of loan-words from Greek; the process began with the Greek names of musical instruments in Daniel 3,5 etc. (11.329). Elsewhere⁷⁴ I propose that many of the Greek loan-words in the earlier Targums, Onqelos on the Torah and Jonathan on the Prophets, entered from the LXX on the same passage. — The earliest obvious Greek loanword in Semitic is the name of the "standard" coin "stater" appearing at Elephantine ab. 400 BC as j0 (11.335). — "engrave, sculpt" (since Aristophanes) appears at Ex 28,9-11 LXX as where Targum Onqelos ^, and noun where the Targum

At Hatra, in the first century of our era, are attested both the verb (KAI 238.1) and noun XS^a (KAI 237.3) "sculptor;" the Greek art brought its name with it. Later in Palmyrene (PAT 1719) and Syriac (Act 17,29 Pesh.).

If a 5th century BC ostrakon from Elephantine is correctly read ' (KAI 271 v.9), this is a pre-Hellenistic Greek loan to Semitic.⁷⁵

The earliest Greek loans to Semitic. Homeric "mix" is surely an inceptive from *- - like Latin misceō.⁷⁶ Only such a form can explain the twin roots Hebrew "[Où and 3, with already

Ugaritic msk (1.142-3, SIE 237-9). This uniquely clear instance is due to the international custom of mixing wine with water, for in Greek and Hebrew the verb takes the common word for "wine" as object

72 Strongly denied by West, *Classical Review* 47 (1997) 112.

73 CD Buck, *The Greek Dialects ...*; Chicago: University, 1965; no. 61 p. 259. 74 "The Septuagint as a Source of the Greek Loan-Words in the Targums,"

Biblica 70 (1989) 194-216.

75 Al Wolters ("sôpiyyâ [Prov. 31:27] as hymnic participle and play on sophia,"

JBL 104 [1985] 577-587) assumes underlying as the sadhe word of the

alphabet. But nothing else about the poem suggests such a late date. 76 Frisk ii.193.

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Latin⁷⁷ cum uini uim miscendo fregisset "when he reduced the strength of wine by mixing"; from Hebrew or Aramaic comes Quran 76.6 etc. mizāj "mixed."

A "room" for eating or wine-drinking can be both n3t£>-1? and nsifa (l. 141-2), a sure sign of foreign origin. The appearance of in an inscription from Doric Rhodes (IG 12.1.709) is perplexing (SIE 290), and the etymology of is uncertain, whether or not from -

"reclin." But the use of by both Homer (*Odyssey* 18.329) and Hesiod for a gathering place must surely be the origin (1.141-2 and Burkert⁷⁸).

17.4.7 Mediterranean words in both Greek and Hebrew A series of Latin plant

names with Greek parallels are not easily explained as derived from Greek in the normal mode of borrowing, nor from any Indo-European ancestor, but rather, with the Greek, as going back to a Mediterranean substrate—simply the name of the thing.

Thus menta with "mint"; eruum with and "vetch"; a generic tree-name citrus with ;⁷⁹ the name of uncertain flowers, uaccinium with ; uiola with (f) iov "violet";

buxus with "box-tree"; p'irus with "pear"; uiscum with "mistletoe"; fraga "strawberries" with "raisin." The non-Greek suffix -- marks several as substrate. Also a few of other categories: plumbum with etc. "lead"; fungus with "sponge"; funda with

"sling." (Words denoting social institutions where Latin likewise differs from Greek are more naturally explained as having passed through Etruscan: thus triumphus from .)80

77 Celsus 1 pr. 69 as cited by the OLD.

78 W. Burkert, "Lescha-Liskah: Sakrale Gastlichkeit zwischen Palästina und Griechenland,"

OBO 129,19-37. West (EFH 38) wishes to as a Semitic loan to Greek, but this

ignores the variable initial consonant of the Hebrew.

79 West (EFH 39) proposes to derive ; (along with "pure") from the root niap

"make smoke"; but neither in Biblical nor Rabbinic Hebrew does the root form a noun naming a tree, nor an adjective with an appropriate sense.

80 A. Meillet, "De quelques emprunts probables en grec et en latin," Mémoires de la Société de

Linguistique de Paris 15 (1908) 161-164; —, Esquisse d'une histoire de la langue latine, repr. Paris: Klincksieck, 1966, 84-94; A. Cuny, "Les mots du fonds préhellénique en grec, latin et sémitique occidental,"

Revue des Etudes Anciennes 12 (1910) 154-164; P. Kretschmer, Einleitung in die Geschichte der Griechischen Sprache; Göttingen; Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1896; 164-165; summary by Frédérique Biville, Les emprunts du latin au grec: Approche phonétique; Tome II [all seen by me]: Louvain/Paris: Peeters, 1995; 496-503.1 list words from these sources which commend themselves as "Medi-

terranean" in the dictionaries of Ernout-Meillet & Frisk.

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We should not be surprised then when such names (including also animals and man-made objects) are recorded in Canaanite too. A number are regarded as "Semitic

loanwords in Greek" by Masson. But apart from the special case of "small pests," none of them in their Hebrew form show specific signs of Semitic morphology; and none at all name uniquely Palestinian things. Only the absolutizing of the category "Semitic loanwords" has slotted them in there. The older Hebrew lexica held that every noun must be derived from a verbal root, attested or presumed; as soon as we abandon that doctrine, we perceive that the Hebrew words in this section are as detached from any "Proto-Semitic" as the Greek words from Indo-European. If all were known, this group of parallels would likely be the largest of all.

Natural products. Two seeds: "cummin," with "ses-ame," . Both appear in "seed tablets": Linear B, 81 ku-mi-no, sa-sa-ma; Ugaritic, 82 ssmn...kmn\ Phoenician, KA I 51.7 "[ÖBH91 ...]03 1 (1.335-6; EFH 13). The "reed," with names an aromatic as well as the measuring-rod; it now seems more likely to me that it is a Mediterranean substrate word for a natural product of varied uses (SIE 288 against 1.94). The "clothes-moth," with OD (1.73, cited EFH 542). "tuna," , is similar though not identical to that of the sea-dragon, pan (1.132). 83 The "ass," Latin asinus, Heb.], is regarded by Levin (SIE 119-124) as a later Semitic loan to Latin; but as bearing the "sack" is perhaps older (11.51).

Small pests. Hebrew names of such often have four root-consonants:

"Semitic" as such, and all the pests are endemic to the Mediterranean. Shared then with Greek are the names of the "scorpion," with inpU; and of the "frog," with

its numerous dialectal variants, beside)? (five root consonants!); see I.146, 336; 11.60; SIE 282. I can now add probably "bat" (Lev II, 19) in a list of "birds"; LXX; at Bab. Talm. Sanhedrin

81 DMG 2 105 .

82 KTU 4.14.4 , 9.

83 Lipinski agrees, and adds (OLP 2 7 [1996] 242 , citing his Dieux et Déesses 276) that 03 (KAI 99.5 ,

Hadrumetum) means "Island of the tuna" and represents modern Tonnara off the Tunisian coast. West (CR 4 7 [1997] 112) notes that "Ugaritic tnn is vocalized tu-utt-na-nu in a quadrilingual glossary,

Ugaritica

V.241." 84

"mouse," Vain (Lev 11,22) "locust," 1 "flea,"

"spider."⁸⁴ This is a genuine feature of Hebrew grammar, but cannot be proven rooted in Ps 140, 4 "viper?" is of uncertain reading and meaning.

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98b the cock (*?ia]~in) calls light useless to the ^ . Compare then (Lewy 17) Herodotus 4.172 "locust" in African context.⁸⁵ More speculative names of natural products. Lost

languages of the Mediterranean would likely have phonemes and morphology differing from both IE and Semitic, so that their words would often be partially disguised in any takeover. ⁸⁶ — The vine. Three names: with Latin pampinus and "l33 (1.136); the "grape cluster," with ~ID'3 (1.155); the "vine-stem," with tñiTH (1.156). —Crops. "Bean (-porridge)," with Latin puis and *7l3 (11.15); "grain," with Latin far "spelt" and "Q (11.10); "fig," (var.) with Latin ficus and 33 (11.12); Mass "barley bread" with Latin massa and nSQ (1.337; SIE 170, 293).⁸⁷ —Terrain. "Mountain," term with 1 (11.65); "land, valley," and with 103 (1.58); "valley" with 33 (1.342, 11.72). —Serpent names, at Iliad 12.208 is strangely scanned where the variant suggests a lost consonant; 73 provides it; cf. , Latin anguis, Sanskrit ahih (1.340).

"Python" the serpent of Delphi, (Apollodorus 1.4.1), cf. "l3 Isa 11,8 (11.190). —Ship-timber, and Latin cupressus, both "cypress" with "l3'a the material of Noah's ark (1.329). Here is a beautiful case (as with the "vine-stem," &in£hos/ pampinus/]Bi) where a

Mediterranean tree-name treated differently in Greek and Latin also has a likely echo in Hebrew. —Lion-names, see 1.340.

Man-made products. —Containers: the "jar," with Latin cadus and "l? (Ugaritic kd),

used regularly in the wine-trade (1.143). The "sack" (also for "sack-cloth"), with Latin saccus and pip (Ugaritic sq, Akkadian saqqu) is carried by the "ass" and goes with its name (11.50, SIE 288). —Light weapons in the plural (as changing sides in combat): "lances," (cf. also) with Latin lanceae and • (1.173-4; SIE 281). "Arrows," with Latin sagittae and ^ (11.70,140; SIE 293). with DIO (1.194, 232; EFH 41); Levin (SIE 170)

notes that "neither IE nor Semitic has verbal roots that consist of the same consonant pronounced twice." —"Mascara," Latin *fucus* with 13 "rouge") might be Egyptian as (11.295) since the

85 Nah 3,17 LXX for 3 "locust" has .

86 A number of these are accepted by Bomhard, who however against probability requires them to be derived

from "Nostratic" precursors by fixed phonetic laws.

87 The seeming connection with the root "knead" may be a folk-etymology, so that there is no need to consider this as I did a Greek loanword in Semitic.

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product came from there (1.241).—More speculative architectural items: "temple," () with 13 "habitation (of the god)" 11.43,223; "(sac-ral) cave," with *rinça* (1.244, EFH 40).

17.4.8 Cases of contamination

Here are word-pairs where the Greek has a plausible IE etymology and the Hebrew a Semitic one, but the two forms are closer to each other than to their seeming antecedents. In all five cases the

cultural parallels are particularly striking. The natural conclusions are that a word from one language family was assimilated to a similar word from the other, and their connotations became fused. In the first three cases it is more

probably the Greek word that has traveled.

"Darkness." "dark underworld" with 311? "evening" (1.57-8; SIE 288, 294; EFH 154).

The Greek has good IE parallels like Armenian *erek* "evening"; the Hebrew has as corresponding Arabic root *grb* "sink" with *garb(un)* "west," cf. Ugaritic *'rb* sps "going-down of the sun." But the perfect parallelism of the Greek and Hebrew implies contamination. An identical correspondence between a Greek neuter and a Hebrew segholate appears in (Odyssey 24.253) "stat-ure" with 130 (Deut 33,13) "greatness" (SIE 458); and in "precinct" with Sumerian *TEMEN* and possible Heb. *pn* * "same?"

(11.222, SIE 291, EFH 36).

"Sickle, sword." "sickle" with 3 "sword" (1.78, EFH 291).

The Greek has a possible verbal root "seize" and IE correspondent in Lithuanian *siirpe* "sickle"; the Hebrew has a seeming root in 31 "attack," with a feminine form in Mishnaic 3 "knife." But each is used of the High God's weapon in attacking the sea-dragon.

"Altar." with 03 (1.201; SIE 161; EFH 35). The Greek has a doubtful etymology from with , Homeric meaning "platform"; the Hebrew often seems to mean "heights," and Ugaritic *bmt* is "back." But the Hebrew plural construct is anomalously "" *bornât'ey*, whose first part is phoneme by phoneme a perfect parallel to *nom. sing.*! Mostly in Greek and Hebrew it denotes a place of cultic sacrifice, deeper rooted in Hellas than in Canaan.

"Cherub, griffin." with 33 (1.85, SIE 287, EFH 580).

Lipinski⁸⁹ rejects the parallel on linguistic grounds and because the Greek griffin has an eagle head, the cherub human or leonine; but West accepts it. The Greek has a parallel in "hook-nosed"; the

88 KTU 1.15.V.18-20.

89 E. Lipinski, review of Vol. I in OLP 27 (1996) 241.

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Hebrew a more distant one in the undescribed Akkadian *kuribu*. But they serve identical functions as guardians of gold and as upholding thrones. And the representations in art of such composite beings demonstrably came to Greece from the Orient. Thus the switch of voicing from *karuwb* to *gryp*- was assisted by folk-etymology to .

"Vulture, bird of prey feeding on dead." is always "vulture"; Hebrew mostly "bird," but in curses "birds feeding on the dead" (1.280; for the curse, EFH 216). The Greek has no close IE parallel, so may be derived from the Semitic in treaty or curse-format after the pattern of .

17.4.9 The oldest traveling words These are

words obviously old in both Greek and Hebrew, but ultimately entering the languages by loan

rather than by linguistic descent.

"Bull." with iW. (1.190-191; SIE passim).⁹⁰ This is the centerpiece in Levin's

analysis of "non-verbal nouns" with several parallels in case-endings: accusative sing., & Latin taurum with Arabic pawran; oblique dual, Greek * with Arabic cnj'β pawrayn; nominative pi. , tauri, Aramaic "HiFi. Levin notes (SIE 15) "-au- also, rather than the

normal IE -eu- or -ou-, points to a borrowing. " The name is likely a very old one predating the formation of original IE or Semitic as such.

"Wine", (f) with Ge'ez wayn (1.137-8; SIE 54, 239, EFH 13). The name surely traveled with the technology of viticulture from its original home, perhaps in

Anatolia or the Caucasus.

"Earth." Old English f)eoröan, Arabic ijVJ\ 'ardān acc.; with Greek "earthward,"

Hebrew fHK pausai (SIE 58-65; 11.68). That the word has only marginal attestation in Greek suggests that it is "pre-Indoeuropean" (SIE 61), and likely the designation of feminine Earth as worshipped. Thus Tacitus (Germania 40.2-3) states that seven German tribes worship her, Nerthum,⁹¹ id est Terram matrem, colunt; cf the Ugaritic sacrificial text KTU 1.148.5 ars. w smm. s "a sheep to Earth and Heaven."

"Horse." ' with DIO (II.6). Latin equus is an exact cognate of Sanskrit aṇvāh etc., but the initial hi- of the Greek marks it as a loanword. Ugaritic ssw and old Aramaic 00 (KAI 222 A22) must be loans which retain the of Sanskrit, lost in the further development of

⁹⁰ See also West in CR 47 (1997) 211.

⁹¹ It is likely that Nerthum is corrupt, eg for *Hertbum, which would be a good parallel to later Germanic forms.

17. 5 Ethnics and noun-endings 3 0 5

Hebrew 010. The name of the "horse" was certainly carried by its riders, very often across linguistic families.

17.5 Ethnics and noun-endings⁹²

"Ethnics" are nouns or adjectives defining men and women by the people they belong to; the people in turn is normally defined by its "eponym"—the founder, legendary or historical, it was named after.

Hebrew and Greek have a set of parallel endings for ethnics; and these endings are then transferred to many common nouns, some of which we saw in 17.4. There are two indications that the ethnic endings are primary: the names that people gave themselves and their neighbors were fixed; the ethnic endings form a logical self-consistent set.

The name of a city or people (17.5.1) usually comes from the name of its eponymous founder. In the patrilineal Mediterranean the founder is almost always a man (Carthaginian Dido [1.336] is a rare exception).

Since the names of peoples and founders rarely vary from language to language, they constitute a built-in set of parallels between languages, which carries

across also its grammatical forms. A masculine eponym (with extensions to the name of his people or city) normally in Hebrew has a stem ending in a consonant. Its Greek parallel often also has a stem of the consonant declension, with parallel treatment of final stops. Otherwise, the Greek eponym is a second-declension noun in -ος, where however the ending falls away under various conditions.

These mandatory parallels in proper nouns then generated corresponding parallels in common nouns.

Men of a neighboring people mostly come to a speaker's attention not as individuals but as collectivities: traders, colonists, slaves, soldiers. The original

eponym therefore forms a masculine plural or collective (17.5.2), in form a suffixed and accented diphthong in -y; it continues today in such forms as Israeli, Pakistani. In Hebrew the -ty suffix may designate either a collective or an individual man. In Greek the -οί suffix marks a nominative plural; in the case of peoples where the plural is more needed than the singular, the eponym is slotted in as -ος (for consonant stems must make a nominative plural in -ES). In Hebrew the collective suffix sets the pattern for constructing plurals in

92 This section is mostly a condensation of the central materials in a joint article, JP Brown & S. Levin, "The Ethnic Paradigm as a Pattern for Nominal Forms in Greek and Hebrew," *General Linguistics* 26 (1986) 71-105.

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-éy of common nouns. Greek common nouns of the 2nd declension form the identical nominative plural in -01; the agreement in the suffix sometimes includes a final accent as well.

Foreign women normally come one by one as wife, concubine, harlot. Here then the ethnic agreement is in the feminine singular (17.5.3), in two formations. In Hebrew the first is a suffix in -iyyóh

to designate a single woman; the second is a suffix in -iyt which can also designate the language. Phoenician script does not mark different formations, but simply adds -t for the feminine, whether or not pro-nounced, which generates anomalous forms in Hebrew and Greek too.

Greek consonant and -os stems with equal ease form a feminine singular in - (Ionic) or - (Attic etc.) which also serves as adjective or name of the land. They can also form a second feminine in -is, -15os, with extensions such as an adverb of language in -. But the open vowel by itself (Hebrew qomes or o, Greek long alpha - or eta in names of women or goddesses rarely omega -) was also heard as a

feminine ending, and as such appears in numerous common nouns.

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An unaccountably negative review of Levin's SIE by an otherwise distinguished scholar, whom Levin and I have often cited with approval, holds it as a general law of contact between languages:

Wörter nicht in any beliebigen Kasus oder mit ihrem gesamten Flexionsparadigm von einer Sprache in eine andere geferden werden, sondern in einer certaintimo 'Leitform'.

Here on the contrary we propose that reference of one people to another, with its mandatory forms for eponym, feminine singular, and masculine/collective plural, goes beyond any bare stem or Leitform ("principal form"?) to a genuine paradigm, which then less systematically serves as a template for common nouns of all sorts. Extensions of this pattern are the "thematic" masculine imperatives in -E (17.6.4) with accompanying vocative or quasi-participial forms; and the active and stative verbal nouns (17.6.9), feminine in Hebrew, feminine and neuter in Greek. Parts of the ethnic paradigm remain in English as in Iraq and Iraqi, Arab and Arabia. I urge readers to take seriously the demonstration here that the mutual relations of peoples in the ancient Eastern Mediterranean built into their languages shared manners of speaking about each other, which then in various ways spilled over into their languages at large.

93 *Kratylos* 41 (1996) 203-5, p. 204.

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17.5.1 Masculine eponyms 17.5.1.1

Ethnics in a consonant stem compatible with Greek Eponymous names

ending in -n or -r are compatible with a Greek consonant stem, and in -/ with a Latin one. Thus the original "Ionian", probably once **lāfcov* (plural *Iliad* 13.685); Hebrew designates all

Hellenes (1.82), as well as their land, *Ez* 27,13 (LXX). 94 "Sidon," *fTS* as masculine eponym is the "first-born of Canaan" (*Gen* 10,15), as feminine names the city (*Jos* 19,28) and (*Herodotus* 2.116.6, *Odyssey* 15.425).⁹⁵ The city "Ascalon" is *IV?;ptfK* (*Jud* 14,19), *Herodotus* 1.105.4; the 96 Phoenician *pOTI* (*KAI* 77.2) comes out in Greek eponym .

as (*Polybius* 1.70.3), Latin *Gisgô* (11.126), and so other personal names in -on. Phoenician *Matten*, "*J0* (*KAI* 18.2) appears at *II Reg* 11,18 10 and *Herodotus* 7.98 (1.330). —A "Carian" is *Kap*,⁹⁷ as eponym *Herodotus* 1.171.6 the brother of *Lydus*; the collective "*H3 II Reg* 11,19 suggests an eponym 3* (1.30-31). —Phoenician names in -bcfal go into Latin with the -l: thus (11.128) 'Pimm with *Hasdrubal*, but Greek .

Pumathon and *Pygmalion*. Here are two names in -ön with a puzzling relationship. A king of *Kition* in the 4th century BC is (*KAI* 33.1) [*^ns 1*70 irvaa* "*Pumi-yathon* ['the god *Pumi* has given'] king of *Kition*"; *Athenaeus* 4.167D attests . *Diodorus* 19.79.4 appears to call him , but

may just be echoing the legendary king of *Tire* (*Menander Eph.* FGH 783 Fl = *Josephus con.* Ap. 1.125) and of *Cyprus* (*Apollodorus* 3.14.3—see

Ovid Met. 10.243 ff for his ivory statue became real). The Greek seems a partial folk-etymology to "fist" (*Frisk* 2.619). It is then very surprising to find],17033 (*KAI* 73) twice on a gold medallion from *Carthage*, supposedly of the 8th century BC. *KAI* thinks it an import from *Cyprus*; but why even there should the Greek

be transcribed? Can it be misdated? or a (perplexing!) forgery? 98

9 4 At *Elephantine* 03 (*Kraeling* 12.5) is "Greek money."

9 5 For variations in the length of the two vowels in both languages see "Ethnic Paradigm" 77-78 9 6 , IESL 90. Stephanus 131 = Xanthus FGH 76 5 F8. 9 7 Archilochus 21 6 IEG.

98 Elaborate discussion in Hans-Peter Müller, "Pygmaion, Pygmalion und Pumaia-ton: Aus der Geschichte einer mythischen Gestalt," *Orientalia* 5 7 (1988) 192-

205; see further DCP 364-5; CR Krahmalkov, "The Foundation of Carthage, 8 1 4 BC: the Douïmès Pendant Inscription," *JSS* 2 6 (1981) 177-191.

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17.5.1.2 Ethnics whose stem ends in a stop

The 6 Hebrew stops ptkbdg when not doubled are fricative after a vowel. That this feature of the Massoretic pointing is old is shown by a parallel in Greek. The fact that *and* became separate letters of the alphabet shows that they began with sounds not represented elsewhere, *fs* and *ks* or the like. Greek forms the third-declension nominative singular of stems ending in a stop by fricating and adding -s. Thus final *and* become *and*; and *y* become *y*; and *and* and *s* become *s*, perhaps once **ts* as in *baths*. So "Arab," 37 Ez 27,21 (LXX) corresponds to "Josephus BJ 1.159 (stem -) and Latin Arabs Propertius 3.13.8. Herodotus 2.25.2 is probably the "Libyan" wind (cf.), cf. Latin Libs of the giant Antaeus (Sidonius . 9.97); from the

African people •••1? II Chron 12,3 (LXX) we can restore likely *li1?** as eponym at Ez 30,5), see 1.30. "Cilicians" have eponym and ethnic Herodotus 1.74.3 (stem -), and surely appear as "s^n Ez 27,11 (1.29). A "Cretan" is " (stem -), and so perhaps Ugaritic *Krt*; the bodyguard "•? II Sam 8,18 are surely Cretans (so LXX Zeph 2,5) and suggest an eponym 3* (1.32). The city "Gergis" of Troy (, stem -) shows a similar phenomenon with ; it seems to appear in Ugaritic as the man's name *grgs* (KTU 4.50.14 etc.) and in the "Girgashites," "tfana Gen 10,16 (11.197).

17.5.1.3 Greek ethnics of the second declension Case-

endings are always vulnerable to loss. Those of classical Arabic are dropped in colloquial; those of Ugaritic (only attested after aleph) are dropped in Hebrew; those of Latin disappear in Romance. Those in German are sturdiest. Second-declension Greek ethnics in -os form

the first feminine derivative just like consonantal stems: thus "Lydos" makes just as makes (17.5.3.2). In other forms also the thematic ending disappears as if it had never been there. Thus "Iapetos" with

"Japheth" (1.82-83) makes "son of I., ie Prometheus" (Hesiod Opera 54). "Pelasgian" (1.170) with its likely relation to 0,,n2?'tpa "Philistines" makes with its variant .

Doros eponym of the Dorians,

(Euripides Ion 1590), perhaps appearing at the Palestinian city ~IH or (1.33),

makes (Herodotus 1.56). Kadmos K with his

relation to the

(1.37) makes Homeric .

99 Alcman(?) fr. 164 PMG.

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17.5.1.4 Common nouns with compatible consonantal stems Those

three categories of proper names have exact common equivalents.

Some common nouns have stems ending in consonants compatible with Greek (and Latin). The "pledge," - \2iv (1.74, SIE 281).

The "tunic," with Eg. Aram.]13 (1.204, SIE 289); Hebrew has forms with a fem. suffix, 3 and 3'3. The "serpent," with ina (11.302). The final -s- of the "moth," with 00 (1.73, EFH 542) can be reckoned a stem-ending. Latin puis "bean" corresponds to ^is (but Greek , 11.15). Heb. "cattle," ip a (11.18, SIE 457) matches Latin pecus, where the -s represents the r of plural pecora.

17.5.1.5 Common nouns whose stem ends in a stop

These show the same friction as the ethnics. The "griffin," (stem -) matches 33 "cherub" with switch of voicing, and both final consonants are fricative (1.85, SIE 287, EFH 580); compare yú y "vulture" (stem -) with » "bird (of prey)" (1.281). In

the speculative comparison of words for "king," (stem - or -) and (11.96), the treatment of the final guttural is a further element of agreement. The words for "torch/lightning" (the Greek feminine), and TS1 ?, show parallel treatment of d, while differing in the second vowel (11.172).

17.5.1.6 Greek common nouns with removable -

As with ethnics, the ending falls away in derivatives just as if the noun were athematic. makes "poor wine," οὐλόπιον (Demosthenes 35.32) just as athematic makes "a poor tunic,"

(Arrian Epici. 1.25.21). makes a "golden eagle,"

(Aelian NA 2.39) just as makes "griffin eagles," -

(Aristophanes Frogs 929).¹⁰⁰ The "bull," makes "toreador" (Anth. Pal. 9.543). Fem. "touchstone" makes a verb (1.306).

17.5.2 Masculine plurals and collectives 17.5.2.1 Ethnic masculine plurals and collectives Greek

ethnic plurals in -οί with final ("oxytone") accent from an eponym in -s correspond to Hebrew collectives in accented -iy from a consonantal eponym. In most cases one of the four forms is missing, but the pattern is clear.

¹⁰⁰ At 11.216 we further compare -ρός "eagle" with try.

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Lydians. The vocative Herodotus 1.85.2 makes plural 1.13.1; the eponym TI1? (Gen 10,22) as son of Shem with plural D'H-l1?

(Jer 46,9, LXX ["26,9"]) would naturally make a collective (1.30).

Pelasgians/ Philistines. Eponym 101 with plural Iliad

10.429; from the country-name ^ Isa 14,29 (Herodotus 1.105.1) is formed the singular I Sam 17,8 of Goliath; for the phonetics see 1.170.

Achaean/Hivites. Eponym ' Euripides Ion 1592; Homeric ', perhaps * in view of Latin Achim (Horace Ep. 1.2.14).

Hebrew (with no eponym) shows collective "; for this bold comparison see 1.32, 201; SIE 165.

Aramaeans. DTK Gen 10,23, eponym and people, makes a regular ethnic ", singular and perhaps also collective (Deut 26,5); the total phonetic fit with Odyssey 4.841 0 2 makes a connection very probable (1.80, EFH 420).

Midianites. The eponym THI? Gen 25,4 makes ethnic sing. 1 3 yip Num 10,29; the comparison with Herodotus 5.49.6 is tempt-ing but historically problematic.103 Laius/ Levites. Levi the eponym

is identical to his ethnic "Levite," 1st e form is as close as possible to "people," probably */.

Levin sees legendary Laius (Sophocles OR 103) as the eponym of Thebans as "people" par excellence; at 1.38 we discuss possible IE origin for all these names.

Arabs. Here exceptionally Greek (with Latin) in rare forms accommodates both Semitic singular and collective: thus " has an occa-sional "heteroclite" plural corresponding to "any sing. (Neh 2,19) and •ail? collective (Isa 13,20, where LXX ") : ' Act 2,11 codex D (accent uncertain); Vergil Aen. 8.706 Arabs sing, but Arabisue 7.605 dative plural.

17.5.2.2 Common nouns in nominative and construct plural

Correspondingly, common Greek nouns in - form a nominative plural in - parallel to the Hebrew construct plural -ey. "Sheqels," II Chron 3,9 LXX with ^;pef I Chron 21,25 (1.307, SIE 286).

101 Hesiod frag. 161 MW = Strabo 5.2.4.

102 Odyssey has acc. pi. with variants, but Strabo 1.2.31 attests .

103 In the Greek, the two syllables - stand under suspicion of being a suffix, compare Herodotus

1.166.1 "Etruscans" and especially Herodotus 7.78 in view of Gen 10,2 among the sons of Japheth (1.175).

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"Camels," and Latin camel! with ^133 Gen 24,10 (1.210).104 "Sacks," ostraca105 and Latin sacci with saqqey (DiTjjfo Gen 42,35); see 11.320, SIE 124. "Jars," probable * and Latin

cadi with -H? Mishna Keth. XIII.4 (1.143). "Gardens," (Xeno- phon Oec. 4.13) with ^ (Bab. Talm. BM 193a). In the old noun "bulls," (Euripides Bacchae 743), Latin tauri Vergil Geor. 1.65, with Aramaic "mn (Targum Onqelos Num 29,13).

"Ravens,"

Latin corul (Juvenal 8.252) with ^' Prov 30,17 (1.313).

Even closer to the ethnic plurals/collectives are three Greek common nouns with final "oxytone"

accent. "Arrows," with "», hisséy (11.70, 140). Baby animals, with Latin agni "lambs" and "calves," where the middle consonant in both language groups was once a labio-velar (SIE 107; 11.16). And with problematic consonants, " and Latin agri beside both Heb. ", hasréy and

Aramaic ^pn (SIE 86-90).

A Greek feminine plural "tablets," (Aristophanes Thes. 778) corresponds to a Heb. fem. dual ">^! "doors," Job 3,10 (I.52).106 In a divine name, Greek plural for the "Great Gods" corresponds to very probable •,T33* "great ones" (1.36, EFH 58). In a perplexing adjective, Latin antiqui "ancient" corresponds to "p^'Fiy "weaned" at Isa 28,9 but later "old" (Bab. Talm. Pes. 42b); see SIE 382-6, 11.327, Bomhard 555. These Hebrew construct plurals sometimes correspond to Greek or Latin

feminine plurals in -, ae. Thus beside "^ "arrows," Latin sagittae-, "lances," (Aristophanes frag. 404 Kock), lanceae, romhey in OiTnan Neh 4,7 (1.173).

17.5.3 Feminine singulars Here it will be simpler to start with common nouns rather than ethnics.

17.5.3.1 Feminine nouns with final vowel

These take one form in Greek for common nouns, and another for a few proper names of divinities. Common nouns (see the index for references). Latin galbanum with and j3 ?
"Cassia,"

with ny^jp. "(Wine-)hall," with HSp1?. "Te'nt," skn with Tal-mudic Virò» "tabernacling Presence" (I.180 with 11.330). "Love," with 3. Add the speculative comparison (1.226) of

104 Levin boldly with the Hebrew compares further Latin caballr "nags" (SIE 13). 105
"Ethnic Paradigm" 86.

106 One would have expected * "twin tablets" corresponding to the ending
(but not the stem) of •".n1?! Job 38,10.

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"woman" with 3 "harlot"; and the probable contamination of "sickle" with Heb. 3 "sword"
and Mishnaic 3 "knife." Finally, a link to the ethnics in -, -tyyóh appears in "grief"

(Odyssey 15.394) beside Isa 29,2 "mourning."107

Greek apparently inherited some nouns ending in -co such as "fox" (Aristophanes Eq.
1068, where it is accus.). But a few divine or legendary feminine names in -co probably
transcribe Semitic names in Phoenician form, where the correspondent to Hebrew -oh was
heard as long ö. "Cow": Plutarch (Sulla 17) attests a goddess named for Phoen. "cow"
(IESL 330);108 so Hesychius as epithet of Artemis. It corresponds to Canaanizing Aram. 10
"cow" (KAI 222.A23) and Targumic 1 Lev 22,28. 1 0 9 Kabeiro: the mother or grandmother of
the Kabeiroi was (Strabo 10.3.21 genit., quoting older authorities), which likewise
corresponds to unat-tested 33* (1.37). Dido: 110 seems a feminine of "David" as "beloved
one," and corresponds to '* "aunt" ("1 Lev 20,20); see 1.336, IESL 252.

17.5.3.2 Feminine ethnics in a vowel

Greek forms many feminine ethnics in - (Ionic) or - (Attic) from masculine eponyms (with
either consonant or vowel stem) and from feminine names of cities and islands. Mostly
they designate the land itself: Herodotus 3.107.1, & Thucyd. 2.9.4, 10 Herodotus 1.93.1,
Herodotus 7.94; less often

Kilikia,

as an adjective, ' Thucyd. 8.44.2. These look like feminine singulars of masculine plural
ethnics in - which have no obvious Semitic counterpart. Thus in "Tyrian purple," Tupía ...
Strabo 16.2.23, the adjective looks like the feminine of Tupios (Herodotus 2.11.2), where
the Hebrew ethnic is " I Reg 7,14. But Hebrew forms a first feminine ethnic in -iyyoh which

exactly corresponds to the Greek feminine, designating a woman of that city or nationality. Thus "Aramaean woman" I Chron 7,14; ; "Hebrew woman" 15,12 ; "Jew-ess" I Chron.

·7 ·...;

In three cases with some reconstruction we can compare Hebrew and Greek.

107 "From Hesiod to Jesus" p. 336; connected with ono; "ass" or onus "burden"? 108 So Philo of Byblos, FGH 790 F. 10.43 109

See 11.313 for the t appearing in the Aramaic. 110 Timaeus FGH 566 F 82.

111 Euripides frag. 819 Nauck.

17. 5 Ethnics and noun-endings 3 1 3

Sidonian. I Reg 11,1 lists five nationalities of foreign women loved by Solomon in the plural: from "Sidonian" we can restore * (see 1.69). This agrees nicely with Herodotus 8.92.1 "Sidonian ship" /ç and with Iliad

6.291 "from the Sidonian land." —Thus despite the disagreement in the masculine plural/collectives Iliad 23.743 and Herodotus 7.44, "tf-PS Jud 3,3 and D", ÍTS Deut 3,9, by some route the feminine singulars agree perfectly, as do the eponyms.

Assyrian. Beside Herodotus 1.192.2 (1.43), from "Asshur"

TltS'K we restored -' * "Assyrian woman," where all six letters correspond to those of presumed original Greek *.

Of Ashdod. In the list of foreign women at Neh 13,23, from the Q ni'HIBfK "women of Ashdod" we may restore a singular ^*. Here the LXX has (acc. pi.) in agreement with "Ashdod"

Herodotus 2.157 and Stephanus. Then * must have existed in Greek. 112

17.5.3.3 Phoenician nouns with -t

Hebrew feminine nouns in -oh make their construct (and other forms) with -at: thus D"H&n ?»'1?

"hall of the princes" Jer 35,4; D1!»'] nnnN "love of women" II Sam 1,26. In Phoenician the absolute also is written with a -1: with Heb 30 "offering" Gen 4,3, construct JH 30 "evening

offering" II Reg 16,15, see KAI 74.10 (Carthage) nrUQD nur "a sacrifice with offering"; with Heb. construct ^ "young girl" (Ex 2,8) compare KAI -| 01?! This t is unstable: it was lacking in the dialect underlying the consonantal text of the Quran, and in spoken Arabic it quiesces. It is written

regularly in Ugaritic as in Phoenician, but must have quiesced under some conditions to account for its non-appearance when many words are borrowed by Greek. However it has left traces in Greek; and in Hebrew in the names of feminine divine beings. Thus "Wisdom," niODn 9,1 and

"Behemoth," 133 may be misreadings of Canaanite singulars rather than "plurals of majesty" or "of intensity." 113 Cities named for goddesses. West (EFH 38) noted Greek and Hebrew cities

whose name is the plural of a goddess; I can add that in both languages they may also appear as a singular. The same Canaanite

112 When Herodotus wrote ", zeta must have had the value zd, so that the city was pronounced azdöt\os in agreement with the Hebrew 'asdowd.

113 The form of "sister," surely an old word, admits of no easy explanation.

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city is attested both as singular and plural: thus "Baalath" 1?!?? I Reg 9,18 but ni^üa I Reg 4,16 (with Phoen. absolute n^yn JHD "priest of the Lady" KAI 11). The goddess Ishtar always appears in Phoenician 0!) (Ugaritic 'ttrt) and Greek with the t, or (11.332); Hebrew interprets the name both as singular, '>' I

Reg 11,5, and as plural, nlintfy I Sam 31,10; and likewise her city, 2>'!7 Jos 21,27 but nriFIBiy Jos 12,4. The goddess 3?, so common in Ugaritic, is occasional in Phoenician (KAI 42, Lapethos, 337) and on inscribed

arrowheads (11.136); and apparently attested in "Shamgar son of cAnath," 3 Jud 3,31. A city of hers can be called either ruirrTQ Jud 1,33 or ni] 53 Jos 15,59. It would seem that Phoenician singulars are being reinterpreted as Hebrew plurals. But the Hebrews were sufficiently persuaded that these were genuine plurals

to give a city the seemingly true plural name 13? (Isaiah 10,30 etc.). West (EFH 38) compares Greek city- names that are the plural of their tutelary goddess, , along with

feminine plurals of what may once have been goddesses, and . (Pausanias 9.8.1 "Ladies") however actually refers to the mother and daughter Demeter and Kore; no Ugaritic or other legend proves that "Becaloth" (ni^ya) refers to two or more goddesses. The other Greek cities also may appear in the singular, Odyssey 7.80, 11.263, Iliad 4.52. I cannot easily determine how much is reinterpretation here and how much a genuine double version of the city name.

In a smaller group of words a non-quiescent Phoenician or Aramaic t is recorded in Greek. Thus "frankincense," Heb. 31? (1.210), in Phoenician is (KAI 76.B6), with t in the Heb. possessive 31?

Leviticus 2:2; the double forms in Greek, and can both be explained from livantohtos, e Phoenician, where the ending in something like -öt was alternatively heard as -os and --. The "brick," , records the Aramaic

of Babylon Kn^1 ? rather than Hebrew 331? (1.83)—where t appears in the construct 30 033*7 24,10 "pave- ment of sapphire." A numinous tree, Heb. rÒX (Ez 6,13), may carry a feminine divine name as in Phoenician

1?}*'? "to the goddess" (KAI 172.3) and be recorded in "fir" (1.342).

17.5.3.4 Feminine ethnicities in t/d

Hebrew has a second form of the feminine sing, ethnic in -tyt : "Hittite woman" Ez 16,3, "Egyptian" 20

Gen 16,1; it also serves as an adverb of language, II Reg 18,26 rrn-irr; ... "in Aramaic...in Judaeen (ie Hebrew)," where the LXX

In the

=

bilingual KAI 59 from the Peiraeus "Sidonian woman," the vocalization of the Phoenician is unknown.

Greek likewise makes

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a second form of the feminine ethnic in -is, gen. - with several derivatives. Thus "a Dorian city," ... \$ (Euripides Ion 1590); the ethnic makes a verb "speak in Dorian" (Theocritus 15.93), a noun (Demetrius El. 177), and an adverb "in the Dorian

mode" (Plato Laches 188D). From is formed "daughters of K." or the like, Strabo 10.3.21. At 1.30-32 we saw the Greek stereotypes of their neighbors, using these forms: was "barbarous slaughter," "to speak barbarously," "lying."

There are parallels (partially attested) in four cases.

Pelasgian/ Philistine. From Herodotus 6.138.2 women

"Pelasgian women" we restored the singular * (1.226); from "'Htö'pa I Sam 17,8 we restored the feminine ®'1?!!!!* and proposed a whole phrase "Philistine harlot," rrnitf'pa

,

ruir*.

Ionian. From the rare ethnic (Pausanias 6.22.7) is formed "in the Ionic

dialect" by grammarians; at Joh 19,20 for "in Greek" the Peshitto has and similarly Rabbinic at Bab. Talm. Shab. 115a.

Ashdodite. Neh 13,24 records the language or dialect of Ashdod, ', where the LXX following the usage of Herodotus has

. 114

Achaean. The feminine of ' is (yaïav Iliad 1.254; as disparaging soldiers, ' ' 2.235); from 1 "Hivite" we can restore ·1*.

17.6 Old agreements between Semitic and Indo-European

Here we discuss linguistic connections between Hebrew and Greek which predate those languages as such and their societies, but continue to build cultural parallels. Most are treated by Levin, who in his SIE has brought to light a broad spectrum of agreements between Semitic and IE, recorded here only in small part.

17.6.1 Eye and ear Levin

(SIE 29-43) finds that nouns for body-parts of the head come in pairs end the stem in -n and take comparable dual endings (1.196).

1 1 4 Since Ekron in the seventh century BC put up a regal inscription in Canaanite (11.298), the language of Ashdod two centuries later may not have been unknown "Philistine" but a

dialect either of Canaanite or of Aramaic replacing Canaanite there as elsewhere in Palestine.

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Thus: "two ears," D^rK (Deut 29,3) and ;115] (Hab 3,4) "horn-like rays," (Aelian Hist. Anim. 11.15) "twin tusks of an elephant ." The comparable words for "eye" and "ear" continue together: Koh 1,8 (cf. Job

13,1) "No eye {yv) is satisfied with seeing, and no ear (l(K) filled with hearing" (cf. I Kor 2,9, SIE 40); Isa 37,17 = II Reg 19,16 "Incline your ear (^IN), and hear; open your eye («»), Yahweh, and see" (EFH 270); Avoth II. 1 (Rabbi) nyoitö rm n ·> "A seeing eye and a hearing ear. " hert.116 West (EFH 385 from Bogan 136) compares Iliad 15.128f (Athena to Ares) "it's for nothing that you have ears to hear with," toi / ' " They have eyes and see not, they have ears not": -"! 1 ?

WOtf·) '1 ?! or ò CT 3 with echoes in the New Testament.

17.6.2 Six and seven Levin

(SIE 400-412) proposes that the similar Semitic and IE names of "six" and "seven" represent an

infiltration from Akkadian superseding any earlier lost IE names.117 God made heaven and earth in six days (D-?; ntftS') and rested on the seventh Oyæ'n Di"3, Ex 31,17); Job sat on the ground seven days and seven nights (Job 2,13); the cloud was on Sinai six days, and Yahweh called from it on the seventh (Ex 24,16); after six days the walls of Jericho fell down on the seventh (Jos 6,15).

West (EFH 175 with Ugaritic parallels also) observes the Homeric formula (Odyssey 10.80, cf. 15.476) "For six days together we sailed night and day; on the seventh ...": ... similarly for feasting (12.397, 14.249). The great fire in Rome raged "six

days and seven nights," per sex dies septemque nodes (Tacitus Ann. 15.44); it was blamed on Christians and is described in a Jewish phrase.

17.6.3 Children's language

The first labial words of a child serve, variously segmented, in many languages

both for nourishment and for its parents, not clearly

115 Hippocrates de glandis i.494 Kühn.

116 OED2 V.19 col. 3 sv ears. Trinity College Homilies 181; Apology for Lollard

Doctrines 36.

117 Enkidu lies with the harlot for six days and seven nights (Gilgamesh I.iv.21);

Gilgamesh weeps over him for the same period (Assyrian version X.iii.23), and must stay awake for the same (XI.199).

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separated. Nausicaa calls her father (Od. 6.57), and Praxinoa calls her husband so, Theocritus 15.16 (1.241). A common name in Anatolia, of Hierapolis (Eusebius HE 3.39.2), with much epigraphic attestation. Beside formal Hebrew 3N, familiar Aramaic KIN ^I?]ÖN3 "My father is acceptable to me [as a judge or witness]"

(Mishna Sanh. III.2); Jesus (an orphan?) says ò Mark 14,36. Menander Samia 28 has "mother," the same primary word as Semitic, Hebrew DK. The goddess of Comana is Mâ, Strabo 12.3.3. Varrò118 attests such children's words in Latin, cum cibum ac potionem buas ac

pappas uocent, et matrem mammam, patrem tatam, "Since [children] call food and drink bua and pappa, mother mamma and father tata."

17.6.4 Men's language Semitic

and Indo-European are men's languages. Although the oldest verb-formations in both are "athematic," ending in consonants, very early they are supplemented by forms in a variable vowel—in Greek /, in Hebrew from biconsonantal roots conventionally written with final he. Likewise Greek (and Latin) "third declension" nouns, with consonantal stems are early supplemented by "second declension" nouns or adjectives with the same variable vowels; and so in Hebrew for participles from biconsonantal roots. It is in these highly successful innovations that specifically male language most clearly shows up.

"Thematic" verbs and nouns/adjectives take their simplest ending—namely, the briefest E-vowel—when a man is being addressed; the previous vowel distinguishes verbs from

nouns. (In Greek, but not in Hebrew, the imperative does double duty recording the fulfillment of the command in the imperfect: thus Od. 21.359 "he picked up his bow and brought it" but 21.369 "bring your bow. ") In both languages feminine nouns and participles have an extended form; in Hebrew (and Semitic generally) the feminine imperative is distinct from the masculine and extended.

The most basic Greek utterance is a command from one man to another, a vocative plus imperative, each with -. With a common noun, Eumaeus to disguised Odysseus (Od. 14.80) , "Eat now, stranger." With a proper noun, Achilles to the shade of Patroclus (Iliad 23.19):

, ,
"Rejoice with me, Patroclus, even in the house of Hades." With an
118 Varro in Nonius i. 113 ed. Lindsay.

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adjective or quasi-participle and forms of the same root (Aristophanes Eccl. 738):

bring ,

"Bear that pitcher here, pitcher-bearer." The adjectival form varies from the verbal by the vowels - instead of -. With "rear!"

(Aristophanes Birds 1367) compare the vocatives "nurse!"

(Euripides Electra 54) and "child-rearer!" (Homeric Epi-gram

12). In these quasi-participles, if the accent retreats further the sense shifts to passive: thus "thunder-striking" of Zeus ([Lucian Philopatris 4), but "thunderstruck" of Semele (Euripides Bacchae 598). In

all these forms the final - is a morpheme shared by verbs and nouns to call attention to the hearer.¹¹⁹

Hebrew has no separate vocative form and usually does not accompany an imperative with a vocative of the person addressed. An imperative and participle with shared object have

the same vocalism as (I Reg 2,36), Greek: yourself a house," 3 Solomon can say "I am from
"build building a house," (II Chron 2, 3).

From the imperative "herd the flock," "IK':rnK Hin (Zach 11,4) we can say that Abel is "flock-
herding," "I' 1 (Gen 4,2). Correspondingly in Greek we could say "build a house," * (cf. Od.

23.192 "I built") where the vocative "Housebuilder!" (in reverse order from the Hebrew) is
actually attested; 120 Levin (SIE 161) subtly compares both verb "build" and object "house"
with their Hebrew parallels. As with other Greek and Hebrew nouns, these singular forms in
-E make plurals in -, -ey (nominative in Greek, construct in Hebrew): "house builders" would
be 3 313., see (Plato Rep. 2.370E); "flock- herders" are IK'S ^' (Gen 46,12), and in Greek
beside voc. sing. (Theocritus 1.12), (Herodotus 2.46.3).

In a few biconsonantal roots Hebrew and Greek are directly comparable.

"Bearing." With the Greek forms above "bear!" and - "bearing" we can compare 3 (Gen
35,11) "be fruitful!," ' (Deut 29,17) "bearing (poison)." With the plural (Herodotus 4.104)
"gold-bearing" we can reconstruct f- "H'a*.

1 1 9 S. Levin, "Language Structure Reconsidered I-III," General Linguistics 2 7 (1987) 201-
238, p. 207: in Greek, "-e deserves to be reckoned the same morpheme in vocatives as in
imperatives," for "both express a direct

demand." uenerandae crucis (PG 62.753.29)—a text discovered through the disk Thesaurus
Linguae Graecae. 1 2 0 Vocative of the Church in pseudo-John Chrysostom In adorationem

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"Getting, begetting." Latin *gĩ\gne, *gene "beget!" are probable, compare H3jp (Prov 4,5)
"get, acquire!"; hence singulars CPÖ»' 3'

(Euripides Sup. 629 voc.) of Zeus "begetting children"; (Gen 14,19) of

God "creating heaven and earth"; likewise plurals (Aeschylus Agam. 1478) "bearing
children," ' (Sach 11,5) "buying [sheep]."

"Leading." The a-vowel in aye "lead!" (Latin age) has brought IE scholars to postulate a lost
initial "laryngeal" consonant; it appears in j"lÊHJ Jos 5,2 "do!" (though the other consonant
is problematical). Here a Greek noun of agent exists independently as "leader!" (vocative,
Horn. Hymn to Ares 8.5), differing from the imperative verb only in accent; in this form the

Hebrew guttural loses its effect, making nfc'JJ "doing." At Ex 15,11 nfc'ü "doing a marvel" reads naturally as a vocative.

17.6.5 Things that fall from the sky: the "elements"

In chapter 11 (SIE 198-213, 287) we saw three such with parallel consonantal stems: Hebrew fruì "snow" with Russian cHer (Greek accus., Latin nix); pna "lightning" with , fulglur; "ltp "rain" with English water (Greek "[rain-]water"). The final consonants are in different ways compatible with Greek. In Hebrew and Greek each bears a close relation to the High God; he is the subject of the verb and the possessor of the noun. Zeus is an old god, but very likely both Zeus and Yahweh have inherited their dark roles from older Mediterranean High Gods with the same function (Greek has by folk-etymology). The verb may take the noun as cognate object (or subject).

Rain. Isa 5,6 (of the clouds) "ltpip V^V Ttpann "not to rain rain on them"; Aristophanes Clouds 1279-80 /

"Does Zeus always rain new rain?" Twelfth Night Vi "For the rain it raineth every day."

Lightning. Ps 144,6 pm "flash lightning," LXX ; Luke 17,24 where Vg fulgur...fulget.

Seneca Epist. 57.8 with peculiar physics on the escape of the soul at death: Quomodo fulmini,

etiam cum latissime persecurit ac fulsit, per exiguum foramen est reditus...

"Just as the lightning, even when [Jupiter] strikes and flashes most widely, has a return [to the sky?] through a narrow opening..."

Snow, dew, clouds. Aeschylus Septem 212 (but text in some disorder) ... "a snowfall falling." Ugaritic (KTU 1.19.1.42)

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tl ytl Ignbm "dew falls on the grapes." Gen 9,14 "When I becloud clouds," lly ^Jya, LXX . The names of the elements, obviously old, show striking resistance to replacement by taboo or linguistic change.

17.6.6 Full containers

Levin (SIE 179, cf. 11.143) proposes that the "richest vein of Semitic-IE etymology is located in the root that means 'full' or 'fill'." He compares the declensions in the fem. sing., $\text{š}^{\text{1}}\text{í}\text{Ó}\text{I}?$ (Num 7,14) with (Od. 15.446); and in the masc. plur., (post-Biblical) with (Od. 12.92), just as in the ethnics treated above. He finds extensions of it as far as Austronesian, and explains its spread through trading. I can add that its use as such continues in the historical period, with shared vocabulary both for contents and for container.

Contents. Things can be full of wine, pitchers (Jer 35,5 $\text{D}^{\text{K}}\text{O}$, Vg plenos uino, Luther voll Wein) or tents (Iliad 9.171 toi). Or of grain: Joel 2,24 "The threshing floors shall be full of grain,"

•ta ninan w'pai The Versions have cognates of the verb, LXX - , Vg et

implebuntur areae frumento, Luther voll Korn, where they might have had cognates of the contents as well, *.. and *farre.

Containers. The Greek papyri ought to show "a full jar, sack," *

In Latin the nouns are more literary. Catullus 13.8 plenus sacculus est araneorum "[Catullus'] money-sack is full of cobwebs"; Gen 42,25 "And Joseph

gave orders, and they filled (•, L XX) their containers with grain (3, , tritico), and [he ordered them] to return every man's silver to his sack ($\text{i}\text{j}3\text{fc}>$,)."

Horace Carm. 4.11.2 plenus Albani cadus "my jar is full of Alban wine"; Plautus Amph. 429 cadus erat uini, inde impleui hirneam-, Ugaritic kd yn (1.144); Gen 24,16 "And she filled her jar," 3 $\text{K}^{\text{ö}}\text{ni}$ (LXX , Vg impleuerat).

We can thus reconstruct longer phrases from bills of lading:

full , .

"Six jars full of wine" IV. " $<? \text{D}^{\text{1}}\text{!}?\text{ntftf}$

sex cadi pieni uini.

"Seven sacks full of barley" 12 •'«ípa •"ípi»

septem sacci pieni farris.

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17.6.7 Verb and noun object Besides

"fill a sack, a jar," we have found four cases where both the verb and its object are comparable; but the history of each is different.

Only with "stealing cattle" (Latin *clepere pecora etc.) do both verb and noun go back to remote antiquity on both sides, IE and Semitic.

In "slaughter a bull" (etc.) the verb seems to be Semitic 3 in view of the guttural enforcing an -vowel; the noun is very old but not clearly of IE or Semitic structure. In "mix wine" (olvov etc.) the verb seems a Greek inceptive * which traveled east to Canaan, and the noun from the uncertain area and language where viticulture was devised. In "testing gold" (etc.) the verb is comparatively recent and of Egyptian origin, perhaps coming to Greece through Lydia (for the touchstone is "Lydian"); the noun is Akkadian. Thus in each case but the first the common phrase is not inherited but constructed in the Mediterranean.

17.6.8 Verb roots with Latin parallels "To lift" (SIE

177-179). We saw (1.307) the similarity of Heb. 1TM and Latin tulit "he carried" (where "he endured" has a derived sense).

Hence they are used for execution by hanging. Gen 40,19 "He will hang you on a tree," l}'1?? ^ j"^^, Vg ac suspendat te in cruce-, Cicero Att. 7.11.2 hoc...miserius esse duco quam in cruce tolli "I declare this more wretched than being hung from a cross."

"To see/ fear" (SIE 259-261). The Hebrew forms "he saw" and KT "he feared" would be thought related if the meanings were closer.

But Greek and Latin show the same meanings in similar verbs "I see" and uereor "I fear"; and to see a God is to fear him. Od. 7.71 "who, looking up to

him as a god"; Jacob at the ford, Gen 32,31 "' "I have seen (a?) god", II Sam 6,9 mrr- nK 1 "And David feared Yahweh."

V.-

"Stink, be ashamed" (SIE 250-258). 1Z1 Hebrew and Latin agree in having similar pairs of verbs meaning "stink" (onomatopoetic and primary) and "be ashamed, be put to shame": StfRa with putet and foetet " stink," SS'ia with pudet "be ashamed." It is often held that in a

heroic "shame-culture," to have one's status reduced in the eyes of one's fellows renders irrelevant the consideration whether the cause is one's own failing or the action of another. Thus these words acquire

121 See also "From Hesiod to Jesus" 326-328, which I hope to revise and extend

elsewhere; it is evident from these brief paragraphs that much more can be said on the concept of "shame" in antiquity.

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seemingly opposite meanings. II Sam 19,6 Joab says to David that by his mourning for Absalom "You have covered with shame (FLEfa'n, LXX) the faces

of all your servants" who have in fact acted blamelessly; but mostly people are

said to feel shame for their own misdeeds, Hos 2,7 "For their mother has played the harlot, she who bore them has acted shamefully":

- min ntfO'n

disk nnjr ->3

» TT

.

»

i

.

Conversely in Latin pudor and its derivatives mostly have a good sense "modesty, chastity," arising from the sense of shame at the mere thought of wrongdoing; but it equally applies to shame at actual wrongdoing, the OLD cites Calpurnius Deel. 49, the adulterer pudore torquetur "is tormented by shame." Greek and have the same ambivalence. West (EFH 239) is surprised that both Hebrew and Greek can say "clothed in shame": Ps 109,29 "May [my accusers] be wrapped in their shame as a garment," DF1ÇJ3 ^Bû? TOIH; Iliad 1.149

Achilles calls Agamemnon "clothed in shamelessness," . The reason seems to be that the "shame" words from their initial origin in "stinking" have acquired a secondary physical characteristic, blushing-, Cicero Tusc. 4.19 ut pudor em rubor... consequatur "that blushing follows shame."

17.6.9 Active and stative verbal nouns

Levin finds a second distinction of O and E vowels in forming from verbal roots, respectively, feminine active nouns and "stative" nouns (the latter neuter in Greek, feminine in Hebrew). Thus (Iliad 24.539) "begetting," neut. "thing begotten"; "throw, cast" (Od. 17.283), "missile." The formation is rarer in Hebrew, and the semantic connection in the clearest case is uncertain: perhaps it is ⁷³³ Deut 22,21 "criminal folly," ⁷³³ Lev 7,24 "result of such folly,

corpse." From two triconsonantal roots a nearly complete paradigm emerges.

"Rain, blessing." One more "elemental" word has a different set of parallels. Heb. 3 (Ex 32,29) is conventionally "blessing," but the principal blessing is rain, 33 Ez 34,26 "showers of blessing"; then its stative counterpart is 33 construct I Reg 22,38 "pool."

Beside it are Matt 7,27 "drenching rain," and probable neuter * "thing drenched," see the adjective Meleager, Anth. Pal. 5.175.2 "newly drenched."

"Steal." Feminine active noun "theft" Plato Laws 941B; neuter stative "thing stolen"; 122n33x2* "theft" would be possi-

1 2 2 Adespota Iambica 56, IEG ii.27.

17.6 Old agreements between Semitic and Indo-European

ble, and cf IrUM Ex 22,2 "his stolen thing." We saw (11.18) that in Latin and Hebrew the verb takes as object corresponding nouns for "cattle":

pecudes...clepere (Accius), lga...3JJT (Ex 21,37). Here is the oldest "Nostratic" phrase I find, where the historic cultures in archaic texts look back to an almost forgotten age of cattle-rustling.

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Appendix 2: Additions and Corrections

(1.4) Jerome on Isa 57,16. The text is at Corp. Christ. 73A.655.27.

(1.16) Gilgamesh at Qumran. The fragments of the Aramaic Enochian Book of Giants from Qumran have now been published by Loren T. Stuckenbruck, *The Book of Giants from Qumran: Texts, Translation and Commentary: Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum* 63; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997. COa1?! appears (p. 105 Stuck.) from 4Q530 = 4Q En Giantsb col.ii.3; BPO^a] (p. 162) from 4Q531 = 4Q En Giantsc frag. 17.12; 0331 (p. 71) from 4Q 203 = 4Q En Giants3 frag. 3.3. For the plant of youth see West, EFH 118.

(1.17) Tethys and Tiawat. Burkert Or. Rev. 93 derives the Greek from the Akkadian. Alternatively I compare the accusative (the only form in Homer [Iliad 14.201, 302]) with Dinn "the deep." That requires the Semitic internal -h- to be shown in Greek by the initial t aspirated; and the Hebrew initial reduced vowel to come from Phoenician (1.301), but for some other Semitic dialect underlying the Greek to have had a full E vowel there.

(1.24) The water supply of Jerusalem. It is described further by Sirach 50,3; Tacitus Hist. 5.12.1 with notes by Stern 11.59; Ep. Arist.

89-91; Eusebius Praep. Ev. 9.35-37.

(1.26) Plastered cisterns. The technology is described at Avotb II.8 as a metaphor of a retentive student, "A plastered cistern that does not lose a drop": nata 20 1» 110 m (1.33) Azitawadd. The .

ruler's name (KAI 26. 1.1) is contin-ued in the city Aspendus (Xenophon Hell. 4.8.30), for on its coins (Head 700) its name appears as / .

(1.35) Thisbe and "Tishbite." With these have been compared the Anatolian weather-god Tesub and Sisypnos (yes). See now S.

Levin, "The Etymology of the Place-Name Thisbe," pp. 13-24 of J.

Bintliff (ed.), Recent Developments in the History and Archeology of Central Greece; Proceedings of the 6th International Boeotian Conference; London: BAR Int. Series 666, 1997.

(1.37) Cadmus. See the fuller discussion in West, EFH 448-450. (1.39) The Semitic alphabet of 22 letters. It made its way so widely

Chapter 18: The Double Laws of Human Nature¹

A few lines of Hesiod's *Works and Days* are inverted and transformed in the Sermon on the Plain in the version of Luke.² The two versions constitute a double set of laws of human nature, which we label (18.1) after Simone Weil as operative under the respective regimes of "gravity" and "grace." Most of the materials in the old "gravity" format were available to Jesus in the Hebrew Bible or Mishna, although an editor of his sayings (often seen as gathered in a "Q-document") surely had a tradition of Hesiod's grouping. In both versions the "laws" of human nature appear in twin forms, both descriptive (like the laws of physics) and prescriptive (like the laws of a political state). In both versions the persons involved are labeled under the categories of friends and enemies (18.2), while the treatment of enemies is inverted under Jesus' regime of grace. The old regime of gravity emphasizes a reward of injuries; the new regime of grace a reward of benefits (18.3).

18.1 Gravity and grace

Hesiod makes a far-reaching distinction between friend and enemy (A), "Invite your friend to a banquet, but leave out your enemy" (Opera 342):

He goes on to discuss the best principles for borrowing and repaying grain (B), "Get a full measure from your neighbor and repay him in full, with the same measure, and with a better one if you are able, so

¹ Revision of "From Hesiod to Jesus: Laws of Human Nature in the Ancient World," Nov. Test. 35 (1993) 313-343.

² The connection was observed in part by M. Bouttier, "Hésiode et le serment sur la montagne," NTS 25 (1978/9) 129-130; but he misses the nice agreement in "measure for measure."

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that if you fall into need in the future you will find him reliable" (Opera 349-351):

, ' , , ,

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He then recapitulates the first half of (A) and states a principle of giving (C) in rough-hewn grammar and meter, "Love the one that loves you... Give to whoever gives and do not give to whoever does not give "

(Opera 353-4):

...

, .

Finally he replaces the infinitives of (C) acting as imperatives by gnomic aorists, "For one gives to a giver, and does not give to a non-giver" (Opera 355):

, ' .

The Gospel parallels in both content and connection are clustered in Luke 6:27-38. (A) "Love your enemies" (6,27), love your enemies with three more parallels. (C) "Give to everyone who asks you" (6,30),

. (A) "But if you love those who love you, what thanks do you get?" (6,32) ...; "But love your enemies" (6,35); (C) "and lend expecting nothing back," ; "and your reward will be great." (C) "Give and it will be given you" (6,38) ; () "Good measure, pressed down, heaped up, running over, will they give in your lap"; "for with what measure you measure it will be measured back to you" γὰρ .

Other versions of Luke's materials are in places closer to Hesiod. Hesiod's parallelism in (A) appears at "You have heard that it was said, 'You shall love your neighbor' (Lev 19,18 LXX) and hate your enemy," (Matt 5, 43). There might be a reference to pagan Greek usage in "And if you embrace your brothers only, what extra do you do? Do not even the Gentiles (oi) do the same?" (Matthew 5:47). Hesiod's verb appears at Didache 1.3 "But as for you, love those who hate you and you will have no enemy," .3

3 The prudential addition is perhaps Stoic; see Epictetus Enchiridion 1.3 "You will have no enemy" if you make correct judgments about good and evil.

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Hesiod and Jesus further agree in a double form of what we may call these "laws" of human nature, both prescriptive and descriptive. It is hardly different for Hesiod to say "give to the

giver" and "one regularly gives to the giver." At Luk 6,35 Jesus appears to be stating an imperative "love your enemies"; but when he goes on "and your reward will be great," the first clause is turned into a condition, "if you love your enemies...then your reward will be great." The same grammatical ambiguity appears in highly condensed form in "Give and it will be given you."

Should we conclude that not merely has the collector of Jesus' sayings followed the arrangement of Hesiod, but that Jesus himself knew and transformed Hesiod's doctrines? But in fact for most of the themes Jesus had parallels to Hesiod in his own tradition, although not in Hesiod's arrangement.

(A) Love friends, hate enemies. We saw that a fuller parallel to Hesiod than Luk 6,27 was Matt 5,43 "You have heard that it was said, 'You shall love your neighbor and hate your enemy'."

The quotation of Lev 19,18 LXX is clear enough, "you shall love your neighbor as yourself."⁴ Where did Jesus find "hate your enemy"? We see below that Hesiod's contrasted treatment of friends and enemies runs through Greek literature from beginning to end. But Jesus had both sides of the contrast closer at hand.

When David was mourning for Absalom, Joab appeals to the strongest heroic emotion, the fear of being shamed: "Today you have shamed (LXX)⁵ the face of all your servants...by loving those who hate you and hating those who love you" (II Sam 19,6-7): $\text{לִי־נֶכֶד} \ll \text{'3\&1?! ^\ll "$ $> \text{nrq'ii'n}$ where the LXX has

If Joab had been asked to state formally in reverse the true principles of heroic conduct, he could have said nothing but the words of Archilochus (III.8) "I know how to love my friend and hate

⁴ Kierkegaard somewhere says that "love your neighbor as yourself" left no loopholes for excuses not to love

the neighbor. But Aristotle realistically saw that "a friend is another self" (Eth. Nie. 9.5, 1166a31), $\text{y\grave{a}p}$

$\delta\grave{o}$ with an elegant bit of grammar. It is taken up late in Latin by Ausonius 1.2 in a dedication to Syagrius, *communemque habitas alter ego Ausonium* "and as another self you inhabit a shared

Ausonius"; apparently from this source alter ego became standard English. See further III.300.

5 Below (III.20) we discuss the deep connection between the Hebrew root 3 "be ashamed" and Latin pudet; as well as the physical accompaniments of shame, namely stinking and blushing, attested by all three languages Hebrew, Greek and Latin.

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my enemy." The harshest thing one Greek could say of another (Lysias 6.7) was: he is one "who has this knack, to do his enemies no harm, but as much as he can to his friends," ὅς , , . So Pope says of "Atticus" (Addison): Alike reserved to blame or to commend, A tim'rous foe, and a suspicious friend.

(B) Measure for measure. Contracts for repayment of grain on papyrus from Egypt specify the original lender's measure, both in Greek () and demotic.⁶ (No centralized authority in the ancient world to standardize measures.) The Mishna (Sotah 1.7) states the formula for reward of ill, "With the measure that a man measures, they will measure to him":

1

? -p-mo m ~mo DIKB mo a Jesus understands

it primarily of benefit, Luk 6,38 (Matt 7,2, Mark 4,24) yà p , Vg

etidem quippe mensura qua mensi fueritis remetietur uobis J

Luke (6,38) gives the extension "Good measure, pressed down, shaken together, running over shall they give () into your lap." Several features mark this as Palestinian. Eric Bishop⁸ describes the measurement of grain in a Palestinian market place, in which the pressing, shaking, and heaping up all figure; the grain is measured in a container, but then poured out into the lap of the buyer's garment to take home; "they shall give" is an Aramaic passive as in the Mishna.

(C) Not giving to the non-giver. Here I find no verbal parallel in the Hebrew Bible or Talmudic; but the general principle of reward for ills appears at Lev 24,19 (III.27) "As he did,

so shall it be done to him," and Jud 15,11, where Samson says "As they did to me, so have I done to them."

Jesus transforms each of these inherited sentiments along similar lines. (A) "Love your friend" (nearly paralleled in Leviticus) becomes "love your enemies." (B) The sayings on "measure" initially seem more

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B. Couroyer, "'De la mesure dont vous mesurez il vous sera mesuré,'" *Revue Biblique* 77 (1970) 366-370. The phrase in the text is from a grain-contract of 113 BC between two women of Pathyris designated as Persian: Naomsesis loans Thesis ten artabae of wheat to be repaid later on in the year without interest; BP Grenfell & AS Hunt, *The Amherst Papyri Part II*; London: Oxford, 1901; no. xlvi p. 56.

7 As an English proverb "Measure for measure" the application becomes inde-terminate again as in Shakespeare's title; see ODEP3 520.

8 Eric Bishop, *Jesus of Palestine*; London: Lutterworth, 1955; p. 80 quoting C. T. Wilson.

18.1 Gravity and grace

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alike: but in fact Hesiod insists on the full measure to ensure a grateful neighbor in hard times to come, while the full measure in return that Jesus envisages is plainly transcendent. Hesiod expects the neighbor to be "reliable in the future"; Jesus bids us lend "expecting nothing in return." (C) "Give to the giver" becomes "give to whoever asks."

In the bulk of this chapter we lay out parallels between Hellas and Israel in the old inherited descriptive laws of human nature, and discuss antecedents for the fundamental inversion that Jesus applies to them. Here by the example of Plutarch we illustrate the wide popularity of Hesiod, and the beginnings in Greek (doubtless antedating Plutarch) of a more altruistic interpretation, which might by some route have influenced Jesus.

Plutarch in his *Moralia* often quotes the *Works and Days*; he also wrote a commentary on the poem which was excerpted and para-phrased by Proclus and from him copied into the scholia. 9

Plutarch sometimes commends the verses of Hesiod in their sober realism, sometimes finds them unjust or immoral; his admiration of the poet forces him to deal with the second group by pronouncing

them inauthentic. Thus on the one hand he approves of Hesiod's sentiment "Invite your friend to dinner, leave out your enemy" (Opera 342) on the grounds that if you should invite your enemy, he will invite you in turn, and you will lose your necessary mistrust () of him; 10 "we shall abandon ourselves to the mercy of persons ill-disposed towards us." 11 But Plutarch rejected Opera 353-4 ("Love the one who loves you..."), as inauthentic; he feels that it makes giving compulsory and eliminates the pleasure in giving which Hesiod affirms; also, people could never become friends "if each waited for the other to make the first move." 12 Likewise he rejected Opera 267-273 (cited 11.35) on "the all-seeing eye of Zeus" as guardian of justice on the grounds that "justice is to be chosen and injustice avoided even if there is no Providence," , , ; the lines are "unworthy of Hesiod's opinion on justice and injustice," .

13

9 The fragments of Plutarch's commentary on the Works and Days are edited with translation by FH Sandbach in the Loeb edition of the Moralia, vol. xv (1969), pp. 104-227.

10 Plutarch On Compliance 4 (= Mor. 530E).

11 Plutarch on Hesiod Opera 342-3, frag. 4 8 Sandbach (Loeb ed. xv.138).

12 Scholia and Tzetzes on Opera 353-4 = Plutarch frag. 51 Sandbach (Loeb ed. xv.142).

13 Plutarch frag. 38 Sandbach (Loeb ed. xv.122).

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In these comments, although mostly quoted at second or third hand, we still see the first stages of a critique which could have led to the sweeping reversals of Hesiod's formulas in Jesus. No other Greek text was the subject of a commentary by an author in his own right as early as Plutarch; and the fact that almost every line of the Works and Days is quoted by somebody shows that it was an essential part of any Greek education anywhere. (The Homeric epics were equally popular or more so, but too long for a concise commentary,

and also less consistently quotable.) Thus in particular Luke, who turns out quite acceptable Hellenistic Greek when he chooses, can hardly have been totally ignorant of Hesiod.

Here we label the two viewpoints of Hesiod and Jesus by a distinction drawn from Simone Weil. When in 1947 Gustave Thibon edited her *pensées*, he put at their head two which also give her book its title: *Tous les mouvements naturels de l'âme sont régis par des lois analogues à celles de la pesanteur matériel. La grâce seule makes an exception.*

Il faut toujours s'attendre à ce que les choses se passent conformément à la pesanteur, sauf intervention du surnaturel.¹⁴ Weil sees the laws

of human nature in the old order, operating under the regime of "gravity", as illustrated above all in Homer. In her essay on the *Iliad*, she writes:

La force, c'est ce qui fait de quiconque lui est soumis une chose....

Telle est la nature de la force. The pouvoir qu'elle possède de transformer les hommes en choses est double et s'exerce de deux côtés: elle pétrifie différemment, mais également, les âmes de ceux qui la subissent et de ceux qui la manient.¹⁵ A cruder version is the "realistic" tradition of social analysis,

as in Hobbes {*Leviathan* 1.13}: "during the time men live without a common Power to keep them all in awe, they are in that condition which is called Warre; and such a warre, as is of every man, against every man."

So Machiavelli; or von Clausewitz with his three "reciprocal actions"

(Wechselwirkungen) which reminds us, as intended, of Newton's three laws. These "laws" as

we saw in Hesiod waver between imperative and indicative, between prescriptive and descriptive, between the "laws" of ethics and of physics: men are urged to follow the only line open to them—the invariable practice of other men. There is only necessity along this route, especially when it is not recognized.

¹⁴ Simone Weil, *La pesanteur et la grâce*; ed. Gustave Thibon; Paris: Pion, 1948. ¹⁵ Simone Weil, "L'Iliade ou le poème de la force," *La source grecque* (Gallimard, 1953) 11-42; pp. 11, 32.

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Thucydides, like Homer, goes beyond this "realism" by recognizing the necessity. On the revolution at Corcyra he remarks (3.82) "War is a stern teacher (...); in depriving men of the power of easily satisfying their daily wants, it brings most men's minds down to the level of their actual circumstances."¹⁶ Later, the Athenians demanded the surrender of Melos, not on grounds of right, but only of superior strength. The historian

sets out a dialogue between the two parties, no doubt representing his own analysis. The Athenian position is (5.105):¹⁷ Our opinion of the gods and our knowledge of men lead us to conclude that it is a general and necessary law of nature to rule whatever one can). This is not a law that we made

ourselves, nor were we the first to act upon it when it was made. We found it already in existence, and we shall leave it to exist for ever among those who come after us. We are merely acting in accordance with it, and we know that you or anybody else with the same power as ours would be acting in precisely the same way.

Thucydides comments by narrating the disaster of the Sicilian expedition right afterwards; he has internalized the lesson of tragedy that overreaching leads to destruction, and finds it worked out in actual history.

Freedom is possible, Simone Weil would say, only under the regime of Grace. Under that heading we may group Jesus' formulations in the Sermon, which likewise waver between command and statement. Most people feel that only under special circumstances are Jesus' "laws" true or viable; elsewhere they are hopelessly "idealistic." Luther saw them as operative only between one Christian and another, who (like intelligent societies in the universe) were "few and far between": Aber die Christen wonen (wie man spricht) fern von eynander.

regarded them as an Interimsethik, valid only in the brief period before the full advent of the Kingdom of God.

But most people can no longer deal with the "realistic" laws. Whereas Simone Weil sees them as self-evident statements of the way things are, public opinion has made "Machiavellian" an adjective for cynical manipulation. Here I propose that the "idealistic" laws of human nature under "Grace" are historically motivated logical extensions of

¹⁶ Translation after Rex Warner; Harmondsworth: Penguin; rev. ed., 1972.

17 Also in the translation of Rex Warner; compare the version of Hobbes, III. 193. 18 "Von weltlicher Obrigkeit," D. Martin Luther's Werke vol. (Weimar, 1900)

p. 251.

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Schweitzer

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the "realistic" laws under "Gravity". Unlike Newton's laws in the physical world, in the human world of antiquity we find two sets of dynamical laws, one built on the other.

In 18.2 on "Friend and enemy" I suggest that the old heroic ideal of avoiding shame by "loving friend and hating enemy" went ship-wreck on the growing interchangeability of friend and enemy. For its basis in the promises of the vassal-treaty dissolved as the city-state crumbled. In section 18.3 on the law of reward, gathering up the themes "measure for measure" and "give to the giver," I suggest that the old insight about reward of harm—blood shed demands more blood to be shed—required completion by a new insight into reward of good. In each section I propose actual historical and linguistic contacts among the ancient societies.

18.2 Friend and enemy

18.2.1 Helping friends, harming enemies Hesiod's sharp

distinction (Opera 342) between the treatment due friend and enemy is normative for the writers who follow. Mary Whitlock Blundell in a beautiful chapter 19 has shown how it runs through Greek thought from beginning to end. It is most formulaic in a papyrus fragment of Archilochus²⁰

to i tò v ' ...

"I know how to love my friend and hate my enemy." It is plain in Homer, where Odysseus tells Nausicaa that a man and woman happily married bring "many pains to their ill-wishers, and joy to their well-wishers," ' ,/ ' (Od. 6.184 -

5). Theognis 869-872 combines the sentiment with an elaborate oath: "May the great broad bronze heaven²¹ overhead fall on me (the fear of men of old time), if I do not requite those who

love me, and am not a sorrow²² and great woe to my enemies":

, ,

, τοῖς φίλοις.

19 Mary Whitlock Blundell, *Helping Friends and Harming Enemies: A Study in Sophocles and Greek Ethics* (Cambridge: University, 1989), pp. 26-59.

20 Archilochus frag. 23.14-15 IEG = P. Oxy. 2310.

21 For the shared theme of the bronze sky see 1.106-110.

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An orator (Lysias 9.20) considers (as Jesus says of the ancients) that to harm enemies and help friends is a commandment (,). Sophocles has Creon tell his son Haimon that fathers desire obedient sons "to requite their enemy with ills, and honor their friend" (Antigone 643-644):

LO ...

Pindar (Pythian 2.83-85) "May I love my friend (φίλος), and as an enemy like the wolf track down my enemy (ἐχθρός), following in his crooked paths²³ this way and that." Thucydides 3.13 shows the Spartans as responding favorably to the appeal of Mytilene to assist its revolt, so as to be "aiding those whom one should and at the same time harming enemies: " .

Xenophon (Cyr. 8.7.28) attributes the same sentiment to the foreigner Cyrus, whose dying words to his sons are "By helping your friends, you will also be able to punish your enemies" So Machiavelli (il Principe 21), "A prince is further esteemed when he is a true friend and a true enemy (vero amico e vero inimico)" while putting in his own meaning.

Blundell²⁵ summarizes the Greek view:

...Harm Enemies tends more towards the descriptive, and Help Friends towards the prescriptive. That is, it is generally taken for granted that everyone desires revenge on enemies, and that most people pursue it, but its violation is condemned primarily in terms of personal honor, and may even be praised. Help Friends, on the other hand, is less descriptive, since incentives to violate it in pursuit of self-interest easily arise and may be very powerful.

To counteract such temptations, it acquires a more powerful prescriptive force backed by strong social disapproval of its violation.

The first half only of the formula also appears at Xenophon Mem. 2.3.8 - and often. It is a self-standing proverb in Latin, *amico amicus* (Plautus Mil. Glor. 658 etc.), "friend(ly) to a

2 2 For a highly probable Hebrew counterpart to "sorrow" see III.29.

2 3 For crooked (and straight) paths see 11.46.

2 4 Probably Thucydides at 2.41 means to ascribe the same sentiment to the Athenians in Pericles' funeral

oration, which Warner translates "and everywhere we have left behind us everlasting memorials of good done to our friends or suffering inflicted on our enemies"; but the Greek austere just has TÊ "memorials of harms and benefits" with no mention of the parties harmed

or benefitted.

2 5 Blundell Helping Friends p. 57.

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friend."26 We saw at 1.263 that the Psalmist (Ps 139,21-22) promises only the second half of the formula, "Do I not hate those who hate you?"; and reciprocally Yahweh (Ex 23,22) "I will be an enemy to your enemies." (Did neither Yahweh nor Israel have friends?) But elsewhere Yahweh does undertake both sides of the agreement: "I will bless those who bless you, and him who curses you I will curse" (Gen 12,3, cf I Sam 2,30):

^ T5! 1 ? 1 ?

Isaac intended to say of Jacob (Gen 27,29) "Cursed be every one who curses you, and blessed be every one who blesses you":27 -m ?!?! T^' N

Balaam did say it (Num 24,9 in reversed order), and Balak (Num 22,6) credits Balaam with the same talent.

The self-image of the hero is that of the Ancient Near Eastern ruler in the vassal treaty, and so moved across linguistic and cultural front-tiers. In particular it underlies the Israelite covenant with Yahweh. The key element in the "loyalty oath" is the agreement of the vassal to

have the same enemies and friends as the lord. At 1.263-264 we document this as the central provision of treaties between unequals from Suppiluliuma the Hittite to Caligula.

18.2.2 Polarization of the "stranger"²⁸ The heroic

image begins to break down with the realization that only a razor-blade can be gotten between friend and enemy. Wagner lays out the typical situation in *Die Walküre*. Siegmund takes shelter from pursuit at Hunding's hearth; Hunding recognizes the bond of hospitality, accepts the role of host (Wirt), and makes Siegmund his guest (Gast). But when he hears Siegmund's story

he recognizes an enemy (Feind), and on the morrow they must fight. Conversely, Jacob and

Laban are on the verge of becoming enemies, but decide to make a covenant (Gen 31). (Homeric) from the sense "stranger, wanderer" (in the plural with "suppliants" *Odyssey* 9.270 and "poor men" 6.208) normally is "one bound by ties of hospitality,"

either as guest (8.543) or

as host (*Iliad* 15.532). Latin *hostis* shows a fuller

2 6 Greek and Latin texts in *Otto Sprichwörter* 23.

2 7 Note the flexibility of Hebrew grammar, where the subjects (coming first) are plural and the predicates singular; as much as to say "Of all those who curse you, each is cursed."

2 8 This section takes up again the theme of the city walls marking outsiders and insiders previously treated at 1.159-162.

18.2 Friend and enemy

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grasp of the Wagnerian dilemma and a semantic parallel to the Hebrew. Varrò (de lingua latina 5.3) notes: multa

uerba aliud nunc ostentund, aliud ante significabant, ut hostis: nam tum eo uerbo dicebant peregrinum qui suis legibus uteretur, nunc dicunt eum quem tum dicebant perduellem.

"Many words now indicate one thing, but formerly meant something else, like hostis, for before by this word they meant a 'foreigner' subject to his own laws, but now they so name one whom then they called perduellis

'enemy'." 29 Likewise Cicero, though unclear about the sequence of meanings.³⁰ For in fact hostis is identical with the north-European word for "host" or "guest," Gothic gasts,³¹ Church Slavonic gosti, at first

"stranger" as with hosts. (German Gast and English guest show a different specialization.)³² Out of hostis in its original

sense Latin developed a word hospes; for its formation Levin suggests a parallel with !-

"master of the house," ie "landlord, master of hospitality." Like it meant both "guest" and "host": English host

comes from hospite(m) through Old French hoste. Plautus (Most. 479) shows both senses, hospes necauit hospitem captum manu "the host overpowered his guest and murdered him." Ovid (Met. 1.144) says of the Iron Age, non hospes ab hospite tutus, naturally translated "guest was not safe from host," although for lack of an example the opposite is also possible. Hence Livy

29 Hostis classically replaced perduellis in the specific sense of "public enemy," while inimicus was "private enemy": thus Cicero pro lege Manilia 28 qui saepius cum hoste confligit quam quisquam cum inimico concertatiti " [Pompey,] who more often engaged in battle with the enemy of the State than another quarreled with a private enemy."

30 Cicero (de off. 1.37): qui proprio nomine perduellis esset, is hostis uocatur...hostis enim apud maiores nostros is dicebatur, quem nunc peregrinum dicimus. Inducant Duodecim Tabulae...ADVERSVS HOSTEM AETERNA

AVCTORITAS. "He who by his proper name is a perduellis, 'enemy,' is called hostis-, ...for with our ancestors that one was named hostis whom we now call peregrinus, 'foreigner.' The XII Tables [III.7, Loeb ed. p. 440])

show this usage: "Title of ownership is permanent in dealings with a foreigner (hostis)."

31 In the Gothic New Testament *gast* invariably translates , eg at Matt 25,43.

32 On hospitality in the ancient world see Philippe Gauthier, "Notes sur l'étranger et l'hospitalité en Grèce et à Rome," *Ancient Society* 4 (1973) 1-21; Otto Hiltbrunner, "Gastfreundschaft und Gasthaus in der Antike," pp. 1-20 of H.

C. Peyer (ed.), *Gastfreundschaft, Taverne und Gasthaus im Mittelalter*; Schriften des Historischen Kollegs, Kolloquien 3; Munich & Vienna: Oldenburg, 1983.

Hiltbrunner also has an extensive philological and historical discussion in "Hostis und ," pp. i.424-446 of *Studien zur Religion und Kultur Kleinasiens* (FS FK Dörner); 2 vols. (= EPROER vol. 66); Leiden: Brill, 1978.

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contrasts *hospes* "guest" with *hostis* "enemy," recognizing both the similarity in sound and the original connection. Hannibal said that "he had come to Gaul as a guest, not an enemy," *Hospitem enim se Galliae non hostem aduenisse* (Livy 21.24.4).³³ The polarization of words meaning "foreigner, stranger" into "friend" and "enemy

"depends on a division of mankind into insiders and outsiders. That very language brings to mind city-walls and the legal systems they enclose. Ovid (*Met.* 1.97) imagines a time when *nondum praecipites cingebant oppida fossae* "not yet did

steep moats surround cities." Vergil (*Georg.* 2.155-157) more realistically takes pride in the walls of Italian hill-towns: *Adde tot egregias urbes operumque laborem, tot congesta manu praeeruptis oppida saxis, fluminaque antiquos*

subterlabentia muros.

"Add so many famous cities and the results of labor, so many towns raised up by hand on sheer rocks, and rivers flowing below ancient walls." For (as Hesiod said, *Opera* 189) in the

present iron age "one will sack another's city,"³³ . We noted (1.160,11.329) parallel understandings of the city-wall: Heraclitus said that "the people must fight for its law as for its wall"; so, when God "determined to lay in ruins the wall of the daughter of Zion...the law is no more" (Thr 2,8-9). When a stranger appeared at the gate, the question was whether he should be brought inside the walls under the protection of guest-friendship (, hospitium) or regarded as an outsider and therefore an enemy. In Rome, all rights

were inseparably bound up with citizenship, so that a foreigner without protection was truly an "out-law," who could be robbed or enslaved with impunity.

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Lévy-Bruhl³⁴ maintained that in early Rome "I tout esclave est un étranger; 2° tout étranger est un esclave," "every slave is a foreigner and every foreigner is a slave."

18.2.3 The incognito of gods and men

The vicissitudes of war and trade ensured it that men in the ancient world constantly met strangers, who had a special claim on them: for

33 Xenophanes of Macedón, sent to negotiate a treaty with Hannibal, lied to Laevinus that he was seeking a Roman alliance, and Laevinus, believing it, *hostes pro hospitibus comiter accepit* (Livy 23.33.7) "graciously received enemies as guests."

34 Henri Lévy-Bruhl, "Théorie de l'esclavage," in his *Quelques problèmes du très ancien droit romain* (Paris: Domat-Montchrestien, 1934), 15-33; reprinted in M. I. Finley (ed.), *Slavery in Classical Antiquity: Views and Controversies*; 2nd ed.; Cambridge: Heffer, 1968, pp. 151-170.

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it was generally agreed that to fear God is to love the stranger. This is clearly implied at Deut 10,18-20: "[Yahweh] loves the sojourner (3 ...And you shall love the sojourner, for you were sojourners in the land of Egypt. You shall fear Yahweh your God... Whenever Odysseus meets a strange people, he wonders within himself, "Are they violent, savage, unjust; or do they love strangers, and have a spirit that fears the divinity?" , , .

So of the Cyclopes (Odyssey 9.175-6); of the Phaeacians (6.120-121); and even of transformed Ithaca (13.201-202). Also Alcinous (8.575-

576) presumes that Odysseus will have been asking the same question.

Why is loving the stranger identical with fearing the god? For one thing, the god watches over strangers. Ps 146,9 "Yahweh watches over strangers," •"Havrix TO'S?"

nin \ Odyssey 6.207-208 Nausicaa tells her girls that "All strangers and poor are under the protection of Zeus," γὰρ / . Even more important, the gods disguise themselves as strangers to test the hospitality shown by mortals. At Gen 18,1-2 Yahweh appears to Abraham in the form of three men and receives proper hospitality; not so at Sodom.³⁵ When Antinous hits disguised Odysseus, even one of the arrogant suitors warns him that this may be a "heavenly god" (Odyssey 17.484-487), ; "For the gods take on the likeness of strangers from all manner of lands, appearing in many forms, and wander through cities, inspecting both the arrogance and lawfulness of men": , , .

When the Son of Man says "I was a stranger and you welcomed me" (/) Matt 25,35, it seems that he appears in every stranger. So Wotan in the Ring and its sources.³⁶ Ovid {Met. 8.626ff) tells how Jupiter and Mercury appear in disguise to Philemon and Baucis. Luke may have a Hellenistic original of Ovid's story in mind when he has the Lycaonians identify Barnabas and Paul respectively as Zeus and

Hermes (Act 14,12, where of course the Vulgate has

35 Heb 13,2 probably has this in mind when it recommends hospitality () on the grounds that "some have entertained angels unawares," .

36 Cristiano Grottanelli ("Ospitare gli dei: sacrificio e diluvio," Studi Storici 4 [1984] 847-857)

compares the story of Abraham with that of Philemon and Baucis.

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Jupiter and Mercury). It is scandalous to keep a stranger waiting (Odyssey 1.119), who must be served before his name is asked (1.124, 8.550). —Even though he may turn out to be either friend or enemy.³⁷ Besides turning out to be a god in

disguise, the stranger may prove to be a close relation of the unsuspecting party who meets him. The disguised one is almost always a man, women did not get around in the world the same way. In all the tales, the stranger is curiously reluctant to reveal his true identity; it seems as if he has fallen in love with his incognito, recognizes the advantage it gives him, and wishes to keep it as long as possible.

The disguise frees you from the limitations of your individuality. Odysseus delays

as long as possible revealing himself to each ally at Ithaca. Joseph puts off declaring himself to his brothers through a long series of incidents. Jesus gives the two disciples at Emmaus many hints before they recognize him (Luk 24,31 -) in the breaking of bread. Aristotle (Poetics 11.4; 16) regards - "discovery" as an essential part of tragedy, which may be of the true situation as in the Oedipus Rex rather than of a disguised person. The dramatists come to emphasize the revealing clue. Each tragedian has a scene in which Electra recognizes her brother Orestes: Aeschylus (Choephoroi 200) by his hair and footprints; Sophocles (Electra 1223) by his father's seal; Euripides (Electra 573) by a scar (as Odysseus to his nurse). Plautus took from Greek New Comedy the theme of the symbol by which a long-lost party is recognized: originally the matching half of a broken potsherd; at

Pseud. 55-57 both halves of the symbolon are the owner's "own likeness stamped on wax from his ring," *expressam in cera ex anulo suam imaginem*. For both Hebrews and Greeks, the dramatic situation par excellence is that in which a man appears in a different place or time or role from his original one, with all the consequences of his recognition as such.

18.2.4 Reciprocal borrowing of words for "sojourner"

The special status of the Hebrew and Greek words for "foreign sojourner" is indicated by the fact that each is marginally taken up into the other language. At 11.291 we discussed how NTP:i, the Aramaic equivalent of Hebrew "13, appears in the LXX with Jewish and Patristic Greek as . At Matt 23,15 in the Peshitto "pros-elyte" becomes KITO. Further: at Josephus BJ 2.521 ò is "Simon son of the proselyte"; hence Tacitus Hist . 5.12.3 , with some confusion about his identity

37 West (EFH 122-124, 183-185) discusses further examples of "theoxeny" where the stranger is revealed as a god.

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65.7.1 Reimarus restored for MS . Jastrow 236c cites persons named TP 3

TD. I wonder if Rabbinic RTP2 "adulterer" is not the same word, a foreigner being automatically attributed sexual improprieties, as with Hebrew 3] "foreign woman, ie, prostitute."

Conversely entered Aramaic as KOODR (apparently the abstract was heard as concrete). Thus at Matt 25,44 Peshitto "When did we see you...a stranger ()?" comes out 03. A Palmyrene bilin-gual (PAT 0305, 11.116) honors one who on the visit in AD 130/131 of Divus Hadrianus ([] = 1?)* K[3],mn) provided oil to various parties:

{OJODN1?! [?]0[> RnrjTö ^1?

Greek "to foreigners and citizens"; Palmyrene "to the sons of the city and the army (?) and the strangers (ie) who came up with him." Odes of Solomon 17.6 has Christ say, "And I seemed to them like a stranger,"

pn1? manos - X^CON is regular in Rabbinic. In particular, Hillel (Lev. Rabbah 34.3) told his disciples that he was going to

bestow a kindness on a guest in his house, which turned out to be himself: «aia U2 ton îoiorm is1? 1?!; Ntssj pirn

"Isn't the poor soul a guest in the body?" See the verses of the same Hadrian (SHA Hadrian 25)

animula uagula blandula hospes

comesque corporis...

"Little soul, wanderer, charming one, the guest and companion of the body..." Hospes is the natural version of . Behind the words of both Hillel and Hadrian I conjecture a Stoic formula * év "the soul is a stranger in the body," though I do not find it attested.38

18.2.5 Barbarians and Goyim While the

"stranger" (, 2, hospes) may be either friend or enemy, Hebrew and Greek have

unambiguous terms to denote the outsider

38 Nahum H. Glatzer, Hillel the Elder: The Emergence of Classical Judaism; New York: Schocken, 1956, p. 32: "Seneca, in part a contemporary of Hillel, spoke of the God who

dwells as a guest in the human body; the Stoics often compared the soul to a guest in the body." But I have not easily found such passages. The closest is Dio Cassius 78.6a where Cornificia, commanded to kill herself, says O miserable little soul, imprisoned in a foul body, go out, be freed,"

, , "

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rejected as such: "barbarian" () and "Goy" ("ia). But there is little overlap in their usage: here is a realm where Israel and Hellas show maximum variation (III.171). The barbarian is one who does not speak Greek; the Goy is one who worships some other god than the God of Israel. However, Demosthenes 21.150 speaks of his adversary Meidias "his true, natural barbarism and hatred of the gods" compare Ex 23,22 (.17) "I shall hate those who hate you." A melic poet in unknown context (PMG 929c) appears to have "Zeus thundered with his thunder against all that is barbarian," ;39 compare I Sam 2,10 &c 7,10 where Yahweh thunders against adversaries and Philistines .

Where the two societies come closest is the formula of rejection.

Thaïes (Diogenes Laertius 1.33) thanks Fortune (Tyche) for three things: "I was born a human

being and not a beast, a man and not a woman, a Hellene and not a barbarian." . ouè ..." .

The Synagogue service begins:40 "Blessed art thou, Lord our God, king of the universe, who has not made me a foreigner ("na)41...a slave (~Q!7)...a woman (ntfR)."

In even more exact parallels to the Synagogue triad, Aristotle in inferior status (Pol. 1.1.5 = 1252b5) groups barbarians, females and slaves; and Paul (Gal 3,28) on the contrary has "In [Christ] there

is neither Jew nor Hellene, slave or free, male or female"—texts at I.234-235. 4 2

Both Israelites and Hellenes were conscious of a difference from the peoples surrounding them, and at first emphasized that difference by downgrading their neighbors. But as their consciousness of their superiority grew more pronounced, and with the loss of their civic

autonomy to resurgent empires, both peoples also came to feel a mission to define the commonality of all human beings. Segal⁴³ in particular cites the

39 Add this to the passages (11.319) where the elements are a cognate accusative of the verb expressing their action, "rain rain, flash lightning" etc.

40 Already in David Hedegaard, Seder R. Amram Gaon, Part I; Lund: Lindstedt, 1951, pp. 9-10 c dalet.

41 But in modern prayer books ³].

42 But the sentiment is universal, Isaac Watts Divine Songs for Children vi: Lord, I ascribe it to

thy grace, And not to chance, as others do,

That I was born of Christian race, And not a heathen or a Jew.

Still elsewhere Watts remains the prince of English hymn-writers.

43 Charles Segal, "Classics, Ecumenicism, and Greek Tragedy," TAPA 125 (1995) 1-26, p. 14.

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sophist Antiphon⁴⁴ "In this we have all been made barbarians to one another (), since by nature we are all disposed alike in all respects, both barbarians and Hellenes...For we all breathe into the air with our mouths and nostrils. " Eratosthenes (Strabo 1.4.9) rejected the opinion of those who advised Alexander "to treat Hellenes as friends and barbarians as enemies"; rather, such judgments should be made on the basis of "virtue and vice,") . "For (he said) many of the Hellenes are bad () and many of the barbarians civilized (), in particular Indians and Arians; and likewise Romans and Carthaginians, governed so excellently." Jeremias⁴⁵ sees as underlying Jesus' work the prophetic vision of the "pilgrimage of the nations": thus at Isa 2,2 where the "mountain of the house of Yahweh"

is established as the highest of mountains, "and all the Goyim shall flow to it," cryant s 1?!*

31. As the sense of a world-community became more profound, the original rationale for the existence of the city-wall and the particularistic city it enclosed faded away; see the discussion

at 1.161-162.

18.2.6 Love and hate As

only a fine line separates friend and enemy, so with love and hate.

So of Amnon after his rape of Tamar, "the hatred with which he hated her was greater than the love with which he had loved her" (II Sam 13,15):

nate rmjfe & n'pna here the nouns in the LXX become and (etymologically, as it seems); Vg odium and amor. So Catullus 85 odi et amo although he cannot explain it. In Hebrew the closeness of love and hatred is mirrored

in the closeness of the roots 3 and (SIE 458); for the shift of /h/ to /y/ is no more than from the perfect "ij^n "he went" to the imperfect "ij^ . and the hiphil "sp'pin, both as if from a root *'|

t7\ They have taken up different slots in the language. TW appears as a verb only at Exod 23,22 "I will be an enemy to your enemies and an adversary to your adversaries"

^^- "'Finsi ipxir'irnN "•FOW Everywhere else it appears (as here) as a participle 3 appears only occasionally as the corresponding participle

31. But they stand in the conclusion to the Song of Deborah (Jud 5,31) in modified parallelism, ',.' "your enemies...his friends" (LXX

4 4 Diels-Kranz FVS8 87 B44, frag. , 4 5

col. 2.7-33.

Joachim Jeremias, New Testament Theology: The Proclamation of Jesus; tr. J.

Bowden; New York: Scribner's, 1971; p. 24 7

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... oí) both times referring to Yahweh. Perhaps the participles are opposite specializations of an original meaning "foreigner, stranger," depending on the determination of the stranger's status.

The relationship between 3 "to love" (with י"QHR, both its infinitive and a noun) and Greek/isperplexing. The Greek *viloeverbis* Homeric; until recently the noun was unknown before its use in the LXX to translate 2, but now it has appeared as a woman's name in a Thessalian gravestone of the 6th century BC 4 6 The LXX as often picked it to translate a Hebrew of similar sound, but that does not settle the etymological relations one way or the other. The relation is too close to be accidental, but it is unclear in what social context such a noun should be borrowed. Levin (SIE 224-225) also compares 3 with the root 3317 "have intercourse") Ezek 23 and Jer 4,30; he regards the two Hebrew roots as representing alternative hearings of some foreign verb, and the Greek as a loan-word either from the Hebrew or from its source. The connection here observed between 1 and IPK further complicates the matter.

18.2.7 Shame and its physical manifestations The definition

of heroic conduct implies that honor is the typical virtue of the hero, and shame the failing that he must avoid at all costs.

Hebrew and Greek everywhere presume the contrast, and occasionally define it: Ps 4,3 na'?:'? "HilD "> "How long shall my honor suffer shame?"; Thucydides 1.5.1 says of piracy that once this trade had no shame (), but rather brought some honor ().⁴⁷

We are so far from the heroic age that "shame" seems to us to have two diametrically opposed senses, depending on whether we are ashamed at what we have done, or are ashamed even to think of an immoral action that we have not done. At 11.322 (III.3) we noted: at II Sam 19,6 Joab tells David that by mourning for Absalom "You have covered with shame (Fltff'2', LXX) the faces of all your servants" who have themselves acted blamelessly; Hos 2,7 "For their mother has played the harlot, she who bore them has acted shamefully (ntö'-Qin, LXX)". So in Greek. Plato Phaedrus 257D, Phaedrus says that statesmen "feel shame to write speeches" lest they

4 6 SEG 19 (1963) 422; see Oda Wischmeyer, "Vorkommen und Bedeutung von Agape in der ausserchristlichen Antike," ZN W 6 9 (1978) 212-238.

4 7 Honor and shame are felt to characterize Mediterranean society even today: David D. Gilmore (ed.), *Honor and Shame and the Unity of the Mediterranean*; special pub. of the American Anthropological Association 22, Washington 1987.

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be called Sophists ().⁴⁸ At Gorgias 494E Callicles asks "Are you not ashamed, Socrates, of dragging our discussion into such [unseemly] topics [as the life of sexual

perverts]?", , , ;—which in fact Socrates has just done.⁴⁹ So with pudor: Cicero pro Piando 27 adulescentis modestissimi pudor "the shyness of a

most modest youth"; but Calpurnius Deci. 49 the adulterer pudore torquetur "is tormented with shame." In an heroic shame-culture, whatever sets you aside from your fellows is felt the ultimate disgrace, whether (from a later ethical point of view) it is your fault or you are entirely blameless. In our culture, shame at the thought of an immoral action we have not done arises from our temptation to do it; Jesus in his sternest mood says (Matt 5,28) "Whoever looks at a woman with an eye towards desiring her..."

With II Sam 19,6 cited above we may compare the definition of virtue at Iliad 6.209 "not to shame the race of one's fathers." Elsewhere in Samuel "to be brought to shame in the presence of" is expressed by a root similar to tf'13, namely ttf'Na "to stink," mostly passive, in the sense "be in bad odor with." Israel stinks with the Philistines (I Sam 13:4):

D^ntf1??? ^jo ^ tfiaroji Achish thinks "David stinks with his people" (I Sam 27,12); the Ammonites stink with David (II Sam

10:6); Absalom is to stink with David (II Sam 16,21). The LXX (which translates literal uses of literally), in all four passages translates with a form of as it did for at II Sam 19,6. Perhaps the LXX thought these verbs were

forms of ttfiH "be ashamed."

Perhaps in some sense they were. Shame goes with nakedness and sexuality. Gen 2,25 expects us to be surprised that Adam and Eve were "naked and not (mutually) ashamed" (itftf'lirr. ...

-?). We saw that a woman bearing the children of harlotry is ashamed (Hos 2,7 nt^Din,). When Jonathan makes excuses for David, Saul says that he has made David his friend "to your shame and the shame of your mother's nakedness" (I Sam 20,30):

,« mi ? 2>"37· 1?

⁴⁸ Socrates goes on to claim that in the laws they pass, statesmen are in effect writing; but that does not affect Phaedrus' meaning. LSJ 43b end observes that when middle takes an infinitive it denotes shame at the mere thought of something shameful one has not done, while with the participle it denotes shame at having in fact done something shameful.

49 The near-synonym ; mostly like Latin pudor means "sense of honor, self- respect"; occasionally as an exclamation it suggests "Shame!" (Iliad 17.336).

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(LXX bis). The sexual parts are VttfDQ (Deut 25,11); and so Latin pudenda. These

are all matters which literally stink, so it would seem possible that "be ashamed" is an abstract specialization of stink." The latter's contexts run parallel. When David's servants had their clothes and beards half cut off, they were dishonored (different verb, D1 !?'?]) and the Ammonites stank with David (II Sam 10,5-6). The hero much more even

than ourselves is demeaned by an invasion of his privacy with David was taking his father's concubines (II Sam 16,21-22).

Levin⁵⁰ doubly compared Latin te pudet "you are ashamed" with Heb. 50* "you will be ashamed" (only the feminine , 31 attested at Jer 22,22 etc): namely, in the personal prefixes and in the roots. The comparison is strengthened when we see that Latin pudet also is similar in sound to (unrelated) verbs meaning "stink": foetet (Plautus As. 894) and putet (Horace, Serm. 2.2.42). The latter is related to Greek "rot" (Iliad 11.395). And so yet a fourth stem, perhaps also unrelated, foedus adjectival "offensive, repugnant": often with forms of pudet, thus Cicero Phil. 2.15 foeditatem...impudentiam; Tacitus Hist. 1.72 foeda pueritia, impudica senecta "his youth was unchaste, his old age corrupt." In a mixed metaphor the Israelites complain to Moses and Aaron (Exod 5,21) "you have made our breath stink in the eyes[!] of Pharaoh,"

n'ina ""jpya ·3- ontfion where the Vulgate quoniam fetere⁵¹ fecistis odorem nostram coram Pharaoh. Frisk⁵² thinks the Indo-

European words onomatopoetic, cit-ing German pfui (so English phew): the nose is wrinkled up to keep the smell out, the lips are pursed and minimally opened to expel the stinking air without taking any more in. The Greeks exclaimed of smoke (Aristophanes Lys. 294). With Greek "breath" com- pare Heb. ma; Cant 2,17 "it breathes."

Later, in all three languages, the physical manifestation of shame is softened from stinking to blushing. At Plato Protagoras 312A Hippo-crates blushes () when forced to admit that he is in training to be a sophist, and can only agree when Socrates asks "Wouldn't you be ashamed for offering yourself to Hellenes as a sophist?"

" ; where the participle shows that (by supposition) he is doing the shameful act. Pliny the Younger Paneg. 31.6: Egypt was ashamed of her sterility (the Nile

50 IESL 525; SIE 250-259; 11.321.

51 Later spelling of foetere. 52 Frisk ii.622.

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didn't rise), pudebat and blushed at it, erubescibat. What then does it mean to be "clothed with shame"?⁵³ See Iliad 9.372 (cf. 1.149) , Job 8,22 and Further, Ps 109,29 "May [my accusers] be wrapped in their shame as a garment ":

DPiö'a ^ya ? -uasn

This is a natural description of blushing. Jer 8,12 (cf. 6,15) "Were they ashamed when they committed abomination? No, they were not at all ashamed; they did not know how to show contrition": •lin; '1? ajpsrn iBfa;-«'1? ts'iioa -ifri? nnyin

^ it'i i But here the Vulgate (followed by RSV) has erubescere nescierunt and perhaps that is a further connotation of the root 0*73. Above all, II Sam 19,6 "covered their faces with shame" (cited above) can only refer to blushing. Likewise

the later idiom D^a 69"3 (cf. English shamefaced) at II Chron 32,21 etc.; Ps 44,16 "And shame has covered my face,"

ODDS •'33 nK>"3.!

18.2.8 Loving the enemy

Plutarch partially refashions the ideas of friend and enemy. He begins his essay "How to profit by one's enemies" by admitting that "our friendships themselves involve us in enmities" (Mor. 86C). Having an enemy, he says, puts you on your guard, provides you additional incentive to morality, and gives you a greater chance than with a friend of showing magnanimity.

Above all, it is from our enemies that we hear the truth about ourselves. Plutarch approaches the insight of Jung: in wartime, "in the judgment we pronounce upon [our enemy] we unwittingly reveal our own defects; we simply accuse our enemy of our own

unadmitted faults."⁵⁴ The enemy whom we choose or who is chosen for us is the mirror of the shadow side of ourselves. So Athens had not long defeated the Persians

53 West (EFH 238-239) and I independently noted this striking parallel.

5 4 CG Jung, "General Aspects of Dream Psychology," The Structure and

Dynamics of the Psyche (Bollingen Series XX Jung, vol , The Collected Works of CG 8); tr. by RFC Hull; New York: Pantheon, 1953-1979; p. 27 0 sect.

516. From "Allgemeine Gesichtspunkte zur Psychologie des Traumes," Die Dynamik des Unbewussten; Gesammelte Werke Band 8 (Zürich & Stuttgart: Rascher Verlag, 1967) p. 307: "Unsere Mentalität ist derach charakterisiert— wie die Ereignisse in der Kriegszeit [Erster Weltkrieg] deutlich demonstriert haben—, dass wir mit einer chamlosen Naivität über den Gegner urteilen und im Urteil, das wir über ihn aussprechen, unsere eigenen Defekte verraten; ja , man wirft dem Gegner einfach die eigenen, nicht eingestanden Fehler vor.

"

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when she took a leaf out of her book and exacted a tribute in Persian style from her subject states. Against that fatal tendency stands the saying ascribed to Pittacus of uncertain date, "not to speak ill of a friend or even an enemy," ,

(Diogenes Laertius 1.78). Epictetus goes farther, "when beaten to love those who beat you as a brother would," ... (Arrian Epic. 3.22.54).⁵⁵ It remained for Jesus absolutely to reverse the old formula, "love

(Syriac)⁵⁶ your enemies," : (Matt 5,44 = Luk 6,27), Vg diligite inimicos uestros. This is precisely the principle for which David was reproached by Joab; here Jesus is in a special way a "son of David." At Luk 6,35 the new formulation is repeated, and in that context as we saw it has an extended structure: "But love your enemies...and your reward

will be great." The English will like the Greek future is too precise. For the underlying Aramaic appears in the Syriac 131 as an imperfect of the verb: that is, it represents an action in process of happening; for Semitic hardly has a true way of speaking about the

future even in the (later!) Indo-European sense (111.42 below). With this qualification, the saying has the pattern "Do A and will happen" which I discuss in 18.3.

Did Jesus hold Jung's position, that by taking an enemy you become the thing that you hate, and that only by loving the enemy can this be avoided? At least he motivates his new way by the hope of becoming "sons of your Father in heaven" (Matt 5:45). He has not with the Stoics

wholly abandoned his local citizenship for one of the world, because his reaction to the likely destruction of the Temple is one of sorrow. But Paul comes close to that point, 1.162, "our commonwealth is in heaven" (Phil 3,20). So at Heb 13,12-14, Jesus "suffered outside the gate...for here we have no dwelling city, but we look for that which is to come."

18.3 Compensation of injuries and benefits.

Here we begin with classical formulations of reward, both human and divine, and make a circuit back to "measure for measure" and "give to the giver." Bismarck in 1886 said of the policy of

the King of

5 5 Further passages on love of enemy in BAGD sv p. 331b.

5 6 This Syriac form is usually thought Aphel of 1 "was kindled, on fire." The translator, unaware of Hebrew 3, found a verb sounding like the Greek with a different guttural.

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Prussia, sie macht sich nur durch Blut und Eisen, "it can only be carried out through blood and iron."⁵⁷ See the harsh realism of von Clausewitz (vom Krieg 4.11):

Let us not hear of Generals who conquer without bloodshed (Men-schenblut). If a bloody slaughter is a horrible sight, then that is a ground for paying more respect to War, but not for making the swords we wear blunter and blunter by degrees from feelings of humanity, until one steps in with one that is sharp and lops off the arm from our body.

Blood and iron naturally go together. Quintilian (deci. 350) caedes uidetur significare sanguinem et ferrum "slaughter seems to mean blood and iron."⁵⁸ See the parallel passages with "sword" and "blood" cited at 11.143: Isa 34,6; Lucan 7.317. Blood and iron

may label two sets of parallel sayings dealing with reward (both natural and human) for injuries; along with other proverbial expressions they by contrast underlie Jesus' teaching about reward for benefits.

18.3.1 Blood for blood Here

there is a beautiful Hebrew-Greek parallel previously noted (1.5, 11.279). Gen 9,6 has a lapidary construction (lost in the Versions) with assonance of "blood" and "man" and structure ABC:CBA Tjatsh id Q-IK3 cn^n TTa'tsf

.. · TTT TTT - I..

"Whoever sheds the blood of man, by man will his blood be shed."

Luther⁵⁹ rejected the view that this could be seen as a "plague or punishment of God on murderers" (als von eyner plage und straff von Gott über die moerder) on the grounds that many murderers die of natural causes; he sees it rather as a law ordained by God (recht von Gott befolhen) mandating the death penalty ("...by man shall his blood be shed"), which is clear at Lev 24,21 "He who kills a man shall be put to death." But originally it recognizes an inescapable sequence of events, neither exactly "natural" nor "divine" in our sense, but rooted in the special character of blood, Gen 4,10 "The voice of your brother-er's blood is crying to me from the ground." For as Mephisto says (Faust 1.1740), Blut ist ein ganz besondrer Saft, "Blood is a very special kind of sap."

The Greeks had that sense of blood very strongly: Euripides in Electra 857-858 has the Messenger say of Aegisthus' death at the hands of Orestes:

57 ODQ2 p. 72.

58 Seneca Epist. 77.9 non fuit Uli opus ferro, non sanguine "he needed neither iron nor blood" to commit suicide.

59 Vow weltlicher Obrigkeit, Werke xi.248.

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"Blood the bitter repayment of blood has come upon him who now lies dead." The Chorus in Aeschylus' Choephoroi 309-314 states the general principle: "For a hostile tongue may a hostile tongue be requited; Justice as she exacts the debt cries aloud; for a murderous blow let one repay a

murderous blow. The doer shall suffer ()..."⁶⁰ And at 400-402, "There is a law {nomos} that bloody drops shed on the ground call for more blood." West (EFH 236, 575) adds the theme of the earth drinking the blood of the slain: Aeschylus Eum. 980 (cf.

Septem 736, Choeph. 66) "the dust drinking the black blood of citizens":

Gen 4,11 of the ground "which has opened its mouth to receive your brother's blood from your hand."

Aeschylus in the Eumenides mythologizes the causative factor as the Erinyes, sniffing out spilled blood. One stained by involuntary homicide must seek asylum both in Israel (Num 35,9-15 etc.) and Hellas.⁶¹ At Athens the Basileus conducted trials of animals and objects that caused death (Aristotle Ath. Pol. 57.4); the animal is to be killed and "cast outside the borders," ..., (Plato Leg. 873) and even the tool is to be exiled. So in Israel the ox is stoned and its flesh may not

be eaten (Exod 21,28). Exiles—murderers, avengers, involuntary slayers—may have carried the blood-formula from land to land. Either from Genesis 9 or independently it appears in an English phrase, first quoted from Mirror for Magistrates (1559) 6 2 Blood axeth blood as guerdone dewe.

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... 5' blood

borrowing .

Shakespeare gives it to Macbeth (Macb. III.iv.122):

It will haue blood they say: Blood will haue Blood.

A special stroke of his genius is the "It" without antecedent, Duncan's

⁶⁰ Same phrase at Pindar Nem. 4.32 "it is proper that one who has done something should also suffer it"; similarly Sophocles frag.

⁹⁶² Radt (& Pearson) ' , "if you have done ill things, you must suffer ill things"; and see further Hesiod frag. 286 MW cited in full at 1.5.

⁶¹ Moshe Greenberg, "The Biblical Conception of Asylum," JBL 78 (1959) 125-

132 with comparison of Greek legislation. See in particular Demosthenes 23.72 "The man convicted

of involuntary homicide (') shall, on certain appointed days, leave the country by a prescribed route, and remain in exile until he wins reconciliation from a relative of the deceased." See Weinfeld Promise of the Land 29.

62 ODEP3 69.

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murder or the like: we break into the middle of Macbeth's stream of consciousness.

18.3.2 Iron for iron Matthew

(26,52) records the saying with its "chiastic" (ABBA) order "for all those who take the sword, by the sword shall perish": oí This belongs

to the old order; but when Jesus says "Put the sword⁶³ back in its sheath" he restores the freedom it denies. Even without the

preface it goes beyond Machiavelli or Clausewitz: for it sees an inevitable chain of cause and effect (whether symbolized as natural or divine) by which the sword once taken up turns against the taker. The closest parallel to the seeming proverb "All those who take the sword..." is Latin, "to be killed with one's own sword," Terence Adelph. 958 suo sibi gladio hunc iugulo "I cut his throat with his very own sword"; Cicero ad Caec. 83 aut tuo, quodomadum dicitur, gladio aut nostro defensio tua conficiatur necesse est, "Your case will necessarily fall either (as the saying goes) by your sword or by mine."⁶⁴ Luther in the same place⁶⁵ treated Gen 9,6 "Whoever sheds man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed" not as descriptive of divine judgment ("for many murderers die without the sword," Denn viel morder...on schwerd sterben) but prescriptive, "one should justly kill him with the sword," man yhn mitt recht durchs schwerd tödten solle. He goes on to say that Matt 26,52 is to be understood in the same way, that is, as a commandment, wilchs auch gleich wie das Gen. 9 zü verstehen ist.

See further Prov 26,27 "He who rolls a stone, to him it returns." Two Hebrew texts approach the same thought. (a) Prov 27,17 1

frini i ^ "iron sharpens iron" where the form of the verb is uncertain but the general meaning is clear: LXX , Vg ferrum ferro acuitur.⁶⁶ Latin ferrum could be derived from some such

Near Eastern form (11.227). As the text continues "and a man sharpens the countenance of his neighbor" it is usually interpreted "insight or wit is contagious." In that understanding it is close to the current use of English diamond cut diamond, where a contest of wit is understood. But the old uses, going back to

63 The Peshitto here has the Persian imperial name of the sword K10D0 discussed at III.99.

64 See Otto 20 for further instances.

65 Von weltlicher Obrigkeit, Werke xi.248.

66 English "One knife whets another" since 1576 (ODEP3 432).

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159367, on the contrary implies a fatality by which a man's own talents are turned against him. So Webster (Duchess of Malfi Vv91): Whether we fall by

ambition, blood, or lust, Like Diamonds, we are cut with our owne dust.

If "iron sharpens iron" had an independent existence it could then have been a true predecessor of Jesus' saying. Bab. Talm. Sanh. 104a "weapon eating

weapon," IT ^DIN "pr reflects the same thought.

(b) Jer 15,2 = 43,11 "Whoever is for the sword, to the sword" (with three other

agents of death) 31? 21? "IB'K. This means something different, "whoever is destined for the sword shall go to the sword."

The prophet does not specify what destinies certain ones to the sword; the emphasis is on the apparently inscrutable divine decree.⁶⁸ But behind Jeremiah's saying may have lain the proverb in the sense that Matthew gives it.⁶⁹ The military rhetoric of Latin poetry

sets sword against sword. Thus

in Dido's invocation of Hannibal (Vergil, Aen. 4.628-9):

Litora litoribus contraria, fluctibus undas imprecor,

arma armis...

"I call on shores [of Carthage and Italy] to be opposed to shores, waves to seas, arms to arms." Silius, Punica 9.322-325, works out the details: ...galea hórrida

flictu aduersae ardescit

galeae, clipeusque fatiscit impulsu clipei, atque

ensis contunditur ense; pes pede, uirque uiro teritur...

"Helmet, vibrating at the clash with an opposing helmet, flashes fire; shield collapses under the impact of shield; and sword is broken by sword, foot is pressed against foot, man against man..."⁷⁰ The fatality of sword set against sword in battle implies a forthcoming reward by which the drawing of a sword elicits its counterpart.

67 ODEP3 185.

68 In the adaptation at Rev 13,10 the sense of Jeremiah must have been intended, "Whoever is to be killed by the sword, by the sword he will be killed"; but some MSS assimilate it to Matthew, tis "whoever kills by the sword..."

69 I pass by the difficult verse Isa 27,7 "Has he smitten them as he smote those who smote them? Or have they been slain as their slayers were slain?" (RSV); it evidently envisages reward of ill, but the parties involved are obscure.

70 See Baebius, Ilias latina 955 (ed. F. Vollmer, Poetae latini minores vol. II fase.

3; Leipzig: Teubner, 1913) ertsetn terit horridus ensis "bristling sword wears down sword."

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18.3.3 An eye for an eye "Eye

for an eye. " The causative factor in reward of blood and iron was independent,

although men might take upon themselves the role of its human agent. A third formula of reward involves solely human retribution. At Matt 5,38 Jesus quotes and overrules "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth" (Exod 21,23-24, Lev 24,19-20, Deut 19,21, with other applications). The Law may have a tradition of the Code of Hammurabi "If a man destroys the eye of another man, they shall destroy his eye."⁷¹ Still the original motivation of the Hebrew law may have been humanitarian, to counteract vengeance of 7 times or 77 (Gen

4,24); Jesus is aware of that too, and rejects it in favor of forgiveness 7 times or 77 (Matt 18,21-22, cf Luk 17,4). The principle of Hammurabi and the Mosaic law is paralleled in Greece.⁷² Demosthenes 24.140 says there was a law among the Locrians that "whoever gouges out an

eye must let his own eye be gouged out," if

, .⁷³ But already in the Mishna (Baba Qamma VIII) the retribution of "an eye for an eye" is replaced by a fine for "injury, pain, healing, loss of time and indignity." The continuity of Near Eastern law-codes is strongly marked by the appearance of the same formula expanded at Quran 5.46 "Eye for eye...tooth for tooth" (cited 11.279).

18.3.4 The lex talionis

At Lev 24,19-20 the formula "eye for eye" is extended to an abstract principle in two forms. The first is "as he did, so shall it be done to him,"

וְכַדֵּם כִּדְּמֵהוּ - «13nfcy-iti'Ks

LXX \$, .

Here the Vulgate achieves extreme linguistic compression, sicut fecit fiet ei. In similar language applied to private justice, Samson says (Jud

71 Sect. 196, RF Harper, The Code of Hammurabi...; Chicago: University, 1904. The translation at ANET³ 195 interprets it as of an aristocrat destroying the eye of a commoner, but still

remaining liable to lose his own eye.

⁷² See Morton Smith, "East Mediterranean Law-Codes of the Early Iron Age," pp. 38*-43 * of

HL Ginsberg Volume (ed. Menahem Haran); Eretz-Israel vol.

14; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society etc., 1978. Smith does not cite this, the closest parallel, but includes valuable materials on Egyptian law codes under Bocchoris (720-715 BC), Amasis (568-525) and Darius (522-485) from Diodorus and native Egyptian sources.

⁷³ Diodorus 12.17. 4 ascribes the same principle to Charondas at Thurii, and Diogenes Laertius 1.57 to Solon; all three texts casuistically discuss the penalty for destroying the only eye of a one-eyed man.

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15,11) "As they did to me, so have I done to them"; and Luther, who several times cites the passage, justifies him as possessed by the Spirit, although Prov 24,29 forbids us to say, "As he

did to me, so shall I do to him." See Aeschylus Choeph. 313 cited above (III.24) A Latin parallel in the fictitious "acclamations" of the Senate after the death of Commodus (Script. Hist.

Aug. Commodus 19): *carnifex unco trahatur...sic fecit, sic patiat*ur "let the butcher be dragged with the hook...as he did, so let him suffer."

Lev 24,20 ends "as he does injury to a man, so shall it be done to him":

in r]3 D1N3 mia]fp -iib'k?

LXX , so . Here as elsewhere the LXX translates DID by

a word of nearly identical sound, , discussed at 1.232. There we concluded that the word traveled in the negative as a description of perfection, "without flaw," more likely as applied to women (so in both Greek and Hebrew) rather than to sacrificial animals (not early so attested in Greek).⁷⁴ We found (11.279) that legal formulas traveled across the Mediterranean. In the first appearance of in Greek, Antinous asks Telemachus (Od. 2.86) what he has said,

"shaming us, and you would wish to attach blame to us," , .

In the

context of the heroic shame-culture, this usage is not far from the men's high-handed world envisaged by Leviticus.

All three of these formulas of reward (whether carried out by nature, God or man) have the same noun—blood, iron or sword, eye—repeated in different constructions. Greek has

many such proverbial expressions. Thus Odyssey 17.217-218 "now plainly a rascal is conducting a rascal () just as the god always leads like to like (,. .)." So Menander⁷⁵ "man saves man, and city city": *yàp*

Again, ⁷⁶ "hand washes hand and fingers fingers" ,

Aristotle⁷⁷ cites a line which ideally illustrates nominative and accusative in two declensions, "A thief knows a thief, and a wolf a wolf":

⁷⁴ Brief discussion at Levin SIE 170 with no conclusion about the realm of transmission.

⁷⁵ Menander, Sent. 31, ed. S. Jaekel, *Menandri Sententiae*; Leipzig: Teubner, 1954.

⁷⁶ Menander, Sent. 832 Jaekel; see Petronius 45.13 etc. *manus manum lauat*.

⁷⁷ Aristotle Eudemian Ethics 7.1.7 (1235a7), supplemented by Nie. Eth. 8.1.6 (1155a34), Mag. Mor. 2.11.2 (1208b10), Rhet. 1.11.25 (1371b10); along

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iyvco

It has gone into English as "set a thief to catch a thief" (since 1654).⁷⁸ In its folk-humor it still has something in common with the somber sayings on blood and the sword: in the end theft or rapine is recognized by those who share the same characteristics and is brought to justice, since the tradition varies whether or not "there is honor among thieves."⁷⁹ Further it suggests a mechanism by which the reward of harm is carried out.

The correlative phrase with two nouns can paraphrase the second half of the heroic formula "and hate my enemies." Theognis (344) in his usual mood says "may I give hurts in return for hurts," ' ' àviaç. Here the thought of "hate enemies" (18.2) is expressed in the language of reward. Odyssey 15.394 "grief" is a phonetic parallel to 3 Isa 29,2 (here only and Thr 2,5) "mourning"; Hebrew -iyy- is parallel to a Greek long *l*.⁸⁰ We saw above (III.8) that Theognis 872 wishes to be an to his enemies. The perfect phonetic agreement and substantial semantic closeness strongly suggests a linguistic connection, although the Hebrew does not indicate the exact social context.

The formula of reward of ill (divine or natural) equally appears with a verb rather than a noun as the parallel element. That Zen master Rabbi Hillel (Avoth II.7) saw a skull floating on the water and said, in a saying less opaque than many, "Because you drowned others, they drowned you; and in the end those who drowned you will be drowned ":81

•paita·* -pETtaa -fiata« naa m

This emphasizes the never-ending chain of reward; Hillel hardly envisages the possibility that

something might intervene to break it. 82 Or with correlative verbs: Prov 26,27 = Koh 10,8 "He that diggeth a

with Od. 17.218 he also cites "And jackdaw sits beside jackdaw," "Agemate pleases agemate."

78 ODEP3 810, which however misses Aristotle as the source. "The thefe knoweth the thefe, and the wolfe the wolfe" (1539) is older but obviously a translation from the Greek.

79 ODEP3 382.

80 In the Aeolic form (Sappho frag. 1.4) it has been compared with Latin onus "burden" and ôvoç "ass"; see 11.51.

81 I am uncertain about both the spelling and vocalization of the four verb-forms of the root ^lta.

82 Sap Sol 11,16 gives a rationalistic explanation, "through whatever things one sins, through them he is

punished," ' ; , is collaged.

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pit shall fall therein" with parallels in both places. The self-imposed curses of the vassal treaty constitute an ad hoc creation of the same sequence; numerous examples at 1.272-276 "As this animal is struck, so may I be struck" etc .

Latin has a noun for "exactness of retribution," talio. Thus in the Twelve Tables VIII.2 si membrum rupsit, ni cum eo pacit, talio esto "If a man maims another's limb, unless he makes

an agreement with him for it, let there be retaliation in kind."⁸³ Gellius 20.1.14 records the familiar phrase lex talionis. Quintilian (7.4.6) equates talio with uim contra uim "force against

force"; Seneca (Epistle 81.7) imagines an opponent recalling Cicero's definition of justice (11.29): "it is of the nature of justice to give each his due: thanks for a benefit, reward for an injury," iustitiae conuenit suum cuique reddere, beneficio gratiam, iniuriae talionem.

18.3.5 Reward of benefits Plato was the

first to reject the idea of retaliation (Crito 49B): since "One must never do injustice" (), equally retaliation () or "doing injustice in return" is excluded. But what

may seem the heartless mathematics of the talio in fact suggests a new way of looking at reward, on the divine or natural rather than on the human side, by which it is exactly proportional to the original action, not merely in injury but also in benefit. Perhaps the processes of agriculture led to this insight. First in sowing. What would pass for a Neolithic saying is attested by Cicero

as a proverb (de orat. 2.261) ut sementem feceris ita metes "as you have done your sowing, so shall you reap"; discussion at 1.317-318.⁸⁴ In Hellas and Israel only the ill side is seen. Prov 22,8 (see Job 4,8; Hosea 8,7; 10.13) "he who sows injustice will reap calamity"; a fragment of Hesiod:⁸⁵ evil Tis, evil '

But Paul at Gal 6,7 impartially draws both sets of conclusions, "for whatever a man sows, that shall he reap."

Again, reward of benefits is illustrated in measuring out the harvested grain (III.4). Jesus' saying on measure is largely positive (Luke 6,38, III.4) "With what measure you mete it will be measured to you in return." It is led up to by a sequence of four little clauses, two negative and two positive, preserved by Luke alone (6,37-38):

⁸³ Cited from Festus 550, 3 and other sources; Loeb ed. p. 476.

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⁸⁴ 4 Parallels in Otto Sprichwörter 221 ⁸⁵ Hesiod frag. 28 6 MW, see 1.5.

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(a) Do not judge, and you will not be judged; (b) Do not condemn, and you will not be condemned. (c) Forgive, and you will be forgiven; (d) Give, and it will be given to you.

Matthew (7,1-2) reduces the sequence to (a), but with a different motivation "so that you will not be judged" and with an extension "for with what judgment you

judge you will be judged." The formula can be extended: so I Clement 13.286 "be merciful, so that you may obtain mercy; ...as you do, so will it be done to you; ...as you do benefits, so will you receive benefit. " The briefest form is (c), which Luke has in the form ; Polycarp ad Phil. 2.3 in different vocabulary .87 The variant shows that cancellation of debts is the image; the Syriac of Luke is]1~intS>m llttf, Vulgate dimittite et dimittemini. Here the old law of reward (divine or natural) of ill finds its briefest formulation as a new law of reward of good. The grammar waves between an imperative with result "Just try forgiving! You will be forgiven," and a statement of natural law, "If you forgive, you will be forgiven."

We all feel that language somehow corresponds to reality. The logic and brevity of , sicut fecit fiet ei dispose us to believe that things are really so; and the long view of history, in which no injustice survives forever, confirms it. Reward may be delayed but is inevitable, "The mills of the gods grind slow, but they grind exceedingly small,"89 , But already

Plutarch in his beautiful de sera uindicta "on the

delay in divine punishment" (Ill.176) shows a convergence to Hebrew thought in ascribing the delay to God's gentleness (, Mor. 55IC).

And dimittite et dimittemini is just as neat and persuasive. It induces us to look at history in a new way, where the fact of benefits is done

86 Partly followed by Polycarp ad Phil. 2.3.

87 1 Clement 13.2 has .

88 The Lord's Prayer presumes the same law in the form of a petition (Matt 6:12),
...5 (1.250).

89 Hexameter in Sextus Empiricus adv. math. 1.287 with discussion at 11.44. The familiar translation is due to Longfellow, "Though the mills of God grind slowly, yet they grind exceedingly small; / Though with patience he stands waiting, with exactness he grinds all."

He was working over the German of Friedrich von Logau, "Gottesmühlen mahlen langsam, mahlen aber trefflich klein;...", but apparently did not realize that von Logau had it from the Greek; neither does the ODQ2 315, 317, from which I have this information.

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claims by right a permanent place in the scheme of things. Jeremias⁹⁰ calls the passive in the conclusion of such sayings a "divine passive" or circumlocution for the name of God, and suggests such a translation as "Forgive, for there is one that forgives you." But that confines Jesus too strictly to the usages of his time; as they stand the passives simply define the way things are. What you send out into the world, he says, comes back to you from it, whether bad or good. The conclusion holds equally if Jesus used the Aramaic third-person plural "passive" as in the Mishna, "and they will forgive you."

As brief is the other positive formula, "give and it will be given you," , Syriac "l'D1 ? 301 12, Vulgate date et dabitur nobis. We may go back from grace to gravity and contrast heavy-footed Hesiod (Opera 354): ὁς , .

"Give to one that gives, and do not give to one that does not give," together with the prudential considerations that follow. Again in Hesiod the imperatives conceal a result "Give to one that gives, and when you are in need he will give to you in return." This runs parallel to what precedes it (Opera 353) "Love the one that loves you" with the same logic. That gave rise to 18.2, and now we see that the evolution of the law of reward runs parallel to that of "friend and enemy." Hesiod, we might say, differs from Jesus in being less realistic; his realism is limited to the short run and a superficial consideration. In the long run, or a deeper consideration (Jesus says), the fact of giving, regardless of the character of the receiver, of itself means that we are in turn a receiver.

Käsemann⁹¹ defined NT formulas superficially like ours as "sentences of holy law," Sätze heiligen Rechts. Most are negative formulas of punishment: "If anyone destroys God's temple, God will destroy him" (I Kor 3,17); "If one does not recognize this, he is not recognized" (I Kor 14,38); "If any one adds to these words, God will add to him the plagues described in this book" (Rev 22,18); "Whoever is ashamed of me..., of him the Son of man will also be ashamed" (Mark 8,38). But they are a throwback: the old formula of negative reward is applied to the new situation of the Church; the novelty of

90 Joachim Jeremias, *New Testament Theology: The Proclamation of Jesus*; translated by John Bowden; New York: Scribner's, 1971; p. 11. He finds about a hundred such uses of the "divine passive" in the sayings of Jesus.

91 Ernst Käsemann, *New Testament Questions of Today*; translated by WJ Montague; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1969; chapter 3, "Sentences of Holy Law in the New Testament" (orig. published in German in NTS 1 [1954/5] 248-260).

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Jesus—enlarging reward of evil to reward of good—hardly appears.

18.3.6 The grammar of reward The saying

"give and it will be given you" has a polar counterpart in "ask and it will be given you" (Luk 11,9-10 = Matt 7,7-8) with its continuation "Seek and you will find, knock and it will be opened to you." Rosén⁹² boldly finds its antecedent in the motif of the New Comedy, illustrated in Menander's *Dyscolus*, where a lover or servant knocks on the door of the beloved, and draws conclusions about the availability of Greek comedy in Palestine. But the sayings have a more natural antecedent in the cryptic message which a beggar writes on a hospitable gate for his successors, "Knock and it will be opened to you, ask and it will be given you." And in that way the polarity with "Give and it will be given you" is naturally explained. Jesus sees the whole ladder of human society from bottom to top as enmeshed in a money-economy and a nexus of personal obligations (1.249). 'Aqiba in his great parable (Avoth III. 17, cited 1.75) says that "the net is cast over all living...the account-book (Dp33 =) is open." Everybody (except the single fortunate one at the top) is a debtor to somebody higher up; everybody (except the poor devil at the very bottom) is also a creditor of somebody lower. The fact that each of us plays both roles explains the logic of "Forgive us our debts as we forgive our debtors."

In the same way Jesus assumes that each of us in our lives has an area of adequacy and an area of need. "Give and it will be given you" says that dealing with any excess in our adequacy benefits a (perhaps quite disparate) area of our need; "Ask and it will be given you" says that by publicizing our area of need our area of adequacy is enlarged.

At Luk 6,35 and 38 our two types of saying fall together in the pattern "Do A and B will follow": "Love your enemies...and your reward will be great"; "Give and it will be given to you." The

pattern where an imperative is followed by an indicative has been poorly treated by grammarians. Rosén cites Gen 42,18 •TtI ISSI? nN'r "Do this and you shall live," LXX (whence Luk 10,28). The standard Greek grammar⁹³ cites examples since Iliad 4.29: '.

92 Haim . Rosén, "Motifs and from the New Comedy in the New Testament?," *Ancient Society* 3 (1972) 245-257.

93 E. Schwyzer & A. Debrunner, *Griechische Grammatik*, 2 Band; *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft* 2.1.2; Munich: Beck, 1966; p. 344.

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"Do it; but not all we other gods will approve it"; and coming down to Joh 2,19 "Destroy this temple and in three days I will raise it up."

But neither it nor the standard NT Greek grammars cite the much more obvious usage in the sayings of Jesus. We may say: Jesus' grammar records a forerunner (with, as we saw, its own special ambiguity) of a developed conditional sentence.

The meaning of the overall structure "If A, then B" or "Do A and will follow" in Jesus' sayings has been defined by Robinson:⁹⁴

...the message of Jesus basically consists in a pronouncement to the present in view of the imminent eschatological future. It is precisely this polarity...that can be detected as a structuring tendency in the individual logia...a structure in terms of two members, which can be related to the Jewish apocalyptic doctrine of two aeons as its religionsgeschichtliche background.

The first member, the pronouncement to the present, is related primarily to the "present evil aeon"; the second member, the allusion to the near future, looks to the "aeon to come."

But the doctrine of "two ages" appears formally in the Gospels only in scattered sayings often thought late: "a hundredfold now in this time, ...and in the age to come eternal life" (Mark 10,30); "...will not be forgiven, either in this age or in that to come" (Matt 12,32); "the sons of this age marry...but those considered worthy to attain to that age do not marry..." (Luk 20,34-35, cf 16,8). It puts the two halves of Jesus' sayings too much on a par. We should take the cue for our interpretation from the antecedents of the sayings in the realm of "gravity." Recompense of evil—the state of affairs in which those who hate the enemy

are in turn hated, the shedder of blood has shed his blood, the drowner is drowned—is verified in an actual future, perhaps some distance off; but that future simply vindicates a reality which has already been created in the present by one hating the enemy and shedding blood. Recompense of good—the state of affairs in which those who love enemies are rewarded and the giver receives —is in Jesus' understanding as certain as reward of evil or more so, and likewise vindicates a reality instantly created in the present by the doing of good. Still, in contrast, it is not invariably or primarily realized in a future in time; rather, in some state of affairs which is just as real as future time or more so, but which Jesus' silence and the Semitic verb-structure prevent us from placing at some definite point on the arrow of time.⁹⁵

94 James M. Robinson, "The Formal Structure of Jesus' Message," pp. 91-110 of *Current Issues in New Testament Interpretation* [Otto A. Piper Festschrift], W.

Klassen & C GF Snyder, eds.; New York: Harper, 1962; see p. 97.

95 The status of these more-than-futures is discussed further at III.42.

Chapter 19: Blessedness in Better Lands

This chapter treats parallels between Israel and Hellas in their symbolic treatment of the rewards flowing from blessedness. The formulas of blessedness define a fortunate one as assured a transfer, in the future or something like the future, long lasting or permanent, into a happier realm, more literal or more metaphorical, conceived of in quasi-geo-graphical terms. We begin (19.1) with an agreement in the literary form of the Beatitude: "Blessed are those who do A, for they shall receive B." We continue (19.2) with a general discussion of the future life, and (19.3) with the status of verbs indicating the future. We then (19.4-9) discuss six ideal settings in which blessedness is concretely realized. Next (19.10) we look at the criteria of blessedness as they develop at a later period, in particular involving the idea

of the separated soul. Finally (19.11) we treat the vocabulary agreement in seeing the soul as a pearl. Wherever possible we anchor the comparisons to Greek-Semitic shared vocabulary, certain or plausible; some previously treated (like the jasper of the garden of jewels [19.7]), others new.

Much of what we learned in Vols. I and II are reviewed here in a different light. Egyptian matters appear more here than elsewhere, even though I continue to regret my inability to cite actual Egyptian texts.

19 The Beatitude as literary form

At the end of the period we consider, Jesus states the literary form of the Beatitude in its briefest possible form (Luke 6:20-21) :

, .

, .

Blessed are you poor, for yours is the kingdom of God. Blessed are you who hunger now, for you shall be filled. Blessed are you who weep now, for you shall laugh.

36

While this form seems primitive, in fact Jesus has condensed previous formulations, both in Hebrew and Greek, which were more diffuse; the paradoxical form of his statements stands in implicit contrast

to the more natural logic of earlier texts. The first of the three Beatitudes refers no more to the present moment than do the last two; for through-out Jesus' thought, the "kingdom of God" is a state of affairs which is breaking in, imminent, but has not yet quite arrived. Matt 5,3-12 enlarges Luke's four beatitudes into eight (or nine), as it seems inter-preting Luke's short versions and adding non- paradoxical sayings; the Apocalypse perhaps counted seven attributed to Jesus and adds seven

more.

Hebrew sometimes omits the second clause "for he shall receive B"

and substitutes additional definitions of the first, "Blessed is the man who does A." Also, like Greek, instead of the clause or in addition to it, Hebrew may include the contrasted fate of one who is not blessed. (Jesus makes the contrast in a separate format of Woes [Luk 6,24-26, Matt 23,13-32].) And the "future" status of the clause may only be implicit. A relatively simple example with both A and doubled is Prov 3,13-14:

Chapter 19: Blessedness in Better Lands

nj-nn "< dis i

xs a

WiK-nn v-rina-i nosnnsa'n-inó'nitù" ^

t : ...*~:~s" .

"Blessed (LXX) is the man who finds wisdom, and the man who gets understanding; for its gain is better than the gain of silver, and better than gold its profit." The peculiar exclamatory form "Oh the blessedness of...!", seemingly a masculine plural construct, is treated by Joion¹ as

a feminine singular construct. The word for "gold," , is the Phoenician one which went over to Greek (1.303), for as we have seen proverbs are an international literature.

Prov 8,34-36 with typical expansions illustrates the finding of life: "Blessed is the man who listens to me [Wisdom, with two further clauses]; for he who finds me finds life, and obtains favor

from Yahweh; but he who misses me does violence to himself; all who hate me love death."

va'vi DiK ntfs cpsn nirra -pin pa»i nia lirm •'«sa '• s'a""13 itfsfoa'n

•wfca-Vs

In the contrasted clause note the use of the verb 3, mostly "sin," in its original sense "miss the mark"; it is correctly translated by the LXX as , which had the same history (1.56).

1

Paul Joion, Grammaire de l'hébreu biblique, Rome: Institut biblique pontifical; 1947; 215.

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...

19.1 The Beatitude as literary form

37

Psalms 1, a preface to the whole book, elaborates both the A and clauses, as well as the contrast with the "wicked." It begins "Blessed is the man who does not walk in the counsel of the wicked"

^

Iti*. ^ "HtfK

continues with two more negative definitions of his standing and sitting. Then a positive one "But his delight is in

the law of Yahweh":

isan mrr rnina •o

followed by another positive one. The clause becomes a simple future (or imperfect) without "for," "And he shall

be like a tree planted by rivers of water":

era •'a1??"1?? ^lntf fy s rvm with two metaphorical additions and one literal one. Then the contrast, "The wicked are not so, but are like the chaff

which the wind drives away," followed by a negative future, "Therefore the wicked will not stand in the judgment":

tû32?'133 O^ytil •;-«'1? I?-1TM itself doubled. Finally both sections are summed up, "For Yahweh knows the way of the righteous, but the way of the wicked

shall perish":

'œyç h Q'p.'1'!^ ^TH -O

The whole is the elaboration of an underlying simple structure which nowhere quite appears as such in the Hebrew Bible, "Blessed are those who do A, for they shall receive B." The genius of Jesus was to extract that kernel.

Classical Greek beatitudes appear above all in a formula of the Eleusinian mysteries. The most exact structure is in a fragment of Sophocles,² "Triply blessed are those of mortals who go to the house of Hades having seen these ceremonies; for to them alone is living granted there; to the others all things there are ill":

^ ?3 "J? and

' "• alone there , ' -' .

Here we note the emphasis on life of Prov 8,34-36, as well as the contrast with the "others." A fragment of Pindar³ allows the "for" to be understood, "Blessed is he who goes under the earth having seen those things; he knows the end of life, and he knows its Zeus-given beginning":

to

Sophocles frag. 837 TrGF (iv.553) from Plutarch.

3 Pindar frag. 121 Bowra; from Clement Alex. Strom. 3.17.2, who refers it to "the mysteries in

Eleusis," .

38

Both are working over the formula in the Homeric Hymn to Demeter (2.480-2) containing a contrast but no clause with "for," "Blessed is whoever of men on earth has seen these things; but whoever is

uninitiated in the sacred things and has no share in them never has as his lot such things once he is dead, down in the moldy darkness":

'

' , ' , '

. Richardson⁴ notes

usually has a strong material connotation....So here, the prosperity which the Mysteries bring comes in this life as well as after death...But the Greeks were always aware that and were gifts of the gods.

Hence these words acquired religious overtones.

Unlike the Hebrew, the Eleusinian beatitudes suggest no moral criterion; the important thing is simply to have seen what happened there.

A Greek beatitude on the theme of knowing rather than seeing is in Empedocles,⁵ "Blessed is he who has acquired wealth of divine insights; wretched is he in whom dwells a darkened understanding about the gods":

,

' , .

Compare Prov 3,13 (.36 above). He is echoed by Vergil Georg.

2.490 Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas. Homer in place of has , which in the form became standard later and appears in the Greek of Jesus' Beatitudes. Odyssey 5.306 "Triple blessed and four times are the Danaans who perished then..." 6 ' .

The climax "three and four" also appears at Prov 30,15-31 and in Amos 1. Greek vocative appears at Iliad 3.182. But originally, it seems, mostly refers to the gods: thus Iliad 1.406 ; of the chthonic gods Aeschylus Choeph. 476 . At Hesiod Opera 141 of the semi-divinized heroes of the silver age "They are called the blessed dead under the earth,"

4 NJ Richardson, The Homeric Hymn to Demeter; Oxford: Clarendon, 1974, 314.

5 Empedocles frag. 132, FVS8 i.365.

6 Vergil translates it at Aen. 1.94 O terque quaterque beati.

''' ,

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19.1 The Beatitude as literary form

39

TOI .

Thus presumably the "Isles of the Blessed" (Ill.49 below), Opera 171 and elsewhere, originally referred to the gods, although later it is applied to fully human heroes. On the other hand,

can only refer to human beings; Levin explains this from its being a kind of patronymic, "having a god as a father or protector." Hebrew has comparable semantic fields: may describe either God or a human being, but "HB^ a human being only.

The etymology of is enigmatic (11.10). There is no other adjective in -ap and no reason to derive it from an unattested neuter noun. In principle Vermeule⁷ accepts an Egyptian etymology; but there is no consensus on the original. Two authors compare Egyptian m3c hrw "justified of voice," applied to the dead one as identified with Osiris.⁸ Another compares Egyptian mcr "fortunate," applied to the holy dead.⁹ Pierce rejects both

etymologies.¹⁰ Rendsburg¹¹ with regret rejects Bernal's etymology to m3c hrw in favor of a highly speculative etymology from Semitic brk "bless." McGready¹² mentions neither; nor does Fournet, our most reliable analyst. We need an Egyptologist to study

the phonetics and to quote actual hieroglyphic texts.

The grammar of a Beatitude is a hidden statement of cause and

effect. It affirms that anyone who does A will reach the desirable result

B; thus the good fortune of such a one can be celebrated in advance. Most often the desirable result is the translation of the fortunate one into a pleasant and

perhaps death-free environment, whether seen more literally or more symbolically. The organization of this chapter classifies texts according to the topography of the better land that the blessed one inherits.

7 Vermeule, *Aspects of Death* 72-73.

8 Alexandre H. Krappe, "," *Revue de Philologie* 66 (1940) 245-6; Constantin Daniel, "Des emprunts

égyptiens dans le grec ancien," *Studia et acta orientalia* (Budapest) 4 (1962) 13-23. For the Egyptian see Erman-Grapow ii.17-18.

9 Bertrand Hemmerdinger, "Noms communs grecs d'origine égyptienne," *Glotta* 46 (1968) 238-247; for the Egyptian see Erman-Grapow ii.48.

10 Richard H. Pierce, "Egyptian loan-words in ancient Greek?," *Symbolae Osloenses* 46 (1971) 96-107, p. 105.

11 Gary A. Rendsburg, "Black Athena: An Etymological Response," *Arethusa* Special Issue, Fall 1989, *The Challenge of Black Athena*, 67-82; p. 79.

12 AG McGready, "Egyptian Words in the Greek Vocabulary," *Glotta* 46 (1968) 247-254.

It is natural to interpret the seemingly future expectations in literary beatitudes as the hope of life beyond death. We associate Israel with the resurrection of the dead, Hellas with the immortality of the soul.

But compared with the peoples around them, each nation, above all in its classical period, is strikingly this-worldly. So Spronk, reviewing research into a "beatific afterlife in ancient Israel,"¹³

As soon as the Old Testament was not regarded anymore as a collection of proof-texts to be used in support of the traditions of the church, it appeared to contain very few references to a happy afterlife and to speak rather negatively about the world of the dead.

Emily Vermeule will not let us read Odyssey 11 literally:¹⁴ the actions of the heroes in the underworld "are not true reflections of popular beliefs about the dead, so much as stage directions for a theatrical mysterious scene." Behind the poetry, she states (p. 123) the true state of affairs (and compare another quotation from her at 1.55):

It is part of the Greek legacy to the West, and almost a definition of humanism, that the Greeks found grief, defect and mortality, when faced with gallantry of mind, to be better than unearthly states of blessed existence-

ence.

How did the notions of resurrection and immortality grow from those soils? Because (I suggest) Israel and Hellas broke through in parallel to a new realism about death; see the texts laid out at 1.56-58, 11.37.

Precisely by that realism they were able to transcend death.

In the end Spronk (p. 344), with much difficulty, concludes that Israel did indeed have some concept of a "beatific afterlife." Why is it so muted then?

This reluctance to speak about help of YHWH after death is neither due to a lack of confidence in this matter nor to the fact that the Israelites would

have lacked the natural human interest in life after death, but primarily to the fear of becoming entangled in the Canaanite religious ideas about life and death.

Vermeule (p. 96) tentatively sets Greek rationalism against a presumed background of Mycenaean religious ideas, but warns us:

13 Klaas Spronk, *Beatific Afterlife in Ancient Israel and in the Ancient Near East*; *Alter Orient und Altes Testament*, Band 219; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1986; p. 66.

14 Vermeule (fn 7 above) 29.

19.2 The future life and the Egyptians

41

The Mycenaeans are unfairly blamed for being old, dark, bloody and

chthonic, bound to peculiar vegetation cults and ancient Aegean mother goddesses, an irrational and illiterate people too primitive for the ordered splendors of Olympian religion and the civilized restraints of classical thought.

Still, neither Canaanite nor Mycenaean religious ideas are easy to reconstruct in any detail. What we can say confidently about Israelites and Greeks is that each formed many ideas over against Egypt. Martin Bernal, who in *Black Athena* derives much of Greek culture from Egypt, misses the novel humanism in which Greece transcends Egypt, and the fact that in it Greece is comparable to Israel rather than to Egypt.

Both peoples found Egyptians xenophobic: it was an abomination for Egyptians to eat bread

with Hebrews (Gen 43,32); they would not kiss a Greek for fear of contamination nor eat food cut with a Greek

knife (Herodotus 2.41.3). Both note Egyptian funerary practice as an exotic curiosity. Of three grades of embalming (), each took 70 days (Herodotus 2.86-88). According to Gen 50,3 only 40 days are required for embalming, but the Egyptians mourned for Jacob 70 days, and perhaps there is some confusion. Phoenicians used myrrh for embalming (11.326). Herodotus 2.86.5-6 lists substances used in embalming: myrrh (), cassia (), frankincense () and nitre (); all have equivalents in Biblical Hebrew. Nitre (1.241) is cf. Hippocrates (Airs 7.53), Jer 2,22 ~)]. Also Egyptian ntrj,

15

gum (, Herodotus 2.86.6), Egyptian kmj.t, 16 appears in the Mishna (, Shabb. XII.4) as Olöip. 17 We saw further (1.209) that the

body to be embalmed (Herodotus 2.86.6) is wrapped with "a shroud of byssos," , a beautiful international phrase appearing in Akkadian, Rabbinic, and Josephus. Since also appears in Egyptian as sndwt (11.295, original language uncertain), we should ask the Egyptologists whether a mortuary text exists with the three words "nitre, gum, sindon". The

shroud especially made its way to other lands: Joseph of Arimathea "wrapped in a shroud" Jesus' body, (Mark 15,46); "Rabbi was buried in a single shroud,"

-] THCO (Jer.

Talm. Kilaim 32b4) so as not to encumber his resurrection body.

The text goes on to explain "A garment that descends with a man to Sheol returns with him,"

IAS? nx n rr n ^ISB1 ? DI N DI? MOO

15 Erman-Grapow ii.366.

16 Erman-Grapow v.39.

17 With an Aramaic translation Kölp at Bab. Talm. Gittin 19a.

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Chapter 19: Blessedness in Better Lands

19.3 The grammatical status of the future

The beatitude in its final definitive form, that given it by Jesus (III.35 above), has its "for" or clause expressed in Greek future verbs, "you shall be filled," "you shall laugh." In Syriac (as in Psalm 1, III.37 above) they come out as Semitic imperfects, (Luk 6,21) imo n "you shall be full," pm n "you shall laugh." Classical Hebrew beatitudes, like those at Eleusis, leave it more open whether they refer to a present or a future fulfillment. Can we properly talk of future verbs at all?

An ambitious beginning linguist switched his major when the lecturer warned him, "There is no future in Indo-European"... Most Greek futures are slightly modified aorist subjunctives. Thus at Rev 14,13 "Blessed are the dead who henceforth die in the Lord...so that they may rest (

) from their labors," the MSS show variants (47) for , and (aor.

subj.) and - (future). At Iliad 7.29 "let us halt () war" the verb is aorist

subjunctive, the form with long vowel standardized in Attic; but so is it at 21.314 "so that we may

halt () the savage man," the form with short vowel standardized in Attic as future. In the

New Testament, when the difference in pronunciation between long and short was being lost and

syntax was loosened, the two forms are close to optional variants. Since (as the Greeks knew well) we can never absolutely predict the future, any statement about the future will express volition or

uncertainty.

Latin makes what we call its futures in two manners, depending on the conjugation and aspect of the verb, whether active or designating a state of being. Thus at Matt 5,6-7 "Blessed are they who hunger and thirst for righteousness, for they shall be filled (Vg quoniam ipsi saturabuntur). Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy (quia ipsi misericordiam consequentur)." Verbs of the third and fourth conjugations make a future like consequentur from the present subjunctive

consequentur (Latin having lost the aorist) with a change of vowel as in the Greek; verbs of the first

and second conjugation make it by adding a form of the verb "to be," satura-bu-ntur like English "they shall be filled." The two formations, which grammarians lump together as future, have slightly different meanings corresponding to the status of the verb. Third conjugation verbs, old consonantal

stems having mostly active sense, modify a wish to form the future; first and second conjugation verbs, derived with a vowel suffix and often "stative" in sense, make a statement about the present,

"they are going to be filled."

19.3 The grammatical status of the future

43

Any original Semitic that we can imagine had no unambiguous way of indicating the future by a verb alone, and Biblical Hebrew (unlike Greek and Latin) never clearly filled the gap. In the Syriac of Jesus

Beatitudes (as in the clauses of Psalm 1) the clauses are all in the "imperfect." The Semitic

verb has two principal forms. In the perfect, denoting a completed action, the verb root as primary comes first, and is followed by a suffix indicating the person and number (and in some forms gender) of the subject. In the imperfect a prefix describing the subject (as primary, with some ambiguity) comes first, followed by the verb root (as liable to uncertainty) and perhaps a suffix denoting number. Semitic grammar does not presuppose a linear timeline of past, present and future; and even in Indo-European with its clear present ("primary") and

past ("secondary") tenses, the aspect of the action is equally important, whether single and completed, or repeated and incomplete. In the moods, time is lost and aspect remains. In Semitic, the imperfect can represent (from our point of view) various types of actions in the present, continued actions in the past, and possible events in the future. But those distinctions are not made as such. Hence if there should prove to be states of affairs that cannot easily

be placed on a timeline, Semitic has no problem about speaking of them in the imperfect—or even the perfect, if their certainty can be surely affirmed.

What then is the or "for" clause of a Beatitude speaking about?

It gives the reason for the affirmation (or exclamation) of the A clause, "Blessed is the one who does A" or "O the blessedness of the one who does A!" In Greek it appears to be placed in a linear future. But still two thousand years later we are waiting for the hungry to be fed and the mourners to be comforted. If Jesus truly expected the kingdom of God to erupt fully into the time sequence chronicled by historians, and in the near future, he was in error. The alternative is that his Greek futures (which are surely just a translation of Aramaic imperfects) in fact like many Hebrew imperfects point to a state of affairs partially or wholly out of history. Literal-minded ages think of the general resurrection of the body as necessarily coming at a definite date in the temporal sequence—even though the sequence may wind up at that point and give way to eternity. But the Semitic languages are under no such necessity.

Most modern lovers of literature, whether religious-minded or secularist, admire both Hebrew and Greek texts for the realistic light that they throw on the complexities of human motivation: Thucydides' unsparing portrayal of the overwhelming pride that brought Athens down; the Court Chronicle (II Sam 9-20) for its objective depiction of

the complex relations between David, Absalom, Joab and all the others. Those texts are also admired for their faithful delineation of human dignity in the face of

certain downfall and death. It is only natural then that many readers should take with equal seriousness what the texts say, for example in beatitudes, about the coming and certain reward of virtue. Classicists tend to err by taking the depiction of the Islands of the Blessed or Plato's better world of jewels as merely metaphorical, pointing to something unknown in itself either to the old author or to us, perhaps only imaginary. Religious Jews and Christians tend to err by taking the depiction of the resurrection of the body or the New Jerusalem as merely literal, to be accepted or rejected in the same simple-minded way by us as (they presume) it was intended by the author. Here I try to discuss the representations of both Hellas and Israel as nearly as possible on the same level.

Since the present world is the only one we know, descriptions of a better world must inevitably take the form of the present one somehow transformed. In the six sections that follow (19.4-9) I take up themes of

a mythical geography, pointing to the reward of the blessed, and to some degree shared by Israel and Hellas. The settings vary in the closeness

of the parallels, in the degree to which they involve common vocabulary, and in the type of expectations they raise. They are interconnected, and our arrangement is to some degree arbitrary. In some, Egyptian themes appear which I cannot document to the same degree of accuracy. In others, the Semitic equivalents are only partial. I propose that in their different ways they all point to the possibility of a fulfillment outside the temporal sequence rather than within it, but illustrated by various idealizations of the earth's geography. They are arranged roughly by the degree of idealization, from less to more.

19.4 The meadow of lilies

We do not know what the initiates saw at Eleusis to give them the certainty of future life: perhaps the resurrection of Persephone from the underworld? But the Homeric Hymn to Demeter, our principal source, begins with a scene which imprints itself firmly on our memory: Persephone with the Oceanids "in a soft meadow" ('Horn. Hymn 2.7), no doubt stream-watered, picking flowers—roses, crocus, violets, iris, hyacinth; and above all the narcissus which Gaia pushed up as a snare (18 to her, and from whose roots Hades

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18 Compare the "snares of Sheol" ^\NB ^ Ps 18,6.

19.4 The meadow of lilies 45

sprang into the upper world. In the list which Persephone herself gives of the flowers (Horn. Hymn 2.427) she includes "lilies, a wonder to see," . There is a nice agreement with Hebrew in that the elements in a triple division of the universe (see 1.267 &c 11.56) rejoice, and in the same order heaven-earth-sea. "And the whole broad heavens above and the whole earth laughed [at the beauty of the narcissus] and the salt swell of the sea" {Horn. Hymn 2.13-14):

... '
,

Ps 96,11 "Let the heavens rejoice and the earth be glad; let the sea roar, and all that is in it":
'^ - on n Din1

"7:m watín ·6

. - - : . ! . . ** • .. : • - - : J .

The scene of Persephone's abduction (on the border between a this-worldly and other-worldly landscape) is the ill-defined "Nysian plain," {Horn. Hymn 2.17). We saw (II.4) that Cicero (Verr. 2.4.106) locates the myth of Ceres and Proserpina at Enna of Sicily.

The case of Persephone reminds us of mortal Europa. Herodotus begins his History (1.2, cf. 4.147) by rationalizing the abduction of the Phoenician king's daughter Europa. Hesiod told the story in its original mythical form in his lost Catalog of 'Women and we have a summary:19 "When Zeus saw Europa the daughter of Phoenix in a meadow with maidens picking flowers he fell in love with her." The setting and theme are identical to that of Persephone, only the god and his ruse are changed. The story is told most fully by the Hellenistic poet Moschus (ab. 150 BC) in his Europa (2.32), which tells how "she picked sweet-smelling lilies from the meadow," ' ' in addition to all the other flowers they picked (2.63-71). In general Moschus works

on the Hymn to Demeter. The scene of Europa's story that captured the imagination of vase painters was Zeus as the bull carrying her off across the sea, full of marine life. Sidon in autonomous coinage under Rome shows Europa on the bull, bringing the Greek motif back to its supposed original home.20

In a fragment of Pindar²¹ the heroic dead live in "meadows of purple roses," 'shaded with líbanos. A meadow

19 Scholiast on Iliad 12.292, Hesiod frag. 140 Merkelbach-West; see papyrus fragments of the actual verses, frag. 141.

20 GF Hill, Catalog of the Greek Coins of Phoenicia; London: British Museum, 1910; Plate XXIII.

21 Pindar frag. 114 Bowra, from two quotations by Plutarch; see 1.211-212 for text and III.52 below.

46

is regularly "soft," as being stream-watered; Odyssey 6.292 of Scheria, in the grove of Athena "a spring flows, and about it is a meadow, "

... , .

The blessed underworld of Vergil has its "green valley" (conualle uirenti, Aen. 6.679) and "fields renewed by brooks" (prata recentia riuís 6.674). Similar is an ideal landscape of the Psalms. We noted the "tree planted by rivers of water" of Ps 1,3 (III.37 above); so at the familiar Ps 23,2 "He makes me lie down in green pastures, he leads me beside still waters,"

•[^]nr nimia "[^] . nioa

We expect to find the Shulamite in such a setting, Cant 2,1, "I am a crocus²² of Sharon,²³ a lily of the valleys (Vg lilium conuallium)": inai'n ròsnn on

D[^]ayn nas&'iss'

Greek has three words for "lily" (cf. 1.331). (since Herodotus 2.92 pl.) has no etymology, , mostly known as lily oint-is a loan from 3265'. The of Persephone and ment, , "lily-like (?) voice" of the Europa is known to Homer, but only in peculiar metaphors, Iliad 3.152 cicada.²⁴ The abnormal parallel / lilium marks the word as Mediterranean, as we would expect from

the use of the lily in Minoan art. See then Hittite alii, allel "flower"²⁵ and Egyptian hrr.t.²⁶ The word continued

in Coptic, and the Bohairic translator²⁷ of Matt 6,28 "lilies of the field" () used the old word hreri NNICPHPI ÑT 6 TKO I just as the Vulgate did, lilia agri. Fayyumic hlèli shows the same variation r/1 as between Greek and Latin. ²⁸

Jesus' Semitic verse about the ravens and the lilies (Luk 12,22-31, a little more concrete than Matt 6,25-33), is in a special way an ideal landscape. Readers may be disturbed that "providential" care for food

²² Cf. Akkadian habasillatu "fresh shoot of reed" (CAD); assuming that the s was once a d, we might compare "asphodel" as a Mediterranean noun.

²³ At 1.35 we tentatively compared "Sharon" with Greek near Troizen and the Saronic gulf.

²⁴ Janko on Iliad 13.83 0 ("lily-fragrant skin"?) in the Cambridge Iliad thinks in all senses from an adjective ; "bright," and "lily" a derivative of this. But that does not explain Latin lilium or the other seeming cognates. See 11.300.

²⁵ Johannes Friedrich, Hethitisches Wörterbuch...; Heidelberg: Winter, 1952; 19.

²⁶ Erman-Grapow iii.149.

²⁷ The Coptic Version of the New Testament in the Northern Dialect; Oxford: Clarendon, 1898; 4 vols.; j.42.

²⁸ WE Crum, A Coptic Dictionary; Oxford: Clarendon, 1939; 704.

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19.5 A mountain in the north 4 7

and clothing is presupposed: "Of how much more value are you than the birds!...How much more will he clothe you?" Are there then no hungry, no naked in the world? I cannot easily find a commentator who says so, but the passage can be taken seriously only if it is about the new life of the resurrection: it is in the coming kingdom that all are made to lie down at table and clothed more splendidly than Solomon , as Paul expects to be "clothed upon" (II Cor 5,4, see 1.58, III.143). So the Galilaean field in which the ravens are fed and the lilies clothed becomes transparent to a realm in which no human beings are in want.

19.5 A mountain in the north

Three Hebrew texts describe a mountain in the north where death is overcome; they also bring

in two other themes which below we treat separately, the realm without tears (in 19.6 below) and the jeweled realm (19.7). Isa 25,6-8, seemingly a fragment, speaks of "this mountain" but does not further define it: "And Yahweh of hosts will make

for all peoples on this mountain a feast of fat things...": •^at f nntf a n-rn -ina D^aym'?'? niio smm nöwi And it goes on, "He has swallowed up

death forever ,29 and Lord Yahweh will wipe away the tear from all faces,"

D^a-^ s ^ya nra nmm "»d'in nna-i *]

1

? ma n y"p3

Here only, in a phrase naturally much echoed in the New Testament, does the Hebrew Bible with full clarity define a victory over death.

Ugaritic Mot is also put to death, but the story is different:30

tihd bn ilm mt, bhrb tbq'nn, bhtr tdrynn, bist tsrpnn, brhm tthnn, bsd tdrc nn [cAnat] seizes the son of the gods Mot, with

a sword she cleaves him, with a fan winnows him, with fire burns him , with a mill grinds him, in the field sows him.

Here mysteriously Mot after being cleaved gets the full treatment applied to grain—apparently with the expectation of his rising again.

Milton {Par. Lost 3.250-253) in his highest vowel-harmony has Christ exploit the paradox:

29 The reading at I Kor 15,54, E;S "Death has been swallowed up in victory," not derived from the LXX, shows that the first verb was read as passive.

30 KTU 1.6.II.30-35; tr. ANET3 140b; UNP 136.

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But I shall rise Victorious, and subdue My Vanquisher,

spoiled of his vaunted spoil; Death his deaths wound shall then receive, & stoop Inglorious, of his mortal sting disarm'd.

Ez 28,11-19 is a lament over the fallen "king of Tyre" (perhaps the god Melqarth) which gives a Phoenician version of the myth of "Eden the garden of God": this garden has no trees but is instead a garden of jewels (19.7 below) and gold with which the king was "covered," and seems identical with the "holy mountain of God." Here is another mountain related to Tere and surely north of Israel which through its jewels partakes of eternity.

Isa 14,12-20 is another lament, this time more ironical, over fallen "Day Star son of Dawn" who said in his heart "I will go up to heaven, above the stars of El; I will set my throne on high and I will

sit on the mountain of assembly, on the flanks of Saphon

lias "Osts -Tina—ina aatoi I will go up

above the heights of the clouds, I will be like cElyon."

Hebrew "13S came to mean "north," but originally named Kasios the mountain of Ugarit (1.98-105); it is surely a mountain-name in this phrase, compare Isa 37,24 "p^1 ? "[DT "on the flanks of Lebanon."

Hebrew knows a divine assembly over which Yahweh presides:31 Ps 82,1 "Elohim has taken his place in the council of El (LXX); in the midst of the gods he holds judgment,"32

D^n^K nnga Perhaps ^rri?:i na j mn'1 ?« ta'aBh Kasios was the site where the gods assembled. To the extent that we can identify these three texts,

Hebrews knew, likely through their neighbors, of a divine mountain in the north where the gods assembled and death was overcome.

Likewise Greeks knew Olympus as a mountain to the north where the gods assembled. Its immutability is emphasized in the unique text Odyssey 6.42-46 . - , "...to

Olympus, where they say the seat of the gods is forever safe;

it is not shaken by winds or ever wet by rain, nor does snow approach it; but a cloudless aether is spread out, and a bright gleam runs over

31 See 11.54, 66, 98, 105.

32 In Ps 82 as rarely elsewhere the expected Yhwh is replaced by Elohim.

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it; in it the blessed gods rejoice all their days." The Greek was widely imitated. Lucretius 3.18-22 describes "quiet seats" untouched by wind, cloud or snow. Vergil builds phrases from Lucretius into his description of "Elysium" with a beautifully disparate pair of predicates (Aen.

6.639-640) *Largior hie campos aether et lamine uestit / purpureo*, "Here the aether that envelops the fields is broader and with a purple light." Tennyson applies it to "the island-valley of Avilion" in the *Morte d'Arthur* "Where falls not hail, or rain, or any snow"; and to the abode of the gods in

Lucretius, "Where never creeps a cloud, or moves a wind /...Nor sound of human sorrow mounts to mar / Their

sacred everlasting calm!" Elsewhere Olympus is more realistically described as snowy, ' (Hesiod *Theog.* 794, cf. *Iliad* 1.420 etc.). The Olympus of *Odyssey* 6 can only

be free of snow because it pierces above the realm of clouds (see *Isa* 14,14 above) into the immutable realm of aether.

19.6 The ends of the earth

"Ends of the earth" in Greek names, among other sites, the Islands of the Blessed, which first appear in Hesiod *Opera* 166-17333 in his account of the fourth race of heroes, "demigods" (160), including those who fought at Thebes "for the flocks of Oedipus" and at Troy over Helen.

‘, TOI , ‘ ‘ , , ‘ ‘ ,

bears .

There [at Thebes and Troy] the end of death covered some of them; but to others father Zeus son of Kronos gave a living and abodes apart from men, and established them at the ends of the earth. And they dwell there with a mind free from care in the Islands of the Blessed by Ocean with its deep currents, fortunate heroes, for whom the grain-giving earth bears honey-sweet crop, ripening three times a year.

33 Omitting the five verses ("173a-e" in West's numbering) following 173 in some papyri, of which the first ("173a") was formerly added from late sources as vs 169, here omitted.

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Their admission comes, it would seem, from their social status both in war and peace. We noted above (III.39) that the "Islands of the Blessed" probably once referred to a home of the gods; West however observes "But by Hesiod's time may have come to be understood of the fortunate pensioners." The "ends of the earth," is a more widely used description. It appears at the peculiar myth of Iliad 14.200-207 (= nearly 14.301-306); Hera goes there to reconcile Oceanus the ,

"origin of the gods" () and mother Tethys. (Here, in contradiction to Hesiod, Ocean and Earth are the origin of the gods.)³⁴

The Islands of the Blessed appear again in a long development in Pindar's second Olympian ode, vss 56-80, now strongly moralized.

The arrogant who die up here are immediately punished under earth (56-60). Others are rewarded

in two phases. In the first, with equal nights and days, in sunshine, the good () get a living without labor, neither farming nor seafaring, but "with those honored by the gods, all who rejoiced in keeping their word³⁵ live a life without tears , while the others have pain not to be dwelt on" (61-67)

...

, ' .

This stage is temporary and still subject to temptation. But those who have kept their soul () free from injustice for three times in both realms (, ie here and below) go the way of Zeus³⁶ () to the tower of Kronos [unknown]; "there ocean breezes blow around the Island of the Blessed" (); on land and sea trees bear gold for chaplets (68-74). There Rhadamanthys sits [as judge] beside the husband of Rhea [Kronos] along with Peleus, [Phoenician!] Kadmos and Achilles (75-80).

Here in the Island of the Blessed (now singular), along with the heroes also sit the Titan Kronos and demigod Rhadamanthys—perhaps the original "blessed" inhabitants. Already in the first

stage the heroes "live a tearless existence" () as in Isa 25,8. The Hebrew theme recurs at Ps 116,8-9 (cf. 56,14) "For you

3 4 At Odyssey 9.28 4 the formula is used in a local sense, "at the boundaries of your land" (Scheria). For the formula in Odyssey 4.56 3 (the Elysian fields) and in the Hymn to Aphrodite (5.227) see III.51 below.

3 5 Covenant keeping, like oath keeping, also brings permanent life. Ps 103,17-1 8 "But the steadfast love of Yahweh is from everlasting to everlasting...to those who keep his covenant."

36 Cf Jer 5,4 "the way of Yahweh," , LXX .

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have delivered my soul from death, my eye from tears, my foot from stumbling; I shall walk before Yahweh in the lands of the living": THi? nya-rip map ·2>'3]_ ^ ->3 ^ . 123 ",33l7r ^ «

The "land (or lands) of the living" (cf. Ps 27,13 and III.61) suggests at least an embryonic concept of a better realm where death is absent. Isa 25,8 is quoted (again not from the LXX) with reference to Jerusalem at Rev 7,17 (cf. 21,4) "And God will wipe away every tear from their eyes," eye of those Rev 21,4 adds a further reminiscence of Isa 25,8 "And death shall be no more"; Rev 7,17 adds "and he will lead them to fountains of waters of life," which suggests an echo of Isa 49,10 "and by springs of water he will guide them," and more distantly of Ps 23.

Both Hesiod and Pindar on the "Islands of the Blessed" are working on what Menelaus is told

(Odyssey 4.563-8) by truthful Egyptian Proteus, the Old Man of the Sea. Menelaus will not die

back in Argos:

'
, ' ; "
' ' , '
' .

But the Immortals will bring you to the Elysian Field and the ends of the earth, where is blond Rhadamanthys, where life is easiest for men; there is no snow, nor much winter, nor ever rain; but always Ocean sends up breezes of fresh-blowing Zephyrus to refresh men.

Here only the Elysian Field (the name unexplained) appears originally in Greek; what is said about it accords almost completely with the Islands of the Blessed. At Odyssey 4 only Menelaus is said worthy to go there (on the grounds of his being husband of Helen and thus son-in-law of Zeus, vs 569); but Hesiod and Pindar add other heroes, generally or by name.

In a reversal of the rape of Proserpina and Europa, Tithonus was carried off by Eos the Dawn; "he lived by the streams of Ocean at the ends of the earth" (Horn. Hymn to Aphrodite 5.227): ' .

At 1.111-112 we noted that Eos carrying off Tithonus appears in Attic vases as winged; and with Vermeule compared Ps 139,9 "Let me take the wings of the dawn, and dwell in the uttermost parts of the Sea": CP rrn.rTM? ^DB?«

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xtox

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LXX . It seems that Eos also has her dwelling, perhaps at the end of her day's course, near the Islands of the Blessed, for it is by Ocean at the ends of the earth. In contrast with the heroes of the Islands, those carried off find it bittersweet: for Tithonus has no choice in the matter, and eventually withers away; the Psalmist is trying to evade Yahweh but does not succeed. Still for better or worse we have a Hebrew parallel to the far-off abode by Ocean.

In Hebrew the girl of Canticles is herself identified with the whole gamut of fragrances (Cant 4,13-14; 1.91-97). In Greek all the sites are scented with Phoenician spices. Iliad 8.1, "Eos with her saffron gar-ment went out over all the earth,"

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Her peplos is either dyed or scented with saffron, as her croceum...cubile (Vergil, Georg. 1.447,1.71); and the abode of the Blessed is shady with líbanos. Pindar in a fragment of a Dirge³⁷ (cited 1.212, III.45) describes the surroundings and life of the heroic dead without here naming it.

Their happiness () is complete, their dwelling is in "meadows of purple roses, shaded with líbanos, hung with golden fruits"; and the whole place is fragrant from the incense of continual sacrifices. And in a nice agreement with Egyptian texts and monuments he defines the occupations of heroes in that better world.

Pindar goes on to say that of the dead below, "some delight in horses and games, some in checkers (), some in lyres." They are following the example of Penelope's suitors (shortly themselves to go below the earth) who "gladdened their hearts with checkers outside the gates" (Odyssey 1.107):

Vermeule³⁸ shows an Attic black-figured amphora with Aias and Achilles at a gaming-board, and another such board with winged daimons holding magic staffs. This is an Egyptian theme; on p. 77 she shows a painting from Thebes of the 19th Dynasty of one playing a board-game with "the Invisible Opponent." Plato says (Phaedrus 274C) that the Egyptian god Thoth "invented games of checkers and dice," .,- . A possible Near Eastern etymology

for , originally just "pebble," appears at Mark 15,24 Peshitto "and they threw lots for them," «03 "1 ?! ? 01 (namely, the soldiers for Jesus' garments), for . Mark cites the LXX of Ps 22,19 ^"lia -l^SP where 'Tlia was originally "pebble" (11.22). So "coun-

37 Pindar frag. 114 Bowra. 38 Vermeule pp. 80-81.

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ter, vote" was once "pebble."³⁹ meant both "knuckle- bones" and "dice."

So perhaps did although attested is only "cubical die."⁴⁰ Dice in various metaphors are constant in classical Greek poetry; see particularly Sophocles⁴¹ "the dice of Zeus always fall favorably" (no doubt for Zeus...):

yàp oi

Do the gods play games with us?⁴² (Einstein explicitly said that "God does not play dice with the universe.") The dice are attested as Egyptian by Herodotus 2.122, who says of his

mythical king Rhampsinitus that "he went down living to the place that the Hellenes believe to be Hades, and there played dice with Demeter; , -rr' .

Demeter here is surely Egyptian Isis.⁴³ Likewise Plutarch⁴⁴ has Hermes playing checkers with the Moon, M. Masson⁴⁵ compares Arabic *kac b(un)* which can mean both "knucklebone" and (with different plural) "die"; *ä^aSJ l al-ka'batu* is "the Kaaba, the cubical building" (Quran 5.95, 97).⁴⁶

³⁹ From comes very common Rabbinic OEPOB "stone, checker, mosaic cube."

⁴⁰ Caesar's "let the die be cast" is (Plutarch Caesar 32) using a familiar phrase appearing also at Menander frag. 59 Körte from the Arrephoros; see Suetonius Julius 32 *alea iacta est*.

⁴¹ Sophocles frag. 895 TrGF iv.574.

⁴² So Fitzgerald (Rubaiyat 49, 1st ed.), whether giving a Persian or British sentiment: "Tis all a Chequer-board of Nights and Days / Where Destiny with Men for Pieces plays, / Hither and thither moves, and mates, and slays, / And one by one back in the closet lays."

⁴³ There is a full commentary by Alan B. Lloyd, Herodotus Book II vol. iii (=EPROER 43); Leiden: Brill, 1988 pp. 56-57. In an Egyptian story the prince Setne Khmawes wins a magic book of immortality written by Thoth through playing checkers with the spirit of the dead Naneferkaptah; Miriam Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature: A Book of Readings*; Vol. III: The Late Period; Berkeley: Univ. of California, 1980; pp. 132-3.

⁴⁴ Plutarch de Iside et Osiride 12 = Mor. 355D.

⁴⁵ Michel Masson, "KUBOS: un mot grec d'origine sémitique?," *La linguistique* 22 (1986) 143-148.

⁴⁶ The word moved back from Greek into Rabbinic: "dice-playing" (or metaphorically "trickery," Eph 4,14) appears at Mishna Sanh. III.3 *ôInpa pntSDn* "one who plays at dice."

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Pindar in *Olympians* 2 (not so in *Frag.* 114 as we have it) strongly ethicalizes the version of the Islands in Hesiod and of the Elysian Field in the *Odyssey*. So even more fully Plato (*Gorgias* 523B) says that there was a law of Kronos, still existing among the gods: Whatever man passes his life in a just and holy manner

(...), when he dies he goes to the Isles of the Blessed and lives in all happiness (), free of ills; but the one who has lived unjustly and

godlessly () goes to the prison of punishment and justice which they call Tartarus.

Finally there is a possible agreement between Hebrew and Greek in a word defining the "islands" or "coastlands" of the Mediterranean.

Isa 41,5 shows that they are equivalent to the "ends of the earth":

"The coastlands have seen and are afraid, the ends of the earth (LXX) tremble." They are the "coastlands of the sea," Isa 24,15 D'H LXX "islands"

... We saw above (Iliad 8.1, III.52) that Eos with her saffron garment went out "over all the earth," '. It is the "life-bearing⁴⁷ earth" (ala Iliad 3.243 = Odyssey 11.301) that holds the bodies of the dead. Like and yfj, ala

means "the whole earth" and never comes in the plural; if it did, * would be a very close parallel to the construct plural iyey. As the actual words exist, a connection between them is speculative but enticing.

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Among the Hebrew versions of the mountain of the north, we discussed (111.48 above) Ez 28,12-19, the lament over the "king of Tyre" who was in "Eden, the garden of God" (vs 13) , or as it seems alternatively "on the holy mountain of God." Its distinctive feature is the nine precious stones with which the king is "covered," perhaps identified.

Two of the stones, jasper and sapphire (1.87-90, 332), have certain equivalents in Greek, and a third, £3, a highly probable one in emerald (1.18, 122, 332; 11.293). It is characteristic of Hebrew thought that its equivalent is demythologized and attached to the priesthood.

The whole list also appears in the High Priest's breastplate (Ex 28,17-

20) plus three new items in row three. Gilgamesh in Tablet IX of his epic appears to have entered a garden of jewels.⁴⁸ We saw in our

4 7 For the ambiguity of see 11.38. 4 8 ANET3 89b.

19.7 The jeweled world

19.8 The garden with four rivers

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discussion (1.87-90) that two of the jewels, jasper and emerald, also appear as the geological formation of Plato's true Earth (Phaedo 11 OD), of which our jewels down here below are only rubble. Also precisely the three stones of the Phaedo, jasper and sard and emerald, appear in the throne at Rev 4,3.

Here we only need to summarize that the importation of the jewels to Greece, with their Oriental names, also brought the idea of the better world of which the precious stones are the infrastructure. In Ezekiel 28 that world is on a mountain and is called "Eden," the garden of God; here we have a unique Phoenician parallel to Hebrew myth. The relation of the "king of Tyre" to that garden and mountain is mysterious but deep. The myth of the Phaedo has further contacts with Hebrew thought. Plato says that humanity lives around the Sea "like ants or frogs around a marsh" (Phaedo 110C); Isa 40,22 that God "sits on the circle of the earth, and its inhabitants are like grasshoppers"

(1.88, 110). Plato (109E) imagines that one "might become winged and fly" () above our earth like the Psalmist taking the "wings of Dawn" (III.51 above). And he insists again and again on the pleasure of viewing that earth, it is "a delight for the blessed viewers" (11) like the garden of Eden

or delight (Ez 28,13, Vg in deliciis paradisi Dei).

19.8 The garden with four rivers

Calypso's island Ogygia (Odyssey 1.85) is "far-off" (' 5.55) from Olympus, therefore somewhere in the West along with the Islands of the Blessed. While she, unlike Eos, is sedentary, Odysseus' situation is much like that

of Tithonus. In its symmetry her garden has a Near Eastern pattern (briefly discussed at 1.140-141).

Beside her cave surrounded with trees "four springs nearby flowed with shining water, next to each other, but each one turned in a different direction" (Odyssey 5.70-71):

' ,

other.

Calypso has no need to bother with gardening, for the water streams a wild vine with grape clusters right by her cave (5.68). For Mediterranean peoples, who on the whole preferred fruit to vegetables, "gar-dens" were closer to what we would call orchards. In the big

orchard of Alcinous in Scheria (Odyssey 7.112, unrelated to English orchard) were "pear-trees and pomegranates and apple trees with fine fruit and sweet figtrees and flourishing olives" (Odyssey 7.115-116,

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11.11). Beside these were vineyards. (But the of 7.127 are surely vegetables.) Although the Phaeacians in most respects are quite human, apart from not being given to war, the trees are half magical, for (7.117) "their fruit is never spoiled or lacking" winter or summer.

Calypso's garden island is nicely paralleled by the Garden of Eden with its four rivers and fruit trees. From Roman sources we saw evidence (1.158) that Eden was envisioned as a mountain, and that it too was surrounded with a vine, just as Milton imagined it. Odysseus has to admit that mortal Penelope, while circumspect (5.216-8), is inferior to the immortal and undying Calypso. Still he is homesick, and finally the goddess, urged on by Hermes, helps him go away. But only the domesticity he has known makes him dissatisfied. Even less does Adam (one should think) have any cause for discontent, with a lovely consort at his side: Adam the best man of men since born His Sons, the fairest of her daughters Eve. (Par. Lost 4.323-4)

Still as events turn out he also must leave, in his case along with Eve, now a mere mortal Penelope.

Further, Calypso's has a distant linguistic connection with Eden, which was planted (Gen 2:8), more likely "in the east" (LXX), though some connotation of "in ancient times"

(Vg in principio) cannot be ruled out (III.126). The two words have complex associations through Thebes. 49 Ancient and modern commentators on the Odyssey are uncertain whether is a name or an adjective, and if the latter, what it means. In either case it must bear some relationship to the ancient figure "Qyuyos, known to Pausanias 9.5.1 as autochthonous founder of Boeotian Thebes. But elsewhere the founder of Thebes is Kadmos () the Tyrian who came to Greece in search of his sister Europa (Herodotus 2.49.3, 4.147.4) and he is surely connected with the " sons of the east" of Gen 29,1 etc. (discussion at 1.37) . (4.385 etc.); compare the people "iOljSn Gen 15,19.

Herodotus 5.58-59 relates that the Phoenicians who came with Kadmos also brought the alphabet, ... or . Sophocles (OR 1, 1.37) suggests that "Kadmos" meant "ancient." If "Kadmos" were once known as a descriptive adjective, "Easterner" or "ancient one" or both, the true name of the founder of Thebes in legend might have been

Ogygos, so that Pausanias would be reconciled with the rest

Chapter 19: Blessedness in Better Lands

49 For bibliography on Ogygos and allied words see 11.188.

19.9 The starry robe of the cosmos

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of Greek tradition.⁵⁰ And Agag (aiR), perhaps one of the Di g "»jia (1.3 7 note 149), might carry the same name, with its initial vowel reduced as in Phoenician.

19.9 The starry robe of the cosmos

In a final symbol of eternity, garments take on the starry attributes of the cosmos, immutable (or nearly so); and the cosmos conversely is seen as a garment. Aaron's tunic (Ex 28,4 etc. 3, LXX) is barely described in the Pentateuch; Josephus (AJ 3.161, 1.208) calls it one-piece; in Alexandrian Judaism it has become a robe depicting the universe. Philo⁵¹ says that to Aaron "it

has been granted to wear a tunic that is a replica of the entire heavens," . So Sap Sol 18,24 "on his long garment was the whole cosmos," èiri yàp ò .⁵² Such a robe is attested for rulers. Demetrius Poliorcetes (Plutarch Dem. 41.4) had a cloak (), "the likeness of the world and the heavenly bodies," ' . Nero, to celebrate his Olympic victories, rode in Augustus' chariot (Suetonius Nero 25.1) in ueste purpurea distinctaque stellis aureis chlamyde "in a purple garment and a cloak picked out with golden stars." A relief of Mithras from Rome⁵³ shows the deity wearing a cloak with seven stars, no doubt for the sun, moon and planets; another such was found in the Mithraeum of Phoenician Sidon, now in the Louvre.⁵⁴ Robert Eisler⁵⁵ shows how the starry robes of Holy Roman Emperors, still extant, came down from classical Rome.

The shield on which Hephaistos beats out the whole universe (Iliad 18) once was the universe, as the God of Genesis beats out the "firma-ment" (irpT) as a metal dome; both reflect the then

current state of

50 Egyptian Thebes was also called "Ogygian" as if also founded by Ogygos (Aeschylus Persae 37). The connection between the two cities of Thebes remains mysterious.

51 Philo de somn. 1.215 (LCL v.412) and similarly elsewhere.

52 See the commentary in David Winston, *The Wisdom of Solomon*; The Anchor Bible; Garden City: Doubleday, 1979; 321-322.

53 LIMC vi.2.338, Mithras no. 132.

54 Illustrated in the excellent work of my student Nina Jidejian, *Sidon through the Ages*; Beirut: Dar el-Machreq, 1971; no. 208.

55 Robert Eisler, *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt: Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen*

zur Urgeschichte des antiken Weltbildes; 2 vols.; Munich: Beck, 1910.

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bronze technology (1.109). We saw how the allegorist Heraclitus sees the poet (or god) as "hammering out in bronze Achilles' shield as an image of the cosmic totality." So heaven and earth are naturally seen as woven, even though as other clothes "they will all wear out like a garment" (Ps 102,27):

far -33 D"v01

For it is Yahweh (Isa 40,22; cf Ps 104,2) "who stretches out the heavens like a curtain, and spreads them like a tent to dwell in": »' p'-ii? ncDian

natf1 ?

Zas (Zeus) marries Chthonie (Earth) and on the third day of the wedding "Zas fashions a robe both big and beautiful, and on it he embroiders Earth and Ogenos (Ocean)..."

Clement of Alexandria,⁵⁷ who quotes Pherecydes to illustrate Greek plagiarism, compares Iliad 18.483 "And on the shield (Hephaistos) made earth, sky and sea"

' , .

Goethe's Erdgeist describes its activity (Faust 1.508-509): "So I work at the roaring loom of time and create the living garment of the divinity,"

So schaff' ich am sausenden Webstuhl der Zeit Und wirke der
Gottheit lebendiges Kleid.

In an autobiographical painting, the Spanish symbolist Remedios Varo shows a roomful of identical blond girls in a tower weaving the landscape of the spherical earth, *Bordando el manto terrestre* (1961).⁵⁸ The veil of the second Temple at Jerusalem has Greek parallels

both in its making and its unmaking. Josephus (BJ 5.212-214) describes the colors of the veil () and says that it depicted everything in the sky except the Zodiac. Mishna Sbeqalim VIII.5 in one reading says that it was woven by 82 young girls. Lieberman⁵⁹ cites other Rabbinic texts to the same effect and compares the girls who wove the Peplos of Athena, between 7 and 11 years old.⁶⁰ He regards the parallel

⁵⁶ FVS8 i.48; see the new edition of the fragments with copious commentary, Hermann S. Schibli, *Pherekydes of Syros*; Oxford: Clarendon, 1990; esp. frag. 68 (pp. 165-7) and the text, pp. 51-61.

⁵⁷ *Stromateis* 6.2.94, ii.429 ed. Stählin-Früchtel³ (GCS 52[15]).

⁵⁸ Edouard Jaguer, Remedios Varo, tr. [from French to Spanish] by José Emilio Pacheco; Mexico City: Editions Era, 1980; pp. 32-33.

⁵⁹ Saul Lieberman, *Hellenism in Jewish Palestine* 167-9.

⁶⁰ *Etymologium Magnum* 149.19; he cites further Frazer on Pausanias 2.574 & 3.592.

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There is a beautiful parallel in a fragment of Pherecydes, the early Greek mythographer.⁵⁶

19.10 Conditions for entrance ⁵⁹

as arising, not from historical connection, but from the need to have the weaving done by girls under the age of puberty so that the work would not be defiled by their menstruation.

The veil of the Temple long before the catastrophe of AD 70 had a checkered history. Matthew (27,51) affirms that at the death of Jesus the veil () was rent from top to bottom. In 169 BC an earlier veil (also), perhaps already with the constellations on it, was confiscated

by Antiochus IV (I Makk 1,22) of Syria. But now Pausanias 5.12.4 says that "Antiochus" dedicated for the temple of Zeus at Olympia "a woolen veil, ornamented with Assyrian embroideries and with a dye of purple of the Phoenicians," . It is tempting to think that the Jerusalem veil ended up at Olympia. Pelletier⁶¹ regards the Antiochus of Pausanias as Antiochus III; and observes that, even if Pausanias meant Antiochus IV Epiphanes, he plundered other temples, so that the veil of Olympia cannot be proved the Jerusalem one. But in fact no other such veil is attested.

19.10 Conditions for entrance

Who may enter the better world? Among the Greeks, as time went on, the criterion shifted, as we saw, from military heroes to the morally just. In Israel, the question of Ps 15,1 (cf. Isa 33,14-16) "Yahweh, who shall sojourn in your tent? Who shall dwell on your holy hill?," never has a ritual answer, but from the beginning an ethical one, "He who walks blamelessly, and does what is right..." We may think

of the question as introducing a little moral catechism or "entrance liturgy"

(11.263, 280). The Psalms further hint that such a one will escape death. Ps 16,10-11 "For thou dost not give up my life to Sheol, or let thy pious one see the Pit. Thou dost show me the path of life; in thy presence there is fullness of joy; in thy right hand are pleasures for evermore." Ps 49,14-16 "Death shall be the shepherd" (DIJT) of the foolish; "But God will ransom my life from the hand of Sheol; he will surely rescue me."

Weinfeld⁶² compares these texts from the Psalms specifying who may enter the Temple to Demotic texts on the doorposts and lintels of

61 André Pelletier sj, "Le 'voile' du temple de Jérusalem est-il devenu la 'portière' du temple d'Olympie?," Syria 32 (1955) 289-307.

62 Moshe Weinfeld, "Instructions for Temple Visitors in the Bible and in Ancient Egypt," Scripta Hierosolymitana 28, Egyptological Studies; Jerusalem: Magnes, 1982; 224-250.

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Egyptian temples in the Hellenistic period. He points further to nice Greek parallels. A stone from

Delos of the Roman period⁶³ records that some party has reengraved from a broken stele the notice regarding entrance into the temple of Zeus Kynthios and

Athena Kynthia, [namely] with pure hands and soul, wearing white cloth-ing, barefoot, having sacredly abstained from a woman and meat; and not to carry in...nor a key, nor an iron ring, nor a belt, nor a purse, nor military

weapons...

□ □ □ □'□ □, □ □ □

□...□, , , , ...

There is a superficial parallel where Jesus tells his followers "not to carry purse or bag or shoes" (Luke 10:4) Mark 6,8 permits a but no copper in it (they and Matthew differ in other respects as well). Here the motive is not purity for a temple but voluntary poverty for the road. But there is a deep substantive parallel in Ps 24,3-4: itf-ip nipp? mppo-i

nirv" in: i n'rip-'O an^-aì'

ma ? •'pj "Who shall

ascend the hill of Yahweh? and who shall stand in his holy place? One clean of hands and pure of

heart..." With the LXX we may compare in the Delos text □ □. Does this represent influence of Hellenistic Judaism on the Greek

world ?

Mitchell Dahood in his bold reworking of the Psalms⁶⁴ sees "resurrection and immortality" affirmed in many more passages.⁶⁵ He further claims what he calls the "mythological motif of the Elysian Fields" in several others, though without any discussion of Greek texts. He translates Ps 5,9 ^nplis? "Orillead me into your meadow" by arbitrarily giving nplS a second meaning.⁶⁶ More plausible is his new Hebrew

63 Sokolowski, LSCG Sup 59 = Inscriptions de Délos 2529. See further other inscriptions there cited.

64 Mitchell Dahood, SJ, Psalms; Anchor Bible; 3 vols.; Garden City: Doubleday, 1966-1970.

65 Dahood vol. I. p. xxxvi, citing further Pss 5,9; 11,7; 17,15; 21,7; 27,13; 36,9- 10; 37,37-38; 41,13; 61,14; 73,23-24.

66 Two pieces of evidence, both shaky, (a) Dahood translates Ps 23,3 "Onr "he will lead me into luxuriant pastures" by assuming it parallel to vs 2, though

remote, "^ . Bf?! nitm. He notes that at Ps 65:12-

19.1 1 The separable soul and its image, the pearl 61

word "TIN "meadow" (interpreted, as he sees it, in the MT as "light") on the basis of three pieces of evidence.⁶⁷ (a) In view of Ps 116,9 (111.51 above) which he translates "I shall walk before Yahweh in the Fields of Life":

•^ann ni^anKa mrp ^a1? he reads Ps 56,14 "That I might walk before God in the field of life":

tr;rin im D,n"?R ^a1? 1?

where some MSS of the LXX for "ÎK3. have . (b) By repointing the obscure Ps 97,11

MT inj "liK he translates "A sown field." (c) At Gen 11,28 etc. •";103 -|W3S" in Ur of the Chaldaeans" in the LXX is . Hence he translates Ps 36,10 '] ^" "in your

field

we shall see the light," assuming word-play.

Without such reconstruction a comparable meaning (we saw) can be obtained from a smaller number of Psalms, even though on a minimal reading Sheol or death can mostly be made a metaphor of the ills of this life. The natural interpretation however is a dawning conviction, cautiously phrased, that God's care for the just extends also beyond death. So Plato admits (Gorgias 523A) that his thought may be felt as a myth (), although he regards it as a true account ().

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Greeks, who agreed with Hebrews that something, however unsatisfactory, survived the death of the body, called it the soul, . The psyche of the dead in art are tiny winged

men; they can be weighed against each other as in Egypt.⁶⁸ At Iliad 22.209 Zeus weighs

the fates of Achilles and Hector. See further evidence from Greek and Hebrew for the international spread of just weights (11.46). It would be tempting to discuss here Bernal's

proposal⁶⁹ to derive "personification of Death" from Egyptian k3 "a particular aspect of the soul"; but I am incompetent to deal with either the phonetic or the semantic side of the Egyptian. The original sense of the Greek is not obvious; Homeric can be just "death"; Achilles accuses Agamemnon of cowardice (Iliad

13 ^ail O is parallel to niN3. (b) In his comment on Ps 5,9 (vol. i.34) he rearranges Ps 143,10-11 to run parallel "With your good spirit lead me into the level land ("littf^O for your name's sake , O Yahweh, grant me life in your meadow (^njjisaj." But when he comes to Ps 143 (vol. iii.322) he tacitly abandons this proposal.

67 Dahood 1.222-223.

68 Vermeule pp. 9, 76, 161-2.

69 Communication of January 1996.

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1.228) "for all that [fighting] seems to you to be death," .

Plato makes the soul the most valuable part of us, locked up in the body as in a prison (Phaedrus 250C, Phaedo 81E, 82E); to have entered this world at all, something in us must have died, and "the body is our grave" (Gorgias 493). Greek texts cited at 1.207 make the body the tunic () of the soul; at III. 15 we saw that Hillel and Hadrian make the soul a guest in the body.

There is a metaphorical name for the "soul" in the later period with an unquestionable correspondence between Greek and Semitic: the name of the "pearl," known since Theophrastus de lap. 36, appears to be a loan from some unknown Oriental language, perhaps of the Indian subcontinent. Frisk ii.174 thinks it may have come through Iranian, citing Middle Persian *marvarit*. Quran 55.58 *alyäqütü walmarjānu* ج,/^Jîj v^i'LJÎ is probably "jacinth (

Rev 21,20) and pearl." It is borrowed in Latin as fem. *margarita* (Cicero Verr. 4.1), also as neuter, Tacitus Agrie. 12.6 *gignit et Oceanus margarita* "also the Atlantic generates pearls." Augustus called *Mae-cenas* his Tiberinum *margaritum* "pearl from the Tiber" (Macrobius Sat. 2.4.12, cited 1.89). In Rabbinic, Mishna Kelim XI.8 *m^na* plural.

At Rev 21,21 each gate of New Jerusalem is a single pearl.

Roman trade usages of the pearl went directly into Rabbinic.

Scaevola (Digest 35.2.26) speaks of a *lineam margaritorum triginta quinque* "a string of 35 pearls." Cant. Rabbab on 1.10 "The 70 members of the Sanhedrin were strung after [Moses and Aaron] like a tOJ!1 ^. Perhaps 35 pearls was standard string of pearls," nr^aiü so that the Sanhedrin was

seen as a double strand.

The ancients of course knew that the pearl was an animal product, so that it is particularly appropriate for something living. Thus Jer.

Talm. Kilaim 32c47, one dying outside Israel says "I am about to lose my pearl [evidently 'my life'] in the midst of an unclean land":

' -ai o KDK A trader at Ex. Rabbah 30.24, hearing of bandits (D1 tûOl ? =) ahead, exchanges his wares

(OtaöplH =) for jewels and pearls ('). He tells the bandits they are worthless and is let go, but later in the city he opens his cases (mKQpOl'PJ = Joh 12,670) and they find him selling the pearls for gold.

Above all the pearl appears in Matthew's tiny parable (13,45-46) of the trader who finds one precious pearl (, Syriac ,

70 Here the Peshito transliterates NQpDl^a.

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Palestinian Syriac " ^llö) and "went and sold all that he had and bought it":

what he had

Peshito Syriac: 33 1? KO pr ^m The parable has

extensive afterlife in unexpected places. A Rabbinic story (Bab. Talm. Shabb. 119a) seems like a parody, with the pearl buyer coming to a bad end: Joseph who kept the Sabbath has a rich Gentile neighbor.

Chal-daeans (""73) tell the neighbor that Joseph will consume his property. "He went and sold all his property and bought a pearl with it": im pr "«od^ iritis'? inm r ^m He hides it in his turban, but the wind over a bridge blows it off, a fish

swallows it, and Joseph buys the fish on the eve of

Sabbath.

For the Aramaic here is almost identical with the Syriac of Matt 13,46 above. Note the folk-motif (1.304) of the valuable object found in the fish: the stater which Peter is to find

in the fish's mouth (Matt 17,27); Polycrates' ring (Herodotus 3.41) which it is impossible for the owner to get rid of, like any ineluctable destiny. In the Rabbinic story it is impossible for the owner to keep it.

The Syriac church Father Ephrem (111.141 below) has five enigmatic hymns On the Pearl.⁷¹ The significance of all these pearls is spelled out in the beautiful Hymn of the Pearl from the Acts of Thomas, the crown of Syriac literature.⁷² The speaker was brought up "in my kingdom, in my Father's house" in the East in luxury. But he is stripped of his "purple toga" (Wimm 1 Mlû1? vs 10) and told to go to Egypt and bring back "the one

pearl () which is in the midst of the sea, near the loud-breathing serpent. " He goes to Egypt but forgets his mission until a living letter in the form of an eagle arrives from his Father, the King of Kings, reminding him of his duty. He charms the serpent by the names of his Father and Mother, takes the pearl, strips off his unclean dress, and returns to the East, where his living toga, a double of himself, comes to meet him.

The hero's "purple toga" is either a supplement or a Semitic parallel to his jeweled robe; compare Livy 34.7.2 *praetextis purpura togis* "togas bordered with purple." One or both is quasi-animate and acts

71 Nos. 81-85 of his Hymns de Fide (against the Arians), ed. Edmund Beck, CSCO 154-5 (= *Scriptores Syri* 73-74) Louvain 1955.

72 Syriac text edited by AA Bevan, *The Hymn of the Soul*, Texts and Studies V.3; Cambridge: University, 1897. The Greek text appears in a single MS of the Acts, ed. Maximilianus Bonnet, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, Vol. II.2; Repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1959; *Acta Thomae* 108-113, pp. 219-224.

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as a double of himself, a Zoroastrian motif. Dion. Hal. 3.61.1 says that Romans call embroidered purple robes like those of the kings of Lydia and Persia; Strabo 3.2.15 refers to "those wearing the toga" in Spain. A Byzantine chronicler of AD 419 describes an assassination by sword in which the victim's "cloak and toga were pierced,"⁷³ . The Rabbis disapproved of going out in a toga (Nata) since such was worn by idolaters (Sifre Deut. 81, cf. 234). 7 4 The descriptions of the robe echo what Ammianus Marcellinus

23.6.84 (see 1.59) says of Sasanid dress, *indumentis... lumine colorum fulgentibus vario* "clothes shining with variegated light of colors" and ornamented with pearls. The Hymn's use of toga makes a Roman comparison; for the special garment is a token of a rightful place in the Kingdom of the Father, as the toga was the badge of Roman citizenship and emblem of peace: *cédant arma togae* said Cicero in his poem on his consulate (*de off.* 1.77), "let arms yield to the toga" (1.58).

The theme of the merchant in Matthew appears here in that the hero (vs 18) passes the borders of Mesene (""), "the meeting-place of the merchants of the East," " Mlū . For

the caravan terminus Mesene see Excursus H. There is surely a Gnostic element in that his unclean dress must be his human body; but no other Gnostic text has the poetry of this one. The figure of the hero himself waves between representing Christ coming to earth and Everyman, forgetful of his divine upbringing and mission until he is reminded by revelation. In either case the pearl is the soul, either of all humanity or of the individual.

Heinz Kruse⁷⁵ compares the Syriac Hymn of the Pearl (which he prints in full in transcription) both with Matthew's tiny parable of the Pearl and with Luke's favorite parable of the Prodigal Son. He proposes that the Hymn is an intermediate stage between the Gospel parables and

the verse parable in the fourth chapter of the Buddhist Sanskrit Lotus Sutra (*Saddharma-pundarika-sūtra*), which he also prints in transcription with translation. It has strongly influenced Japanese Buddhism, which entitles it *myōhō-renge-kyō* (11.166). Here is an instance where it is plausible to maintain that Christianity has influenced the living development of Buddhism.

73 *Chronicon Paschale* 310 74 Translated by , PG 92.792A.

H. Bietenhard, *Sifre Deuteronomium; Judaica et Christiana* Bd 8; Bern etc.: Lang, 1984, pp. 258 553.

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7 5 Heinz Kruse, "The Return of the Prodigal: Fortunes of a Parable on its Way to the Far East," *Orientalia* 47 (1978)

163-214; reprint kindly sent me by the author.

Excursus H: Mesene and the caravan trade

The hero of the Hymn of the Pearl (III.63, vs 18)¹ says "I passed the borders of Mayshan, the meeting place of the merchants of the East":

na m «ms IEPB •'Binn muy 5 , .

The true Greek (not known to the translator) is Mesene, (Dio 68.28.4, who calls it an island), properly a district rather than a city, the terminus of the caravan route from Palmyra on the Persian Gulf.

Numerous bilingual Greco-Palmyrene honorific inscriptions from the agora of Palmyra describe the caravan trade and its entrepreneurs.

Several items of its vocabulary fall under the lingua franca of the Roman period. They are here set within what we know about the history of Mesene. In particular I reprint a remarkable Greek-Parthian bilingual (the Parthian mostly in Aramaic ideograms) from Seleucia of Tigris on a bronze statue of a divinity, Heracles-Verethragna.

A Palmyrene bilingual of AD 135 (PAT 1397) honored "Julius

Maximus, centurion of Legion

—" 2

«ira1? «na p obodb o-'1?!.'

It was set up by Marcus Ulpius Abgar and the "sons of the caravan" ("): Palmyrene, "which came up with him from Charax of Mayshan":

iura -pi) la nay np'po Greek, "those from Spasinou Charax," oi . No-where in the Greek side of the Palmyrene bilinguals does appear.

In an inscription of AD 140 to an unknown honoree (PAT 1412)³ the

1 Greek version 109.

2 Legionary number omitted by the Palmyrene; the Greek of this line is lacking.

3 Other Palmyrene text treating Vologaisa are PAT 01970279; and along new, b0il2in6g2ua, ledite dbyHJW

Drivers, "Greek and Aramaic in Palmyrene Inscriptions," pp. 31-42 of MJ Geller et alii (eds.), *Studia Aramaica: New Sources and New Approaches*; Journal of Semitic Studies Supplement 4; Oxford Univ. Press, 1995.

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caravan has come up (Palmyrene) "from Charax of Mayshan to Vologaisia and Tadmor"; (Greek) "from Charax to Palmyra <and> Volo-gaisia":

-iia-mⁱ{opa1TM1?i[^] o [-]a [-]0 <>

association

Vologaisia (Vologesocerta Pliny 6.122) was the foundation of Vologases I of Parthia (ab. AD 51-79)⁴ near ancient Babylon; the Palmyrene has the logical order, since the caravan stopped off at Vologaisia en route to Palmyra. Already we have several items of the caravan vocabulary, and I briefly treat them before going on with the history of Mesene / Charax Spasinou.

"Merchants." From the Hymn of the Pearl 18 (above) we saw that Syriac 3 corresponds to "merchants." Likewise Matt 13,45 the "trader () seeking goodly pearls" comes out in the Syriac 3. The place of trade, Matt 22,5 or Joh 2,16 went into Latin as emporium and Rabbinic as ".5 The Aramaic is a loan from Akkadian tamkaru "merchant." Also in Rabbinic 3; thus Bab. Talm. BM 40b

Hp"1« man -pan par

"If one buys and sells [at the same price], can you call such a one a trader?" The Targum Pseudo-Jonathan to Gen 25,3 gives both words as simple equivalents, " "pian. Likewise in the Palmyrene bilinguals the two words correspond. Thus an honorary inscription of AD 161 for a bouleutes of Syrian Antioch (PAT 1373, see 11.107) is set up by "the merchants who came up from (Greek adds Spasinou)

Charax":

oi crrrò . 3 ·?0 "3

Thus in several Aramaic dialects (Rabbinic, Palmyrene, Syriac) the word "merchant" Kian (itself a loan from Akkadian) has a fixed Greek equivalent .6 "Caravan." In the Palmyrene inscriptions the caravan is

called ® = synodria. Thus an honorary inscription of AD 159 to M. Ulpius Yarhai (PAT 1409)⁷ is set up by "the caravan which came up from Spasinou Charax":

4 NC Debevoise, A Political History of Parthia; Chicago: University, 1938 , p. 204.

5 The transliteration (eg Mishna M II.l) was interpreted "there is no mark of ownership here" and transferred to mean "brand new."

6 From the nature of the Nabataean texts it does not appear in them.

7 Here only and at PAT 027 4 does W030K appear in Palmyrene Aramaic.

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R3030R -pD ^ 0 (I find no obvious West-Semitic etymology for >.) The "chief of a caravan" ® (or

PAT 1373) becomes in Greek (PAT 0294) 8 and also elsewhere (PAT 0282). Now we can see that at Luk 2,44 Jesus' parents thought he was "in the caravan," | (where Vg in comitatu does not quite capture the Near Eastern flavor). 9 (At Gen 37,25 "caravan" is '.) At Arrian Epict. 4.1.91 a cautious traveler on a road infested with bandits () waits for the "caravan of a legate or...proconsul,"

An enigmatic inscription from Rome (CIL I2.2519)¹⁰ speaks of a magister... synhodi societatis cantorum Graecorum "master

of the synod of the society of Greek singers"; the "synod" is a gathering of a religious or social organization, has its ecclesiastical sense at least since Dionysius

of Alexandria (mid-3rd century), (cited by Eusebius HE 7.5.5) "in the largest synods of bishops." The Greek went once into Rabbinic in a text¹¹ quoted by Léxica, "I and my angels were thy escort":

•fiv lon^o irewj OR^OI The

"palisade. " The city Charax was originally, before silting from the two great rivers

stranded it inland, on the coast of the Persian Gulf NE of what is now Kuwait. Pliny 6.139 on Charax describes how its first independent ruler Spaosines (in his spelling), king ab. 140-120 BC, protected it against the flooding Tigris and Euphrates with a palisade, oppositis molibus; hence (Josephus AJ 20.22). , originally "sharpened stake," is classical for "palisade, fortified camp."

This must be the origin of Aramaic "fortified city," whose attestation is all comparatively late (cf. SIE 246); so Joh 11,54 Pesh RDH3 for ; Nabataean of Petra (CIS 2.350)¹² RDHD "wall" of a tomb; and Targumic and Rabbinic. In Hebrew at Mishna Meg. 1.1

8 Greek broken, but word intact in PAT 0262. 9 Syriac "1? "their company."

10 In a text with earlier spelling from the same stone the synod comes out SVNHODO.

11 Yelammedenu on Num III.40 as quoted by Krauss 39 0 and Jastrow from the lexicon Aruch; but in the text printed by H. Bietenhard, Midrasch Tanhuma B: R. Tanhuma über die Tora, genannt Midrasch Jellammedenu; Judaica et Christiana Bd 6; Bern etc.: Lange, 1984, p. 214 it comes out "I and the angels were thy advocate (')," ie . ,

12 This etymology would be excluded if the word really appeared in the Aramaic at Cowley 26. 3 etc. of Elephantine; but in fact (1.31). must rather be "Carians"

.. Anthypatou

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noin -papión psiD "cities encircled by a wall." It is familiar in Arabo-French from the great Syrian

Crusader fortress Krak des Chevaliers.

The city and its district had a romantic history for five centuries.

Some continuity is provided by the coins, as analyzed by Nodelman¹³ and his successors, but their witness remains problematic; a recent discovery has thrown much new light on it. It was founded by Alexander as one more Alexandria (Pliny 6.138). Hypsaosines, originally satrap of Antiochus IV,¹⁴ became its king and struck his own tetra-drachms; he is known from late Babylonian cuneiform texts.¹⁵ His name appears at Delos: in 179 BC there was a lion's head "the gift of Hypsasines the Bactrian, son of Mithroaxes"¹⁶ as well as a relief of an Hyrcanian dog ¹⁷. Pliny calls the king Spasosines Sagdonaci filius with considerable textual variation; if this were misunderstanding of a Greek original "Spasines the Sogdian," the Delian dedications could be the king's very own and Mithroaxes his father.¹⁸ Bellinger¹⁹ by a series of conjectures thinks that he was through his mother the grandson of Euthydemus king of Bactria.

At Charax Spasinou, Izates of Adiabene, welcomed by king Aben-nerigos (, Josephus AJ 20.22-34), surely cAbd-nergai (I) "slave of Nergal" (reigning ab. AD 10-13, 22-36 according to Nodelman 121), was converted to

Judaism by a traveling merchant. There was an ongoing Jewish community there. The Talmud (Bab. Talm.).

Qidd. 72b) felt that the priests of "BPO were "not scrupulous about divorced women."²⁰ The grave of a Jewish woman from Mayshan,

13 Sheldon Arthur Nodelman, "A Preliminary History of Characene," *Berytus* 13 (1960) 83-121.

14 Pliny 6.138 Antiochus quintus counting differently.

15 TG Pinches & Terrien de Lacouperie, "A Babylonian Tablet...", *The Babylonian and Oriental Record* 4 (1889/1890) 131-144. Pinches also knew a further Akkadian text of Hypsaosines still unpublished; see his *The Old Testament in the Light of the Historical Records and Legends of Assyria and Babylonia*; London: SPCK, 1903, p. 483.

16 *Inscriptions de Délos* 442..109; same information at 443.Bb.33 the next year.

17 *Ibid.* 1432.Aa.II.27, prob. 153/2 BC.

18 For Hypsaosines died at the age of 85 ([Lucían] *Makrobioi* 16), and if with Nodelman we place his death at 120 BC, he was born in 205 and would have been an ambitious young man of 26 in 179.

19 AR Bellinger, "Hypsaosines of Charax," *Yale Classical Studies* 8 (1942) 53-67.

20 Elsewhere those of Mesene are impudent (Qidd. 49b, Yeb. 17a), and Babylonian traders traveled there regularly (Baba Qamma 97b).

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"Sarah known as Maxima," was found at Beth-Shearim in Palestine (CIJ ii.1124), . An inscription from Hatra of the 1st/2nd century CE (KAI 247) may refer to trade with Mayshan,]t»03.

The *Periplus Maris Erythraei* 35 mentions its port "Apologos" (Hel-lenizing of a local name);²¹ Isidoros the historian of Parthia was a native of Charax. In AD 116 Trajan, after taking Ctesiphon, traveled to the Gulf, was welcomed by Athambelos (V) () of Spasinou

the Parthian text here is at the mid-point of evolution, where most of the text is in Aramaic ideograms but the Iranian sub-structure is plain. I print it in square Aramaic characters. One item that betrays the underlying text as

" I , ,
 , ,
 ,

2 2 Gustav Flügel, Mani, seine Lehre und seine Schriften...Aus dem Fihrist des Abû'lfaradsch

Brockhaus, 1862; p. 83.

Sumer 43 (1984) 219-234; texts edited by Fabrizio A.

Mesopotamia 2 2 (1987) 169-185; I have not seen the long study by Paul Bernard, "Vicissitudes au gré de l'histoire d'une statue en bronze d'Héraclès entre Séleucie du Tigre et la Mésène," *Journal des Savants* 199 0 3-68. Discussion by DT Potts, "Arabia and the Kingdom of Characene," pp. 136-16 7 of idem (ed.), *Arabia the Blest: Studies in Arabian Archaeology*; Copenhagen: Univ. of Copenhagen; 1988; GW Bowersock, "La Mésène antonine," pp. 159-16 8 of T. Fahid (ed.), *L'Arabie préislamique et son environnement historique et culturel*; Univ. des

Sciences humaines de Strasbourg, Travaux du center de recherche sur le Proche-orient et la Grèce antique 10; 1989.

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, ' , ' ,
gate.

RQ 12PÜ 12»[3 -FL^O ! RD^Q ^D^Q NÖ^L "[[... .laní a non RD'PO min o

RD'PÛ TO'PO HDS na RD^O min o •[3->3 nrrn iepo io no ri-ò r pim i -ona rur. ibpo -|on îa^pn
17 -HTID

Greek: "In the year of the Greeks 46 2 the king of kings Arsaces Ologasos, son of king Miradates, took the field at Messene against king Miradates son of that Pacorus who ruled before him; he drove king Miradates out of Messene and gained control of all Mesene; and set up this bronze statue of the God Heracles, which was brought by him from Mesene, in this temple of the god Apollo who watches over its bronze gate."

Parthian: "...A[rsa]ces Vologases king of kings, son of king Mithridates, [fought] in Mayshan against king Mithradates, son of Pacorus king of kings. And he drove king Mithridates out of there. He conquered all Mayshan. He inscribed and set up this statue of the god Verethragna, which was taken from Mayshan, on the 17th of [the month] Tyr."

In the Parthian, 1®[3] "fought" is probable, cf. Joh 18,36 Pesh •ptöronö for .

In the logograms heath is three times written "incorrectly" for he, as inRrÒR "god" (normally RH^R). hmk "all" and nykndn "inscribed" are genuine Iranian (Pennachietti 176).

33 "im-age" line 8 is Iranian already naturalized in Aramaic, so that its status whether as Iranian or logogram is ambiguous. See III.96 for its history.

In neither language of the inscription does "Charax" appear, and district or city are just "Mesene." The date of AD 150/151 for the bilingual is given by the Greek dating to year 46 2 (of the Seleucid era of 312/11 BC). This Vologases king of Parthia ruled from AD 148-192, called Vologases III by Debevoise 27 0 and Vologases IV by Potts 150; he is known from Greek and Latin literary witnesses to history. His father is now identified as a Mithradates, probably "Mithradates IV" of Parthia, previously known only from his coins (ab. AD 128-147).

Mithradates son of Pacorus (where the Parthian adds "king of kings") is the Meredat king of Mesene of Nodelman previously also known only from coins (reigning according to Nodelman AD 131-143, but now known to have reigned at least until 150) . He is now further attested by the Greek of the Palmyrene inscription PAT 137 4 (Palmyrene fragmentary) of AD 131 where the merchants () in Spasinou Charax honor Yarhai son of Nebozabad "citizen of Hadriana Palmyra, satrap of Thilouana under Meeredates king of Spasinou Charax":

.

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(Palmyra called itself "Hadriana" from some benefit bestowed by the Emperor; Red Sea captains of Hadriana Palmyra [-] are attested in an inscription from Coptos.)²⁴ Thilouana may be Tylos (Bahrain), Strabo 16.3. 4 etc. This Mithradates of Mesene felt himself so much a king that he appointed a Palmyrene as "satrap" under him.

Pacorus can be nobody but the long-reigning Parthian king Pacorus II (AD 78-115, known from Pliny the Younger Epist. 10.74 to Trajan); the text implies that Pacorus controlled Mesene and set up his son Mithradates in his place; and that Mithradates at some point made himself independent until he was expelled by another Parthian king Vologases. This is the first genuinely historical Parthian text; it is exceptional in that the monarch's actual name Vologases is given in addition

to the dynastic name Arsaces (which alone appears in the Greek letter of Artabanus III at Susa, AD 21). ²⁵ It is remarkable to have the Iranian equivalent Verethragna of Heracles; it is a title of Indra as "slayer of the demon Vrtra," Vedic Vrtrahan and Avestan Verethragna. We now learn that the Heracles on the coins of Mesene was partly understood as Verethragna. Early Sasanian kings, beginning with "Vahram

I" (ab. AD 273-276) called themselves Vahram () after the god; so Agathias 4.24.5-826 in his survey of the Sasanids, who adds that one called his

son "king of kings".²⁷

2 4 L'année épigraphique 1912.171.

2 5 C. . Welles, Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period: A Study in

Greek Epigraphy; New Haven: Yale, 1934; no. 75.

2 6 CSHB 6.260; ed. R. Keydell, CFHB 2.15 4 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1967). 2 7 For the changes of the Iranian title "king of kings" see III.83.

Chapter 20: Iranian Imperialism and the Rebel Victim¹

I use "imperialism" without any rigorous definition simply to mean the control of a military power over other peoples, as originally illustrated in the Near East by the Hittites, the Egyptians and the Assyrians (the last followed by the Chaldaean rulers of Babylon). But neither Israel nor Hellas had more than dim memories of the Hittite empire; the historic Greeks did not know Egypt until the end of its imperial days when Necho took Cadytis (Gaza) ab. 609 BC (Herodotus 2.159) and fought at Megiddo 605 BC (II Reg 23,29; Jer 46,2). Greek records of Akkadian rule are scanty. If Herodotus did indeed visit Babylon, it had already been a city ruled by the Persian empire for sixty years before his birth about 480 BC. Since our overall subject is the parallel history of Israel and Hellas, here in their relations to Near Eastern powers, for us "imperialism" begins with the form it took under the Old Persian or Achaemenid Empire,² from the capture of Babylon by Cyrus in 539 BC to the victory of Alexander over Darius III at Arbela in 331 BC.

Relations with Persia dominate all Greek history before Alexander. In Israel they underlie the last historical books, Ezra and Nehemiah (perhaps somewhat out of

chronological order); as likewise the first Aramaic archives, the papyri of Elephantine in Egypt (495 to about 400 BC) and the Arsames dossier (about 410 BC).

Our initial theme is the continuity of Persian imperial power and of its symbols (20.1) in its successor states. Among these are two natives

¹ Extensive revision of my "Prometheus, the Servant of Yahweh, Jesus: Legitimation and Repression in the Heritage of Persian Imperialism," pp. 109-125 317-32 5 of David Jobling et alii (eds.), *The Bible and the Politics of Exegesis* [Norman K. Gottwald Festschrift]; Cleveland: Pilgrim, 1991.

² The most accessible and reliable history is JM Cook, *The Persian Empire*; New York: Schocken, 1983. That by AT Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire*; Chicago: University, 1948, is often conjectural, especially in its account of Zoroaster in respect to the Achaemenids. The exhaustive and extremely dense treatment by Pierre Briant, *Histoire de l'empire perse de Cyrus à Alexandre*; 2 vols.; Achaemenid History X; Paris: Fayard, 1996, is bound to win the day, but at present is still the property of specialists alone.

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Iranian dynasties. Eighty years after Arbela a new Iranian empire, the Parthian, appears in the shadowy figure of Arsaces, about 250 BC, whose name was officially adopted by all his successors until AD 227.³ The Parthian empire

was ended by a new Iranian dynasty, the Sasanids, under their first king Ardashir about AD 227. The Sasanid Sapor (, Parthian Shypwahr, AD 240-272) left a great trilingual inscription at Naqs-i-Rustam in Greek, Parthian and Sasanid Middle Persian (or Pehlevi), called by moderns the *Res Gestae*

Divi Saporis.

4 But

Persian symbolism was earlier adopted by Alexander and his successors in Syria, Egypt, and Asia Minor; and some of its techniques were passed on to Carthage through Persian control of the Phoenician seaboard.

Thus as Rome successively took over the Punic and Hellenistic empires, and faced Parthia across the Syrian desert, it triply fell heir to Persian techniques of legitimation and repression. A notable theme here is the imperial boast of world control "from sunrise to sunset."

Central to Greek, Israelite and Christian history are rebels, humiliated but (in their different ways) defiant: the Prometheus of Aeschylus, the Servant of Yahweh in Deutero-Isaiah, and Jesus called the Christ.

In a section (20.2) on the rebel victim, I propose that both Prometheus and the Servant of Yahweh are envisioned by their poet-creators as crucified resisters to the Persian system. Nobody doubts that Jesus was crucified by the Roman imperial power: his assimilation to the Suffering Servant in the New Testament, and to Prometheus in much modern thought, does not then rest on an arbitrary connection but on a solid historical basis, since Rome, above all in the Near East, falls heir to Persian imperial techniques. To the extent that the victims are rebels, Persian and Roman imperial titles are ascribed to them.

At 20.3 I summarize some sources for symbolic attributes of the Iranian monarch and then lay out testimony to the offices of Persian imperialism and their successors: the "king of kings," the satrap, the ambassador or legate, the Magi, and military ranks. In each case

3 The basic study remains that of NC Debevoise, *A Political History of Parthia*; Chicago: University, 1938. Early references to the "Parthians" (eg

Herodotus 7.66.1) are to an Iranian group invaded by the Scythians some time before 250 BC (Strabo 11.9.2); the Arsacid "Parthians" appear to represent a fusion of the two peoples.

4 Greek and partial transcription of the Iranian versions by A. Maricq, "Res Gestae Divi Saporis," *Syria* 35 (1958) 259-360; full Iranian texts in M. Back, *Die sassanidischen Staatsinschriften*; *Acta Iranica* 18; 3rd ser.; Leiden: Brill, 1978; glossary in Gignoux. Why was there a Greek version? See Zeeb Rubin, "The Roman Empire in the Res Gestae Divi Saporis," *Electrum* (Kraków) 2 (1998) 177-185.

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Iranian words and phrases continue through the ancient world. A Hellenistic offshoot is the title *kosmokratōr*, "world-ruler." The great perquisite and legitimation of both Great King and satraps is their control of the hunting-parks or "paradises," artificial and natural, studied in our Chapter 21.

The modes of legitimation of the Persian ruler are concentrated in his investiture (20.4) with diadem, signet and sword, and the obeisance of prostration due to him; they were known at Rome, but mostly as exotic, so that native functional equivalents were developed. The modes of sanction available to him (20.5) are control over the bodies of his subjects through taxation, conscription (already treated at 11.52-53), flogging and tattooing, and ultimately crucifixion—the fate of all three rebel victims. The sanctions were continued by Rome essentially unchanged. But history reverses the verdict on the rebel victims (20.6), and canonizes them as in the end victorious.

20.1 The continuity of Iranian imperialism

An excerpt from the otherwise unknown Roman historian Aemilius Sura is preserved in the text of Velleius 1.6.6:

Assyrii principes omnium gentium rerum potiti sunt, deinde Medi, postea Persae, deinde Macedones; exinde duobus regibus Philippo et Antiocho, qui a Macedonibus oriundi erant, haud multo post Carthaginem subactam deuictis summa imperii ad populum Romanum peruenit.

The Assyrians were the first of all peoples to hold universal power, then the Medes, after them the Persians, then the Macedonians; then through the defeat of the two kings Philip (V of Macedón) and Antiochus (III of Syria), of Macedonian origin, not long after the overthrow of Carthage (201 BC), supreme power passed to the Roman people.

The text picks up an old historico-mythical scheme of four or five successive realms, but still corresponds more or less to reality. ⁵ At Dan 2,35-45 it is combined with the motif of four successive ages of metal, which in Hesiod appears apart from world empire (1.302). Appian (quoting a lost book of Polybius at Punica [8] 132) says that Scipio at the final destruction of

Carthage in 146 BC thought of the fall of Troy, Assyria, the Medes, Persia, Macedón, and in some future of Rome

⁵ See the discussion at 1.302 and by West, EFH 312-319.

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itself.⁶ Dionysius of Halicarnassus (1.3.3) lists previous empires—the Assyrian, Median, Persian, Macedonian, and the Successors—and adds, "But Rome is the first and only one recorded from

the beginning of time to have made the rising and setting of the sun the boundaries of its dominion":

First and foremost among those who remember terms .

Actually, Dionysius is applying an old Oriental theme to Rome.

Esarhaddon defines his realm as "from rising of the sun to the setting of the sun."⁷ So Mai 1,11 (cf. Ps 50,1; 113,3), probably in the Persian period, proclaims "From the rising of the sun to its setting my name is great among the nations":

lis? "®' ^rra iKintr-iy] tfatf-rnrp ^ LXX ' , Vg ab ortu enim solis usque ad

occasum magnum est nomen meum in gentibus. Aeschines 3.132 says that Xerxes wrote in letters to Greece (in a Greek version?) that he was "despot of all men from sunrise to sunset," ' . The Romans relished the idea: Sallust (Cat. 36.4) speaks of the imperium

populi Romani "at a time when all peoples from sunrise to sunset, overcome by its arms, obeyed it," cui cum ad occasum ab ortu solis omnia domita armis parerent.

8

This is the imperial background to Jesus' claim,

"Many will come from east and west () and recline with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven" (Matt 8, 11). 9

When Muhammad made the same boast, "Say: To Allah belong the East and the West," ﻻﺇﻟﮭﺔ ﺍﻟﻤﺎﺭﺍﺓ ﻭﺍﻟﻤﺎﻏﺮﺏ (Quran 2.142) it was shortly to acquire

imperial reality also. In a parodistic passage, Joyce says of Queen Victoria, "For they knew and loved her from the rising of the sun to the going down thereof, the pale, the dark, the ruddy and the Ethiopian."¹⁰

6

Polybius, who was present at the scene and is our ultimate source, in his extant work at 1.2.7 makes Persia, Sparta and Macedón the precursors of Rome in its drive "to make the whole world subject to them,"

7 DJ Wiseman, *The Vassal-Treaties of Esarhaddon*; London: British School of Archeology in Iraq, 1958; i.8 (= Iraq 20); translation at ANET3 534.

8 Further classical usages of the theme "empire from sunrise to sunset" are gathered by E. Fraenkel, *Horace*; Oxford: Clarendon, 1957; 451, on Carm. 4.15.14-16 et imperi / porrecta maiestas ad ortus / solis ab Hesperio cubili.

9 J. Jeremias, *New Testament Theology*; New York: Scribner's, 1971; 245-7 makes Matt 8, 11 Jesus' appropriation of the prophetic theme "the pilgrimage of the nations"; see III. 17.

10 Joyce, *Ulysses* chap. 12.

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The exact nature of Achaemenid rule is much debated, as likewise whether "imperialism" was consciously intended as a Roman foreign policy.¹¹ Here, rather than attempting to plumb the motives of rulers, I lay out the more accessible techniques of control, both

positive (legitimation) and negative (sanctions). Ideal elements of the Iranian heritage will be those embedded in Persian loanwords,¹² or *caiques*, however transformed, on the very scene of the former empire. The Eastern empires regularized their techniques of control in the face of resistance by less autocratic states. The triumph of those techniques lay in their adoption by the West through the transformation of states once democratic (Athens, a great exactor of tribute) or oligarchic (Carthage and Rome) into capitals of empire.

The ongoing vitality of imperial techniques in their Roman form is surprisingly attested by Edward N. Luttwak, both a Roman military historian and an American strategic analyst, in his comparison of the two situations, written during the Cold War:

We [Americans], like the Romans, face the prospect not of decisive conflict, but of a permanent state of war, albeit limited. We, like the Romans, must actively protect an advanced society against a variety of threats rather than concentrating on destroying the forces of our enemies in battle. Above all, the nature of modern weapons requires that we avoid their use while striving to exploit their full diplomatic potential.

13

Again, on the dilemma of tying down troops to police remote frontier regions (Judaea then, South Korea now), Luttwak adds:

11 P. Veyne ("Y at-il eu un impérialisme romain?," *Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome: Antiquité* 87 [1975] 793-855) says that Rome had no fixed policy of imperial expansion; WV Harris (*War and Imperialism in Republican Rome, 327-70 BC*; Oxford: University, 1979) says that it did; MI Finley ("Empire in the Greek and Roman World," *Greece*

and *Rome* 2nd ser. 25 [1978] 1-15) with nuances shifts the discussion onto the benefits of empire. See the articles in two collective volumes: MT Larsen (ed.), *Power*

and *Propaganda: A Symposium on Ancient Empires: Mesopotamia*; Copenhagen Studies in Assyriology 7; Copenhagen; Akademisk Forlag, 1979; PDA Garnsey & CR Whitaker (eds.), *Imperialism in the Ancient World*; Cambridge: University, 1978.

12 On the Greek side, see B. Hemmerdinger, "158 noms communs grecs d'origine iranienne, d'Eschyle au grec moderne," *Byzantinoslavica* 30 (1969) 18ff; on the Rabbinic, S. Telegdi, "Essai sur la phonétique des emprunts iraniens en araméen talmudique: Glossaire," *Journal Asiatique* 226 (1935) 224-256.

13 EN Luttwak, *The Grand Strategy of the Roman Empire from the First*

Century AD to the Third; Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1976; p. xii. 14 Ibid. 81.

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It is for this reason [the need of quick response] that American troops must be stationed in the theater

itself, with the resulting diseconomy of force, regardless of the obvious political functions that these

deployments also serve.¹

14

In the late Roman republic and early Empire, contemporaries saw Rome and Parthia as equals and rivals. Thus Pliny 5.88 describes Palmyra: ...ac uelut terris exempta

a rerum natura, priuata sorte inter duo imperia summa Romanorum et Parthorum, et prima in discordia semper utrimque cura.

...as it was separated by nature from other lands, with a unique destiny between the two supreme empires of Romans and Parthians, and at any beginning of controversy a matter of concern to both sides.

(But the Palmyrene Aramaic inscriptions, while very often with Greek versions, contain few loanwords from Iranian.) Strabo 11.9.21 5 considers that by "the size of their empire" the Parthians have become "rivals to the Romans," etc. (But at 16.2.20 Strabo speaks of Roman soldiers deployed in Syria as a defense only against bandits.) Justin 41.1.1, referring to the time of Trogus, Parthi, penes quos, uelut diuisione orbis cum Romanis facta, nunc Orientis imperium est "The Parthians, by whom, as if a division of the world with the Romans had been made, now is held the empire of the Orient." Herodian 4.10.21 6 calls them the two "greatest powers," etc. And so Bab. Talm. Yoma 10a "The destroyers of the Second Temple shall fall by the hand of Persia [ie Parthia]":

03 'pia'? ^ts 3 - cp-pni?

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In the Hellenistic world, hidden currents of sympathy flowed among resistance movements. Vogt¹⁷ thinks that the slave revolt of Eunous in Sicily (136-132 BC) had relations to the Seleucid kingdom and was likely "influenced by the Maccabean war of liberation." Eunous was a follower of the "Syrian goddess," that is, Atargatis; he called himself

15 And similarly Dio Cassius 40.14.3.

16 See further the texts cited in George Rawlinson, *The Sixth Great Oriental Monarchy, or the Geography, History and Antiquities of Parthia*; London: Longmans, 1873; p. vi: in particular Velleius 2.101.2, Tacitus Ann. 15.13.

17 Joseph Vogt, "The Structure of Ancient Slave Wars," *Ancient Slavery and the Ideal of Man*; Cambridge: Harvard, 1975, 39-92, esp. 52, 67.

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"Antiochus" and the rebels "Syrians."¹⁸ Toynbee¹⁹ compares the Gospels

to Plutarch's biographies of Hellenistic and Roman popular leaders. With Matt 8,20 (cf. Luk 9,58) "Foxes have holes (), and birds of the air have nests; but the Son of Man has nowhere to lay his head," he compares the saying of Tiberius Gracchus: "The wild beasts that roam over Italy have a hole (), to each is its lair or nest; but the men who fight and die for Italy have no share in anything but air and sunshine" (Plutarch Gracchi 9.4).

Here I suggest that in an earlier period, symbolic figures of victimization and rebellion under Persian imperial rule—likewise joined by hidden currents of sympathy—appear in Aeschylus' *Prometheus* and the Suffering Servant of Second Isaiah. Podlecki²⁰ sees the *Prometheus Bound* as a critique of tyranny in the Greek city-states. But its Zeus, the "new tyrant among the gods" (... , PV 310) is a more universal figure; the scene is Scythia, the play includes two surveys of what is in effect the Persian empire (PV 408ff, 705ff). Io's tormentor Argos, with his "crafty eye" (PV 569), is reminiscent of the "King's Eye," or intelligence service (Herodotus 1.114.2).²¹

The more we meditate on Zeus' attributes in the play, the more parallels we find to the Great King. Above all, the running critique of tyranny in the play agrees with the critique of tyranny that Herodotus puts in the mouth of the Persian Otanes in a famous debate. Aeschylus'

Oceanus says that in Zeus "a harsh monarch, in no way accountable, is ruling" (PV 324):

,

The Persian Otanes says that, in contrast with the monarch, when the majority is in charge it exercises "accountable rule" (v...), Herodotus 3.80.6. (The annual , "public examination of the

18 Diodorus 34/35.2.7 , 24. Vogt (p. 70) is more speculative when he suggests that Aristonikos of Pergamum the rebel leader (133-129 BC), in calling his following of poor men and slaves "Heliopolitai" (Strabo 14.1.38), that is, "citizens of Sun City," had in mind Heliopolis- Baalbek of Syria.

19 AJ Toynbee, *A Study of History*; 12 vols.; London: Oxford, 1934-1961; vi. 414.

20 AJ Podlecki, *The Political Background of Aeschylean Tragedy*; Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan, 1966; 101-122.

21 Another internal intelligence agency, the "King's Ears" (Xenophon *Cyr.* 8.2.10, cf. Aristotle *Pol.* 3.11. 9 = 1287b30) is attested in Egyptian Aramaic (Cowley 27.9): "The judges, officers and ' ears' who are over the province":

for "ear"

8 yjö ö V ROBU KTIHTI NT ! in Old Persian is *gausa* (Kent 182).

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conduct of officials," was an essential feature of Athenian democracy.) Prometheus refuses to flatter () Zeus (PV 937); Otanes says that the tyrant will reject a flatterer (, Herodotus 3.80.5).

Prometheus says, "So the arrogant are accustomed to show their arrogance":

(PV 970); Otanes recalls the üßpiv of Cambyses (Herodotus 3.80.2).

A recent touring Vatican art exhibit included a black-figured Laconian vase of

about 555 BC attributed to the Arkesilas painter.²² Prometheus is tied to a column at right while the eagle attacks his chest; on the left, Atlas holds up a starry sky. The two antagonists of Zeus are punished together as in Hesiod (*Theog.* 517-525) and Aeschylus (PV 348). The Catholic context irresistibly defined the scene as a crucifixion, complete with the carrion bird that in the old curse (1.280-282) preys on the defenseless body. A full-size sculptural grouping from Aphrodisias shows Prometheus being unchained by Heracles.²³

Aeschylus uses what was then the technical term for "crucify." Hephaistos says, "I will peg you () to this inhospitable rock" (PV 20); Herodotus 9.120.4 ends his history with a description of how, in reprisal for numerous crucifixions by the Persians, the Greeks took Artayctes to a hill overlooking Xerxes' pontoon bridge, where they "pegged him () to a plank and hung him up ."

The nineteenth century read Aeschylus' play as an attack on all authorities, political and religious. Shelley, in the Preface to his *Prometheus Unbound*, refused the theme of "reconciling the Champion with the Oppressor of mankind"; in the play (III.iv.471) he plainly identifies omnipotent Jupiter, responsible for "thrones, altars, judgment-seats, and prisons" with the Christian God.²⁴ Marx,

in the Preface to his doctoral thesis,²⁵ calls Prometheus " the most eminent saint and martyr in the philosophical calendar." A cartoon of 1843 on

2 2 Black-figured kylix from the Museo Gregoriano Etrusco. See Metropolitan Museum of Art, *The Vatican Collections: The Papacy and Art*; New York: Abrams, 1983 p. 185 no. 101; CM Stibbe, *Lakonische Vasenmaler des sechsten Jahrhunderts . Chr.*; 2 vols.; *Studies in Ancient Civilization* 1; Amsterdam: North-Holland, 1972; no. 196 pi. 63. See further 1.125.

2 3 Kenan T. Erim, *Aphrodisias: City of Venus Aphrodite*; Müller, Blond & White, 1986; 118

2 4 Shelley's work along with many others is discussed by Jacqueline Duchemin, *Prométhée: Histoire du Mythe, de ses Origines orientales à ses Incarnations modernes*; Paris: Belles Lettres, 1974.

2 5 K. Marx & F. Engels, *Collected Works*; London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1975-; i.31.

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the censoring of the *Rheinische Zeitung* shows Marx as Prometheus, chained to a printing press.²⁶ Posted to the press is a canceled page of the journal; the chain leads up to the leg of a heavenly throne. Marx's heroic figure is surrounded by lamenting Oceanids, done in the style of the odalisques of Ingres. His liver is being attacked by the crowned Prussian eagle, also tethered to the throne; a long line of carrion birds in the sky await their turn.

One theological reaction to the revival of Prometheus was to reject whatever atheists accepted, at the cost of having to swallow Aeschylus'

Zeus as a portrait of God. Thus Karl Barth writes enigmatically on Rom 7,7:

Under the scrutiny of law men become sinners...; for in the end human passion derives its living energy from that passionate desire, *Eritis sicut Deus!* ...Can there be any affirmation of passion that outstrips the passion with which Prometheus robs Zeus of his fire and uses it for his own

advantage? 27

(But Kratos [Aeschylus PV 8] says that Prometheus benefitted mortals, not himself.) Hans Kiing spells out the underlying thought when he rejects the rebellion of "rising up defiantly against the power of the gods, like emancipated, autonomous Prometheus."²⁸

Environmentalists do better justice to the genuine ambivalence of the tragedy when they accuse Prometheus of the crime of bringing the primordial technology of fire to earth.

The New Testament suggests an ambiguous parallel between Christ and Prometheus. The risen Jesus tells Paul, "It hurts you to kick against the gods" (Act 26,14). So a classical proverb: Pindar Pythian 2.94-96 .,.; Aeschylus Agam.

1624; Euripides Bacchae 795. Less closely, Oceanus advises Prometheus not to "offer your limbs to the goads" (Aeschylus PV 323 *irpòs centrí*). But in our times the Christian-Marxist dialogue, over against Barth and his followers, almost fully engrafted Prometheus onto Christ.²⁹ Thus in the enormous work of the reluctant atheist Ernst Bloch:

Prometheus, through his poet Aeschylus, became as it were the founder of his own religion, one which did not of course blossom out. It had to remain unblossomed in the spirit of its rebellion, firstly because of a social mandate

26 Ibid., vol. i, plate facing p. 374.

27 Karl Barth, *The Epistle to the Romans*; London: Oxford, 1933; 236. 28 Hans Kiing, *On Being a Christian*; New York: Doubleday, 1978; 431.

29 James Bentley, "Prometheus Versus Christ in the Christian-Marxist Dialogue," *JTS* 29 (1978) 483-494.

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such as that of Moses against the Pharaoh, of Jesus against Caesar, was wanting. 30

The Czech theologian Jan Milic Lochman—in words now applicable to the former Soviet tyranny—demands a place for Prometheus in theology, in three areas: (1) challenging the idea of God as "an inhuman superstructure imposed on humanity from above" ; (2) revealing that inertia in the face of God's promise of liberation is as great a sin as hubris; (3) pointing to grace as that which "mobilizes human creativity," a driving force for "Promethean existence."³¹

Toynbee sees the "creative power of suffering" as equally illustrated by Prometheus, the Suffering Servant, and Christ, but misses the imperial settings.³² Jesus was crucified by order of the Roman prefect of Judaea. But the New Testament writers, for whom it was dangerous to underline that fact, explained it by Hebrew antecedents—above all, by Isaiah 53 (with the other Servant poems) and Psalm 22. Luk 22,37 cites Isa 53,12 from the LXX. The Ethiopian eunuch (Acts 8,22-23) cites Isa 53,7-8. I Peter 2,22-25 extensively uses Isa 53,5-12. Isaiah 53 is also quoted explicitly at Joh 12:38; Romans 10:16; 15,21. Isa 50,6 LXX "and my cheeks to blows" (תַּחֲבֹתַי לִמְנוּחַ) underlies Matt 5,39 "whoever gives you a blow on the right cheek" () and is cited at Justin Apol. 1.32.2. Mark 15,34 places the opening of Psalm 22 on Jesus' lips, and adds echoes of the psalm that are formalized by the other Evangelists: Mark 15,24 "and they divided his garments" echoes Ps 21,19 LXX which is formally cited by Joh 19,24; Mark 15,29 "wagging their heads" probably echoes Ps 21,8 LXX, and Matt 27,43 "He trusted in God, let him deliver him" makes the connection explicit; Mark 15,36 surely echoes Ps 68,22 "they gave me vinegar to drink."

CH Dodd sees certain Hebrew texts as a substructure of New Testament theology, with Isaiah 53 and Psalm 22 at the heart of one of four groups, in each of which the writers remain "true to the main intention" of the Hebrew text.³³ We may add that Psalm 22 has vocabulary links to Second Isaiah: the human figure is a "worm" (ny'pin, Ps 22,7; Isa 41,14); "all the ends of the earth" (fHípODÍT1^, Ps 22,8; Isa 45,22) will return to God.

³⁰ Ernst Bloch, *The Principle of Hope*; 3 vols.; Cambridge: MIT Press, 1986; iii.1213.

³¹ JM Lochman, *Christ and Prometheus? A Quest for Theological Identity*; Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1988; 28-33.

³² Toynbee, *A Study of History*, xii.617.

³³ CH Dodd, *According to the Scriptures: The Sub-Structure of New Testament Theology*; London: Nisbet, 1952; 108-110.

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And as soon as we ask what the Hebrew poems are about, the imperial setting returns. It is arbitrary to interpret them in terms of sickness or leprosy and then make the adversaries metaphorical. The Greek translators long before Jesus found a crucifixion in them: thus Ps 22,17.c LXX "they have pierced my hands and feet," .

The "dogs" of Ps 22,17.a are naturally interpreted as carrion feeders around their helpless prey. The New Testament citations make the best sense if their authors correctly interpreted the Hebrew poems as arising from a situation of imperial oppression like their own—and in fact (we shall see) its ancestor. Isaiah 53 is certainly of the Persian period, and Psalm 22 will fit there. A century of scholarship summed up by North³⁴ asked only who the servant was, not what happened to him or who did it. If we do ask, we will most naturally conclude that the Servant poems are images, self-censored but recognizable, of the crucifixion under the Persians of an ideal figure representing Israel. Thus Toynbee, in comparing the Servant with Prometheus and both with Christ, was a better historian than he realized.

20.3 Iranian imperial offices

A variety of sources combine to give an overall picture of the Iranian court from Darius to the Parthians.

(a) Obeisance. A Treasury relief from Persepolis shows an unidentified king receiving obedience (being "blown a kiss").³⁵

(b) Darius at Susa. Darius the Great, in a newly found statue from Susa, has his name and title "King of kings" in four languages on his robe and thigh. ³⁶ (c) Investiture. At Josephus AJ 20.32, Monobazus

is made king of Adiabene (ab AD 45) in Iranian fashion with the diadem (), his father's signet (), and the ceremonial sword (, III.99). (The monarch is attested as Monobazus at Tacitus Ann. 15.1, and as QJIO at Mishna Yoma III.10.)

³⁴ CR North, *The Suffering Servant in Deutero-Isaiah: An Historical and Critical Studies*; London: Oxford, 1948.

³⁵ Cook Plate 9. I have heard a rumor, which I cannot easily substantiate, that this scene is copied in a Persian shield of the "Alexander sarcophagus" from Sidon—which would therefore represent a more Persian conception than previously thought.

36 Headless statue of Darius at Susa with an honorary inscription in Akkadian, Elamite, Old Persian and Egyptian on the folds of his robe: Cook plate 35; M.

Kervran et alii, "Une statue de Darius découverte à Suse," *Journal Asiatique* 260 (1972) 235-266.

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(d) Christ as Parthian monarch. At Rev 19,11-16 (cf. 17,14; I Tim 6,15) the Christ as the "Word of God" appears with (1) many diadems (); (2') a sword () coming from his mouth; (3') on his robe and on his thigh () a name written, "King of kings and Lord of lords": .

Also at Rev 19,4 (4') the elders prostrate themselves () before God.

(e) The king's Gate. The Hymn of the Pearl³⁷ represents a redeemer-messenger coming down from a court based on the Parthian monarchy.

He returns to "the gate of the King of kings," vs 104:

Here (20.3-5) we survey modes in which the Old Persian empire and its successor Iranian states defined, legitimized and defended their own status. By their subjects, these symbols were seen in a double light: as illegitimate claims to be rejected, but also as the basis of counter-claims in rebellion. Further, some were taken over by the Hellenistic states or Carthage, and from them adopted by Rome in a similar pattern. We begin with offices and their titles.

20.3.1 "King of kings"³⁸ This title

appears first occasionally in the usage of Egyptian and Assyrian kings,³⁹ where however "king of

kings" was never formulaic.

Ezek 26,7 (cf Dan 2,37) applies the title to Nebuchadrezzar, but it seems not to be attested in Akkadian texts; did the Chaldaean take over a Median title? It first became so under the Achaemenids, where Darius in the first line of the Behistun inscription calls himself xsäyadiya xsäyaQiyänäm (Kent 116). Artabanus III the Parthian, in a Greek inscription of AD 21, calls himself

"Arsaces king of kings,"⁴⁰ . The title has a Hebrew counterpart at Deut 10,17 (cf Ps 136,2-3, Dan 2,47) where Yahweh is "God of gods and Lord of lords,"

37 For editions of this text see III.63.

38 "King of kings" was briefly treated at 11.297.

39 JG Griffiths, " : Remarks on the History of a Title,"

Classical Philology 48 (1953) 145-154; G. Schäfer, "König der Könige"— "Lied der Lieder": Studien zum paronomastischen Intensitätsgenitiv; Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse, 1973, 2; Heidelberg: Winter, 1974.

40 CB Welles, Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period: A Study in Greek Epigraphy; New Haven: Yale, 1934; p.

299 no. 75 line 1. The ascription to Artabanus III comes from the date.

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LXX , Vg deus deorum et dominus dominantium. It seems probable that Deuteronomy was late enough to reflect Medo-Persian usages. We saw (above) that in the Apocalypse of John the Christ appears as the Word of God with his name

written "on his robe and on his thigh", the form of the title is derived from Deuteronomy, but the iconography mirrors the statue of Darius at Susa, where the "name" (now quadrilingual) appears on the robe covering the king's thigh. In a statue of a warrior or god, the thigh is the place where his identification belongs: so in the archaic Greek Mantiklos statuette from Thebes (1.45), and the Parthian statue of Heracles/Verethragna from Seleucia (III.69). For the thigh is where his creative energy resides.

The usage is reflected in Aramaic at Ezra 7,12 K^SO of some Artaxerxes, and at Memphis (482 BC) of Xerxes ("ז', KAI 267).

(Xerxes appears as tñitñN at Ezra 4,6.) It appears in Greek in a Roman re-engraving of an apparently genuine letter of Darius. 41 Pompey refused that title to the Parthian (Plutarch

Pomp. 38.2); but Suetonius Calig. 5 says that the regum...regem joined in mourning Caligula's death. In Sapor's inscriptions the Iranian is masked by Aramaic ideograms. But it is transcribed by Ammianus 19.2.11, who in a beautiful text records the battle cries on Roman and Sasanid sides in a siege of AD 359 where he himself was present and barely escaped: *Nostris uirtutes Constanti Caesaris extollentibus ut domini rerum et mundi, Persis*

Saporem saansaan appellantibus et pirsasen, quod "rex regibus imperane" et "bellorum uictor" interpretatur.

Our men were extolling the virtues of Constantius Caesar as 'Lord of all things and of the world,' while the Persians were calling Sapor saansan and pirozen [this form not elsewhere attested], which mean 'king ruling over kings' and 'victor in battle'.

Saansaan, a phonetically simplified descendant of the Old Persian, has the genitive plural first as in Byzantine (Agathias 4.24)⁴² and modern Persian *sāhan-sāh*. The imperial titles of the two realms are brought into absolute confrontation.

What does the title mean? Schäfer⁴³ suggests that it has the same force as "Song of songs," *D⁴TtS'n ~PE>*, which can hardly have been

⁴¹ Meiggs & Lewis, SGHI no. 12.

⁴² CSHB 6.261.5; Agathias gives a false etymology but transmits the title correctly.

⁴³ Footnote 39 above.

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intended as "a large composition composed of collected songs" (though in fact it is just that!), but must mean "song par excellence." However some of the usages of "king of kings" demand the meaning "king ruling over other kings," and all are consistent with it.⁴⁴ So understood, the title paradoxically betrays political weakness: the overlord cannot supplant tributary kings and must leave them in place. Aeschylus (Pers. 24) calls Xerxes' generals "kings subordinate to the Great King,"

Antony called his sons by Cleopatra "kings of kings" and gave them lands he did not control—thus Armenia, Media and Parthia to his son Alexander (Plutarch, Ant. 54.4). The romantic Diodorus (1.47.4) puts "king of kings" on the monument of his "Osymandyas" (), really the Ramesseum of Thebes—the basis of Shelley's sonnet I met a traveler from an antique land.

Two inscriptions from the last days of Palmyrene power further illustrate the title "king of kings" and show another Roman office going into Semitic. (I) A posthumous inscription of king Septimius Odainath of Palmyra, killed in AD 267, describes his statue (PAT 0292, AD 271) n'PD wjpnm SD^a 1*70 [nj]"HK orataao d^s " Statue of Septimius Odainath, king of kings and corrector of the whole Orient". (II) In the "milestone of Zenobia" (PAT 0317, bilin-gual, the Greek fragmentary) the queen mother appears under her native name 34 5 as " mother of the king of kings,"

lo^a "]"? na« namely

her son Septimius Wahballath Athenodoros, who is also "illustrious king of kings and corrector of the whole Orient," n*?D Ktûm33Ni KD^ai^ am[\- [j]

Here "corrector," which in the inscription of Odainathus appears in a

44 The same meaning is required by the Silver Latin usage of dux ducum to describe ancient heroes and in particular Agamemnon: Ovid Her. 8.46 dux erat ille ducum. At Cicero Att. 14.17a.2 Agamemnon is regum regi. Cf. Seneca Agam. 39 rex ille regum, ductor Agamemnon ducum. Hence Jerome at I Chron 7,40 (with no antecedent in the Hebrew or LXX) duces ducum. The phrase went back into Rabbinic—from Latin verse!. Num. Rabbah 7.3:

•"i"?!! -ltO03 fOt0]l T"031 1? »> D\Y?Kn fOOT 1*7 EP DTI 0 3 -J^Q ,1 7 0

,

""«!! -| "A king

of flesh and blood has duces, and God also has duces; '[Eleazar was] prince of the princes of the Levites'

[Num 3,32]; Rabbi Joshua son of Levi says that he was dux ducum."

45 As also at PAT 0293; in both places the Greek has familiar

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Palmyrene translation, is simply transcribed from Greek - 46

In all our languages "king of kings" or its equivalent becomes a divine title. Thus in archaic Latin the Carmen Saliare of the Salian priests had diuum deo supplicare "supplicate the god of gods"

(Varrò de ling. lat. 7.27). In Aeschylus Sup. 524 the Chorus addresses Zeus , "lord of lords, most blessed of the blessed," which (in spite of the Egyptian setting) must have conveyed a Persian flavor to the audience. In later Stoic usage (Dio Chrysostom 2.75) Zeus becomes "great king of kings," .

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It is Hellenistic that II Makk 13,4 (see Enoch 9.4) calls the God of Israel . Rabbi 'Aqabya (11.297) went one step further (Avoth III. 1): "Know before whom you are to give account: before the King of the kings of kings":

• ^ "o'ro ^ ^a1?

where the sense "king ruling over kings who rule over kings" is required. Speratus the Scillitan martyr of AD 18048 rejects the Emperor as if in fact the Emperor had the Iranian title, and in his place confesses God as domnum meum, imperatorem regum et omnium gentium, "my Lord, Emperor of kings and of all peoples." But when the Anglican liturgy addresses God in modified court terms, "thy divine majesty," it is comparison and not contrast. Audiences must stand for Händel's Hallelujah Chorus on "king of kings and lord of lords," as at a Court occasion.

20.3.2 The satrap⁴⁹ Darius'

administrative innovation was to put each province (Herodotus 3.89) under a "kingdom-protector" or

satrap, xsaçapâvâ (Beh. 3.14, 56). Xenophon Oec. 4.11 records the governor of a Persian province or "satrapy" (Herodotus 3.89.1 accus, pl.). Vari-

4 6 The office of Odainath is paraphrased but verified in the SHA Vita Gall. 10, Odenatus rex Palmyrenorum optinuit totius Orientis imperium, "Odenatus king of the Palmyrenes received rule over the whole Orient." From the time of Trajan, corrector is used technically of Imperial commissioners sent out to restore order. So SHA XX X Tyr. 24.5 correctorem totius Italiae; ILS 946 7 (AD 250) ' of Annius Sabinus, also prefect of Egypt. An alternative Greek translation appears in the corrector of the free cities of Asia—a personage who lays out the prerogatives of his office to Epictetus (Arrian Epict. 3.7).

4 7 Elsewhere (11.88) Zeus and Yahweh are both "great king of the gods."

4 8 Herbert Musurillo, The Acts of the Christian Martyrs; Oxford: Clarendon, 1972; p. 82 no. 6.

4 9 Briefly treated at 11.296.

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ously spelled: in a treaty inscription of Miletus, ab. 390 BC⁵⁰ "Strouses satrap of Ionia"; participle (Caria, 367-354 BC)⁵¹ "when Mausollus was satrap"; Theopompus has ⁵². These forms are closer to the

8,9 (cf Ezra 8,36) ⁵⁵. In Arsacid usage (OGIS 431, Bisitun) the title is applied back to the king:

"Gotarzes (king AD 38-51) satrap of satraps." Latin satrapa is mostly literal, but see Terence Heaut. 452-

3 satrapa si siet / amator "though her lover is rich as a satrap."

The word in Aramaic form went into Egyptian, hsdrrpn. ⁵⁶ All these transcriptions agree in the stem with the Sasanid form, Sapor Res Gestae 62

, Parthian hstrp, Pèhlevi strp. In Old Persian xsaçapâvâ "kingdom- protector" the stem pavan in -n is attested in the Aramaic and hieroglyphic forms. The first term of the compound in all other languages is not Old Persian but Median, as shown by the agreement of Avestan xsadram "kingdom" (Yasna 30.8) with the name Xsadrita assumed by the Median rebel Fravartish / Phraortes (Darius Beh. 11.15, IV.19). For proto-Iranian Qr is preserved in Avestan and Median but becomes ç in Old Persian (Kent 31). Old Persian had a limited royal and ceremonial status. The working language of the empire

was Median, as was its personnel, for the Greeks knew the Iranian invaders as Medes: Thucydides 1.18.1 "the battle at Marathon of Medes against Athenians," . A bronze helmet at Olympia was dedicated by the Athenians from the Persian wars, "To Zeus, the Athenians, capturing it from the Medes,"⁵⁷ .

50 m. N. Tod, *a Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions; Vol. II, From 403 to 323 BC*; Oxford: Clarendon, 1948; 11.113.41-43 (p. 37).

51 Tod II.138.2 (p. 112).

52 Jacoby FGH 115 F 103.

53 Friedrich, KASD 62 no. 40d.

54 Henri Metzger et alii, *Fouilles de Xanthos Tome VI, La stèle trilingue du Létôn*; Paris: Klincksieck, 1979.

Iranian, with folk-etymology to . Lycian *xssadrapa*;

trilingual the Greek and Aramaic have nouns = 3355, the Lycian a verb *xssadrápazate* "he was satrap."⁵⁴ The Aramaic here represents nearly the same transcription as the Aram, of Dan 3,3 of the Hebrew, Esther

55 The LXX Mss

and so Vg *satrapae*.

"A" of Jud 16,8 interprets the Philistine [^]"ID as satraps, ,

56 Erman-Grapow iii.339.

57 Margaret C. Miller, *Athens and Persia in the fifth century BC: A study in cultural receptivity*;

Cambridge: University, 1997; 42, with references.

53 in the Xanthos

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The highest perquisite of both the Great King and the satraps was the forested hunting-park or paradise, planted or natural; we discuss it in the following chapter, and in particular its role in the satrapies.

20.3.3 The cosmocrator

The Persian example of a world-ruler both inspired Alexander and gave him the title cosmocrator, both in Greek and Rabbinic. Otherwise the extensive Hellenistic influence on West Semitic mostly involves cultural terms brought by Greeks to Palestine. In the Alexander romance⁵⁸ Nectanebo tells Olympias at the prince's birth "soon you will give birth to a world-ruler," . Two successive paragraphs of the Jerusalem Talmud (Aboda Zara 42c.53-71) speak of Alexander and a world-ruler. "Alexander the Macedonian" ("pnpo onJDD1TM) is shown with a ball in his hand⁵⁹ "but

[unlike God] does not rule over the sea"; a "king of flesh and blood" (DTI >3 l^O) may be called a world-ruler () but does not rule over the sea; plainly the two are identified. In Greek the word was perhaps originally cultic: Orphic Hymn 4.1-3 ... Ruler." At Eph 6,12 demonic powers are called "the world-rulers () of this darkness," in contrast to rulers of "blood and flesh" ().

In the second century CE the title is applied to the Emperor. In a Greco- Nabataean dedication⁶⁰ from Rawwafah (N. Hejaz) to Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus (AD 166-169) the Greek calls the two rulers and the Nabataean perhaps [ROL'ptB] fta]1?]

from the root "[OD (also in Biblical Hebrew) "grasp." A dedication at Rome (IG 14.926) of the Gazaeans () to Gordianus III calls him . The Gazaeans say that they are setting up this honorary inscription by the command "of their ancestral god," whom we know (11.71,117) to be Marnas god of the

5 8 Pseudo-Callisthenes, *Historia Alexandri Magni* 1.12, ed. C. Müller post Arrianum; Paris: Didot, 1877.

5 9 Roman coins of several emperors show the emperor with an orb in his hand; eg an aureus of Constantine: Harold Mattingly, *Roman Coins from the earliest times to the fall of the Western Empire*; 2nd ed.; London: Methuen, 1960; LIV.5.

6 0 JT Milik, "Inscriptions grecques et nabatéennes de Rawwafah," *Bulletin of the Institute of Archeology*

(London) 10 (1971) 54-57; see MGA Bettinelli *I Semiti e Roma: Appunti da una lettura di fonti "*

semitiche"; pp. 145-18 1 of *Serta histórica antiqua*; Roma: Bretschneider, 1986; p. 169.

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rains. Eusebius (Vita Const. 3.46.1 = PL 20.1105C) has Helena refer to her only son Constantine as "king, monarch, world-ruler." The closest Latin equivalent would be *terrarum rectorem* (ILS 112A).

Midrash further inflates the imperial imagery: thus (Exod. Rabbah 5.14) "That day was the day of Pharaoh's ambassadors ("" ie cf 111.90), and all the kings came to honor him, and they brought gifts (, ie) of crowns and crowned him, for that was the day of the world-ruler ()." Again (Esther Rabbah 1.12) "No king who is not a world-ruler of the universe can sit on [Solomon's throne],"

vbv 3t»r ir « •'run ncn pionp -» -f7ö where the redundant O^iya shows that the force of - was lost.

(Although Alexander appears to be a cosmocrator, Midrashic legend does not make him sit on Solomon's throne.) Also the "angel of death" (man ^) is a cosmocrator {Lev. Rabbah 18.3}.⁶¹

20.3.4 The ambassador

Any empire needs ambassadors to its subordinate states and neighbors. Artabanus III, in his Greek inscription of AD 21 to Susa,⁶² is confirming the election of a city treasurer. In praise of the treasurer, whose election had been irregular, the king notes that at his own expense he has devoted himself on the city's behalf to "two embassies" (line 6), ; probably earlier reference had been made to an "ambassador," []. How was the office named in Iranian? Plutarch Alexander 18.563 says of Darius that "he became king instead of courier," . Here the importance of the office is minimized but a surely genuine Iranian loan-word appears. Hesychius records what must be the same word as "messenger"; the t in Plutarch is either phonetic simplification, or a copying error in uncials for

*. Recently Iranian testimony to what again must be the same word has appeared in Buddhist Sogdian, *zynt*, 'st'nk.⁶⁴ But it is frequently attested in Targumic Aramaic and

⁶¹ For the later history of the idea, see François de Polignac, "Cosmocrator: l'islam et la légende antique du souverain universel," pp. 149-164 of M.

Bridges & C. J. Ch. Bürgel (eds.), *The Problematics of Power: Eastern and Western Representations of Alexander the Great*; Schweizer Asiatische Studien; Mon. Band 22; Bern etc.: Lang, 1996.

62 See note 40 above.

63 Similarly Plutarch Mor. 326E, 340C.

64 H. Happ in Glotta 40 (1962) 198-201; WP Schmid, ibid. 321.

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Peshitto Syriac as KUPK "messenger," evidently as a loan-word from Iranian.

Thus Targum Onqelos at Gen 32,3 has " for Hebrew •"OK1?!?.

The abstract - "legation, embassy" occurs in the sayings of Jesus. Luk 14,32, in the parable of the two kings with unequal forces: "While the other is still far off, [the weaker]

sends an embassy () and asks terms of peace." At Luk 19,12-14 a nobleman has gone off to a far land to acquire a kingdom; "but his citizens hated him, and sent an embassy

() after him, saying 'We do not want this one to rule over us!'" Both times the Vulgate has correctly legationem; the Pesh makes it concrete, "ambassadors," RTIPK.

The two usages in Luke suggest not merely typical but specific Near Eastern situations. Just after Jesus' death, about AD 35, the army of Herod Antipas of Galilee was defeated by Aretas of Nabataea when some of Antipas' allies went over to the other side (Josephus AJ 18.114); Antipas the tetrarch was called a king⁶⁵ and Aretas really was one, though neither

campaigned in person. This could have colored the earliest versions of Luk 14,32, which originally might have rested on recollections of earlier battles among the vassal kinglets of the Near East. The situation in Luk 19,14 (it is often observed) reflects the situation in 4 BC after the death of Herod the Great, when his son Archelaus went to Rome to lobby with Augustus for the title 'king,' and is opposed by a "legation of Jews" (, Josephus AJ 17.300), fifty in number, individually designated as . The incident fits poorly into the parable of the minas, but evidently some strong motivation put it in there. The situation is partially reversed at Exod. Rabbah 42.3: Parable of a province that sent a legate (ie) to crown a king:

-j^a1? -nay1? canrn s -fimi nno1 ? ^tsa While he was absent the sons of that province rose up, overthrew the images and stoned the

likenesses (•|313', ie).

In Paul's usage the 'legate' becomes a messenger from God to human beings. At II Kor 5,20 Paul speaking editorially says "We act as ambassadors on behalf of Christ," , where Pesh has the plural noun in place of the verb, pn RUPK, Vg legationem fungimur. Eph 6,19-20 "to make known the mystery [of

65 Mark 6,22 etc., see Harold W. Hoehner, Herod Antipas; Cambridge: University, 1972; 149-151.

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the Gospel],66 for which I am an ambassador in bonds," []

;67 Peshitto:

^ mar « njío in srmon r-

At Philemon 9 where Paul calls himself a "old man," many follow Bentley in emending to "ambassador" (unless itself can mean that [Levin]).

Two Aramaic texts suggest that behind Paul lies a doctrine (Zoro-astrian? Gnostic?) of a Messenger come down from a higher world to enlighten those below, where (in Paul's terminology) it would have been the Christ rather than the Apostle who is the "messenger." The hero of the Hymn of the Pearl is in effect a legate from the King of Kings to mankind, although not called

such. He has with him two messengers (vs 16), "PPHB, Greek ; and his home is in effect the Parthian court, for when he falls asleep (37-8) "a proclamation was made in our kingdom that all should speed to our gate, / kings and princes of Parthia and all the nobles of the East": rant»] isnn1? E^SI ^Di

ima^on nsxî Tina · O^Ö The actual Iranian

word appears in a Mandaean text68 "My good messenger of light (K3KB]«:»«) who travels to the house of his friends."

20.3.5 The Magi69 In

Herodotus 1.101 the are a Persian tribe, who play an increasingly great role in internal politics (Herodotus 3.63.2). The history of the Magian pretender there is in a general way

confirmed by Darius at Beh. 1.36 (Kent 117) I martiya magus äha Gaumäta näma "There was one man, a Magian, Gaumata by name"; here the Akkadian is ma-gu-su.⁷⁰ At Elephantine (Kraeling 4.24) a document is witnessed by

66 Omitted by Codex B.

67 Here the Peshitto has two or even three Iranian words: further, "mystery" and PDR "proclaim," if this is not

just a borrowing from Greek but a conflation with a native Iranian word.

68 ES Drower, *The Canonical Prayerbook of the Mandaean*; Leiden: Brill, 1959, p. 107 sect. 107 (with copy of original MS at p. 144); transcription in ES Drower & R. Macuch, *A Mandaic Dictionary*; Oxford: Clarendon, 1963, p. 40 sv

asganda.

69 The Magi have previously appeared at 1.95, 21270 LW King & RC, 342; 11.39, 296. Thompson, *The Sculptures and Inscriptions of Darius the Great...*; London: British Museum, 1907; p. 165.

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two "magi," each designated }OE>3Q, one with a name from Mithras, moina.

A Greco-Aramaic bilingual from Cappadocia (KAI 265) has denominative verbs

= tSOÖ71 "conducted Magian ceremonies" for Mithra.

Mostly in the West the magus, however influential, is distrusted: so in Heraclitus⁷²; likewise in Sophocles OT 387, where Oedipus condemns Teiresias as "such a trickster magus," -. (But a plausible reading of the newly-found Derveni papyrus⁷³ at vi.2-3 regards them as powerful, "the incantation of the magoi is able to change the daimones when they get in the way," [] [] [] [] .) Act 13,8 shows us one such as an apparent historical figure, ; and so 8,9 ... "Simon Magus." The from the East (Matt 2,1), Syriac "WJO, are given uniquely honorific treatment in the ancient world. At Rome the fall from favor of M. Scribonius Libo

Drusus was due to his being led into "the prophecies of the Chaldaeans and the rites of the Magi," Tacitus Ann. 2.27 Chaldaeorum promissa, magorum sacra. Nero thought that such rites could raise the spirits of his murdered mother, Suetonius Nero 34.4 facto per magos

sacro euocare Manes. Sapor in his Res Gestae names one Krtyr 'hrpty (Parthian 28), Greek 66 . This Kartir the Magian has left his own Middle-Persian inscription where he calls himself (line 1) in its usual defective spelling Kltyl mgwpt "Kartir chief magus."⁷⁴

20.3.6 The chiliarch and the centurion

At least in theory ancient armies had, besides other ranks, rulers of thousands and hundreds (11.236). Thus Ex 18,21 (cf. I Sam 22,7) niNö "HÊ> D-ia (7« £>

(besides rulers of fifties and tens) where LXX -, Vg in Roman fashion tribunos et centuriones. Herodotus 7.81 says that the Persian army under Xerxes had rulers of ten thousands (), of thousands (), of hundreds () and of tens. Of these the rulers of thousands are the best attested otherwise.

The Iranian original appears in Sapor's Res Gestae 23 as hzrwpt (transcribed in Greek as etc.), where the first part of the compound corresponds to Sanskrit sahasram "thousand." A more

71 Here the y in mgys seems to denote the i vowel of the intensive ("piel").

72 Heraclitus frag. 14, Diels-Kranz FVS8 i.154.

73 A. Laks & GW Most (eds.), Studies on the Derveni Papyrus; Oxford: Clarendon, 1997; pp. 11 & 95.

74 Text in Back (footnote 4 above).

..«» .

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classical transcription in Hesychius . ⁷⁵ It appears further in Rabbinic, •' Bab. Talm. Shabb. 139a along with "Magi," "•BJUOK. One such par excellence seems to have commanded the Persian king's bodyguard of a thousand (Aeschylus Persae 304); Alexander took over the office, and Antipater installed his own son Cassander as chiliarch (Diodorus 18.48).Hence went into standard Hellenistic usage. Judas Maccabaeus (I Makk 3,55, 165 BC) in his army

appointed leaders of thousands (); the same structure is presumed in the Qumran War Scroll (1QM IV.1-5).

The Roman legion of 6,000 was normally made up of 10 cohortes of 600 men each, each containing 6 centuriae of 100. The legion had 6 military tribunes (tribuni militum) instead of the 10 we would expect to command the cohorts, but we regularly find a military tribune commanding a single cohort; the exact structure is unclear to me. (Or did the effective infantry amount to just 6 cohorts?) Latin writers thus refer to the officers of foreign armies: Justin 14.1.7 speaks of centurions in

the Macedonian army of Eumenes; at 22.1.10 Agathocles in the army of Syracuse is first centurion and then tribunus militum. Polybius 1.23.1 etc. seems to exaggerate the tribune's command from 600 to 1,000 by giving him the Hellenistic

title ; the Latin occasionally went over into Greek (Dionysius

Hal. 2.7.3). Polybius once (6.24.5) transcribes Latin centurio as ; but the Latinism becomes frequent in Greek inscriptions and papyri. Josephus [B] 2.577-

578, AD 66) says that he himself "organized his army along Roman lines" (), and appointed rulers of ten ("decurions,"), rulers of a hundred (), of a thousand (), and over these commanders of larger bodies; but he may exaggerate the extent or Roman character of the reorganization, since the structure follows the Maccabean.⁷⁶ Near Eastern armies and militias then show

the same pattern, naming their officers in Greek or Latin; it is probably meaningless to ask whether they follow Hellenistic, Roman or even Persian prototypes, since a uniform structure had imposed itself. A Nabataean inscription of AD 8 at el-Hejra in Saudi Arabia⁷⁷ marks the tomb of "Haninu

⁷⁵ Hesychius A.1441 (i.52 Latte), defined inaccurately as "messen- gers"; with transposition, Ctesias FGH 688 frag. 15.46 .

⁷⁶ See Israel Shatzman, *The Armies of the Hasmonaeans and Herod: From Hellenistic to Roman Frameworks*; *Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum* 25; Tübingen: Mohr, 1991; p. 158.

⁷⁷ Cooke no. 82 = CIS 2.201; it is dated by the 17th year of Aretas (IV), 9 BC— AD 40; he appears at II Cor 11:32 (cf. 11.117).

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Hephaistion chiliarch":78 «Dl^ D]03 13. Another from the same site (CIS 2.217), also under Aretas and under the protection of the god Dusares (, Greek [1.333]), is of the "centurion Sha 'dal-lahi son of Zabda':

toar -n antaDp M^KII?»

The centurion () in charge at Leukê Kômë the port of Petra (Periplous Maris

Rubri 9) is surely also a Nabataean. Both chiliarch and centurion appear in Rabbinic, but out of historical con-text, in vague tables of precedence: thus "pDT'PD Qoh. Rabbah XII.7; •piKPP Sifre Deut. 309. The dedications at Palmyra to a Kntnp (PAT 1397 etc.) are to centurions in numbered Roman legions. Still all these officers, Roman or indigenous, are stepping into the boots of their Hellenistic and Iranian predecessors.

The primacy of the Roman military structure in our minds deceives us into transforming indigenous officers of the New Testament into Romans, both in Galilee and Judaea. In Galilee it is plain that when Herod Antipas invites to his birthday (Mark 6,21) his Peshitto KDT^O, Vg

tribunis, these are not Romans, since he enjoyed a nominal independence

free of military occupation; they are officers in his local militia which made such a poor showing against Aretas (Josephus A] 18.114, III.90). It is his soldiers whom John Baptist (Luk 3,14)

told to "be content with your wages," , Pesh *, Vg stipendiis (11.110).

At Capernaum Jesus meets a "ruler of a hundred", Matt 8,5 Luk 7,2 , Pesh

"It2]p, Vg centurio. He is described as a non-Jew—perhaps an Idumean like his master Antipas.

The "centurion" is one of the "first men of Galilee" (Mark 6,21) like the epitropos Chuza (Luk 8,3) and Antipas' boyhood comrade

(Act 13,1).79 Joh 4,46-53 seems to have the same event in mind, and calls the personage a "king's man," . With his soldiers he is

78 JMC Bowsher ("The Nabataean Army," pp. 19-30 of DH French & C.

S. Lightfoot, eds., *The Eastern Frontier of the Roman Empire...*; part 1; British Institute of Archeology at Ankara, Monograph 11; 1989; p. 21) thinks that Haninu "may have emulated the specific rank as well as the name of Alexander's famous companion [Hephaestion]"; see Arrian *Anab.* 7.14.10.

79 Perhaps this Manaen is the grandson of that Menahem the Essene (Josephus A] 15.373) who predicted the accession of Herod the Great; less likely the same man as the Menahem of Mishna Hag. II.2. Theodore Zahn with exceptional ingenuity proposed

that the "centurion" of Capernaum was Manaen of Acts, on the grounds that the officer is the person of highest rank converted in the Gospels, and Manaen the highest-ranking convert in Acts.

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millennials,

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presumably guarding the customs house (Mark 2,14) on the main NS road. Sherwin-White writes:

This centurion cannot be a Roman soldier, although the story implies that he is not a Jew. Capernaum was in the heart of the tetrarchy of Herod.

Galilee was never part of a Roman province until the death of Agrippa I in AD 44. The centurion must be a soldier of Herod [Antipas], who certainly affected Roman terminology.⁸⁰

In Judaea at the mocking of Jesus the (Vg *cobortem*) of Mark 15,16 is beyond doubt a Roman body, and its (undesigned) commander would have been a military tribune or as at Act 21,31. Likewise the centurion (Mark 15,39) at the Cross is a Roman soldier. ⁸¹ But at Joh 18,12, who are the "cohort and the chiliarch and the assistants of the Judaeans"

(oov)? Excursus I proposes that they are a detachment of the Temple police.

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The poet of the Persian period called "Deutero-Isaiah" represents Cyrus as being called to his historic mission by the God of Israel (Isa 45,1-7). Morton Smith⁸² points out that much of the material here also appears in the Akkadian decree of Cyrus,⁸³ and the conclusion

follows that the poet is repeating what was being said about Cyrus in his milieu. (Smith increases the parallels by assuming that the "Servant poem" of Isa 42,1-4 "Behold my servant whom I have chosen" also refers to Cyrus, rather than [as usual] to an ideal representative of Israel.) Smith goes on to the sensational conclusion that the concept in the Hebrew Bible of the world's creation by God originated with Il Isaiiah rather than with the Priestly writer of Genesis 1 or elsewhere; and that the poet-prophet took it or augmented it from the Zoroastri-

80 AN Sherwin-White, *Roman Society and Roman Law in the New Testament*; Oxford: Clarendon, 1963; p. 124. Another example of Antipas' Roman terminology is the (Mark 6,27) who beheaded John Baptist, Pesh Nlta'pp'ISOK, Vg speculatore. The word is frequent in Rabbinic, with nice parallels to Latin and Greek usage: thus Num. Rabbah 19.26 "no man praises his executioner," l1?» -llta^paCPK'? D*?pa DIN T>R.

81 The revisers of Mark found this unliterary, whence Matt 27,54, Luk 23,47.

82 Morton Smith, "Il Isaiiah and the Persians," JAOS 83 (1963) 415-421. 83 ANET3 315-316.

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96

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anism of Cyrus. At 11.58 we summarize the agreement of the Avestan Yasna 44 with Il Isaiiah and other sources in an "Indo-European catechism" of the creator God: "Who created light and

darkness?"

The political and cosmic role of the Iranian Great King, "King of kings," is as we saw reinforced by a series of attributes which reflect that role. Here we consider a series of such: his sacred image; his diadem; obeisance or prostration in his presence; his gate; and end with an attribute as much belonging to the sanctions exercised by him as to his legitimation—his sword.

20.4.1 The image of the Great King Above (III.83)

we saw that the vision of the "Word of God" at Rev 19,11-16 contains Hebrew elements (like

the "rod of iron," Ps 2,9) grafted onto a pictorial representation of the Parthian king, including two of the three elements in his investiture (Josephus AJ 20.32), the diadem and the sword. In Old Persian such a representation is called patikara; Darius (Beh. IV.71) so refers to the sculptures surrounding his text at Behistun. In trilingual inscriptions of the Sasanids Artaxaros

and Sapor a 'relief' is named by Parthian ptkr = .84 The word

continued to be written in the same manner in Parthian as when it originally entered imperial

Aramaic as a loanword eight centuries earlier. In a text of the 5th century BC from Tarsus (KAI 258), 3 33 "this statue" refers to a lost relief or sculpture. The bronze Heracles/Verethragna from Seleucia on the Tigris (III.70) calls itself a 33 = image. At Elephantine 313 likewise is "sculpture" and the unique compound ~33 "sculptor."⁸⁵

At Isa 8,21 Targum Jonathan has 33 for Trfrô·! "and by his gods"; similarly at Amos 5,26, Zeph 1,5. In a beautiful agreement, MS "93" of the LXX at Isa 8,21 has ; at Isa

37,38 MS "B" has with metathesis (correctly in copies known to Theodoretus⁸⁶). Theodoretus in his commentary on Isa 8,21⁸⁷ records that stood in some of his MSS there and adds yàp , "For patachrë is a word of the Syrians, and in the Greek

84 E. Herzfeld, Paikuli: Monument and Inscription of the Early History of the Sasanian Empire, 2 vols; Forschungen zur islamischen Kunst III; Berlin 1924, p. 84; the Greek texts alone are printed at OGIS 432, 434.

85 Driver 9.1-2.

86 Theodoretus ad Isa 37,38, in Isaiah 11.392 ed. Guinot iii.374, Sources chrétiennes 276.

87 Ibid. 3.716, Guinot i.316.

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language it means 'idols.'" Since the word appears nowhere else in Greek or Rabbinic, it must have entered the LXX and the oral Targumic tradition at the same place and time. 88 By "Syrians" Theodoretus may mean the usage of the Syriac churches: at I Cor 8,4 the Peshitto has KIDHS; the later Syriac of Rev 9,20 has two Iranian words KIDDS1 ?! (ie daival) KV"!1 ? for .

20.4.2 The Great King's diadem

The primary emblem of the Persian king's authority was the , a cloth headband. Darius on the Behistun relief apparently wears the diadem over the tiara.⁸⁹ The diadem was adopted by Alexander (Arrian

Anab. 7.22) and Seleucus, and continued by the Parthian kings, where the Sureña invested the new king with it (Tacitus Ann. 6.43). Iranian for "diadem" seems unknown; curiously the Greek went into Pehlevi as dydymy.⁹⁰ The "kingly crown" that Shakespeare has Antony offer Caesar was really a diadema (11.111). The proposal that Caesar be styled rex rested on a convenient Sibylline prophecy that "the Parthians could only be conquered by a king" (Parthos nisi a rege non posse uinci, Suetonius Julius 79.2-3). That would have made Rome one more monarchy on the Parthian-Seleucid model—the only one available.

The emperors were so far above wearing the diadem themselves that they bestowed it on Armenians and such: Tiberius early in his career on Tigranes III, Nero on Tiridates.⁹¹

20.4.3 Obeisance and prostration

The recognition of royal authority in one wearing the diadem was the act

of , whose meaning changed over the years. In 66 BC Tigranes I of Armenia came to Pompey on horseback with the diadem over his

tiara; Pompey made him dismount, and he then threw off his

⁸⁸ In my "The Septuagint as a Source of the Greek Loan-Words in the Targums,"

Biblica 70 (1989) 194-216, p. 203, on general considerations I presume that the Targum has it from the LXX, as is surely the case with Greek loan-words in the Targum. But if the two texts were being formed simultaneously (al-though the Targum took centuries longer to achieve written form than the Greek), perhaps the Greek has it from the Aramaic, where it was well estab-

lished.

⁸⁹ Photo in Cook Persian Empire plate 8; Xenophon Cyr. 8.3.13 says that Achaemenids wear the diadem over the tiara.

⁹⁰ Gignoux 22.

⁹¹ Suetonius Tib. 9.1, Nero 13. These dynasts with their Iranian names were surely of different culture from any subjects speaking what we know as "Armenian."

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diadem and did obeisance () to the Roman (Dio Cassius 36.52.3). When Cinna the pretender in AD 37 recognized Artabanus III as king, he first did obeisance () and then transferred the diadem from his

own head to the other's (Josephus AJ 20.65). The shift of meaning in spite of other theories,⁹² is best explained by the development of Persian ceremonial. The Greek literally means "blow a kiss," and just that is done by an inferior to the

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king in a relief from Persepolis. ⁹³ As social differences widened, the act became prostration and carried the meaning

of the Greek verb with it. ⁹⁴ At first Greeks rejected *proskynēsis*, but in spite of resistance Alexander took it over from

Persian court ceremonial.⁹⁵ It is Hellenistic usage that is the regular LXX translation for the anomalous verb

; it is unclear what precise act it denotes in the earlier strata of the Hebrew Bible. Persian style so imposed itself

that the verb, no doubt with the sense "fall prostrate," is standard in Matthew's Gospel for respect shown to Jesus.⁹⁶ It

was appropriate that Satan, perhaps with Ahriman somewhere in his background, should ask Jesus to "fall down and worship him" (Matt 4,9). It was even more appropriate that Magi, looking for a king of the Jews, "fell

down and worshiped him" (Matt 2,11), for a council of "wise men and Magi" also played a role in the designation of the Parthian king (Strabo 11.9.3).

20.4.4 The Great King's gate One more tableau of

the Parthian court appears in the Hymn of the Pearl 104. The court is defined as the "gate of the king of kings":

KD[^]Ö -|i70-ï...l«nn'7 =

92 . Greeven (TDNT 6.759) thinks that originally implied respect to a chthonic deity, on the grounds that kissing one such would require prostration!

93 Relief from the Persepolis treasury (Cook, Persian Empire, plate 9; see III.82); the king has not been surely identified. The gesture of "blowing a kiss" is described by Apuleius Met. 4.28.

94 RN Frye, "Gestures of Deference to Royalty in Ancient Iran," *Iranica Antiqua* 9 (1972) 102-107, analyzes a variety of gestures shown on the monuments. Herodotus 1.134.1 shows how the rank of one being saluted determines the gesture.

95 Herodotus 7.136; Xenophon Anab. 3.2.13; Arrian Anab. 4.10-12; Plutarch Alex. 74.

96 In Mark appears only in a Roman context: by the one who has the "Legion" (Mark 5,6) and in mockery by the Roman soldiers (15,19). In Luke it may belong only to the Temptation narrative (Luk 4,7-8), for Western witnesses omit it at Luk 24,52.

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as the Ottoman court was the Sublime Porte. Xenophon Anab. 1.9.3 knows that noble Persian youth were educated "at the gates of the king," . The same idiom appears at Esther 2,19, "the king's gate":⁹⁷ ^ IVV.

20.4.5 The Great King's sword At III.82 we saw that Monobazus was invested in Iranian fashion

with a sword, (Josephus AJ 20.32). The word is plainly Iranian; Sapor Res Gestae 64 had one "Papak the sword-bearer,"

Parthian P'pk spsydr, Greek .⁹⁸ The loanword in Greek further in a fragment, perhaps from Arrian's Parthica⁹⁹ ". brings gifts to Trajan of silk garments and swords." A papyrus¹⁰⁰ has "an Italian sword"; the editors in an addendum (I.iii.86) explain Persian samser as a compound, sam 'claw' + ser 'lion,' but I cannot verify this.

Above all the word appears in Aramaic. Thus in Rabbinic, Bab.

Talm. Baba Bathra 21b "he drew his sword," ¹⁰³ Similarly in Syriac, Odes of Solomon 28.5 "And the dagger shall not divide me from him, nor the sword"

iooao K^ax ruo "o^an 1 ? «mm

And frequently in the Peshitto New Testament, although its distribution beside other Aramaic words for "sword" is peculiar. Thus at Act 16,27 the jailer, proposing suicide, "drew his sword," , Pesh

3D]. At Matt 26,55 (cf. Mark 14,48, Luk 22,52)

Jesus addresses his adversaries, "Have you come as against a bandit

() with swords () and staves to take me?" Here the Pesh has 0303; the Palestinian Syriac (and the Pesh of Luk 22,52) correctly translate with iOQO1 ?.

There is a remarkable variation between Matt 26,52a and b. In the first half-verse, "Put your sword back in its place," -

97 The book of Esther is not a mere historical romance, for it has access to good tradition. Thus in Hegay (·*3 Esther 2,8), eunuch over Xerxes' harem, it records one Hegias, the only historical Greek person named in the Hebrew Bible; he must be the "Hegias of Ephesus," named in Xerxes' court by Ctesias, FGH 688 frag. 13.27; see 1.34.

98 He takes the place of Gaubaruva (Herodotus 3.70) the spear-bearer (,arstibara) of Darius and Aspacana (, see II.6) his bow-bearer (vacabara); Kent 140.

99 Suda iv.319 Adler.

100 pap. Giessen 47.11, ed. O. Eger et alii, Griechische Papyri im Museum des oberhessischen Geschichtsverein zu Giessen; Leipzig: Teubner 1910, I.ii.

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the Pesh has Iranian *? K~l030 "janx.

And so at Joh 18,11 with " sheath, " eîç , the Pesh likewise has

^ lOOSO D"O.101 But in the proverb Matt 26,52b "for all those who take the sword shall perish by the sword," yàp oi all the Syriac versions have Aramaic WO, thus Pesh:

•pmûJ 3·3 0]13 3 pn^D

It is hard to discern the dialectal register of the two translations in the Pesh of Matt 26,52.

The seeming proverb "All those who take the sword..." with Rabbinic might either be colloquial, or quotation of an archaic saying. The command "Put the sword back in its place/ sheath" with Iranian 030 might be either correct literary eastern Aramaic or a colloquial reminiscence. What seems clear is that the original usages of 030 in Aramaic must have carried the connotation of Parthian political power. Then it also applies to the sword of minor Near Eastern powers like the police force of the high priests, "Have you come out to take me as against a bandit with swords and staves?"

Perhaps also in Iranian it had a metaphorical force "that which divides one person from another" as in "not peace but a sword" (Matt 10,34) and the Odes of Solomon.

20.5 Imperial sanctions

During the Old Persian or Achaemenid empire, Jews were in intimate touch, both in Babylonia and the Palestinian satrapy, with the new rulers of the Near East. Since 597 BC there had been a Jewish exile community in Babylon. Soon after the accession of Darius I in 522 BC he controlled what Herodotus 3.91 calls his fifth province, including "Phoenicia, Palestinian Syria and Cyprus"; it is the seventh in Darius' own list (Beh. 1.12-17), "those who are beside the sea." (Already in 546 BC Cyrus controlled Sardis, and from that time on Greeks some-where were ruled by Iranian-speaking officials.) Deutero-Isaiah has God call Cyrus his 'Anointed' (Isa 45,1 irPBL'ö, LXX). Ezra and Nehemiah record, along with Aramaic documents from Egypt and the Arsames dossier, many facets of Persian imperial rule in Palestine.

After the formation of the new Arsacid or Parthian dynasty, Babylonia and the Jewish community there were under Iranian rule by

101 Circe with different vocabulary expresses the exact same command to Odysseus, Od. 10.333 ' .

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the death of Mithradates I in 138/7 BC.¹⁰² In 40 BC Pacorus I, son of king Orodes II of Parthia, seems to have been co-regent in his own right. With the satrap (of an uncertain

area, Josephus AJ 14.330)

Barzaphranes and the Roman renegade Q. Labienus,¹⁰³ Pacorus took advantage of the absence of M. Antonius and invaded Syria and Palestine (Dio 48.24-26); in Jerusalem they installed the Hasmonean claimant Antigonus as king (Josephus BJ 1.269), which office he held as Mattathias¹⁰⁴ until the Romans reclaimed control. Antonius executed him in 37 BC (Dio 49.22.6) and installed as king Herod the Great.¹⁰⁵ During the career of Jesus, Judaea

was ruled by Tiberius (AD 14-37) far to the west, brooding on the Palatine or at Capri. Much closer at hand was the Parthian king Artabanus III (AD 12-ca. 38, with gaps?), whose winter palace was at Seleuceia near Babylon (Strabo 16.1.16); for a while his rival Vonones was interned by the Romans in Syria as a check on the incumbent (Josephus AJ 18.52; Tacitus Ann.

2.58). In AD 35, Artabanus wrote to Tiberius demanding Vonones' treasure and impertinently offering to annex the former empires of Cyrus and Alexander (Tacitus Ann. 6.31).

From the beginning of the new Iranian dynasty of the Sasanids under king Ardashir (ab. AD 227), Edessa, the home of Syriac Aramaic, was close to the sphere of influence of his son and successor Sapor I (reigned AD 240- 272). Sapor in his Res Gestae 19 states that

in AD 260 when he captured the Roman emperor Valerian he besieged Carrhae and Edessa/ Urha (Greek , Parthian H'm W'wrb'y), although it is doubtful¹⁰⁶ that Edessa was actually taken.

Thus during the formative period of the Syriac Gospels their language went on being influenced by Iranian.

The Old Persian empire took over many of the administrative sanctions of the Assyrians and neo-Babylonians, whose exactions were vividly recalled in Israel, dimly in Hellas also. Plato (Laws 685C, see 1.329) imagines that at the time of the Trojan war "those [hostile to

Trojan power], relying on the power of the Assyrians sited at Ninos [Nineveh], boldly raised the war against Troy"; and adds "as now we

102 Discussion in Debevoise 27; Jacob Neusner, A History of the Jews in Babylonia; I. The Parthian Period; Leiden: Brill, 1965, 21.

103 Labienus on a famous coin with a Parthian horse on the reverse calls himself

Q. LABIENVVS PARTHICVS IMP (erator); Mattingly (note 59 above) p. 80 & Plate In Roman
XIX.20.

104 So on his bilingual coins, SVMB i.281.

105 See further for these events Debevoise 110-120. 106 Millar 167.

tradition that should have meant "Commander in a victory over the Parthians"; it is unclear what Labienus meant by it.

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fear the Great King, so those of old feared the then established authority." Rumors of Assyrian power surely are reflected in Homer. The whole spectrum of humiliations inflicted on the bodies of the captured, living or dead, by the Assyrians—impaling, flaying, hanging up¹⁰⁷—is echoed in the last books of the Iliad. Somehow the word got around.

But with Homer, what in the Assyrian reprisals is "national propaganda, to intimidate potential enemies of the king, is turned to the expression of the final horror of the death of noble warriors, and to the last extremity of passionate heroic hatred." ¹⁰⁸

Here we record some of the sanctions either developed by the Old Persian empire

or taken over by it from the Assyrians, beginning with the mildest (taxation, bureaucracy). The deprivation of freedom through requisition and conscription (angareia) has been treated above at 11.52-53. (Homeric "messenger," unexplained from IE, may

be an earlier loan of the unknown [Akkadian or Iranian?] original of "courier.") We end with the forms of corporal punishment: tattooing and flogging, and the ultimate sanction, crucifixion.

20.5.1 Taxation

Aramaic Ezra three times (4,13; 4,20; 7,24) has the phrase "tribute, custom or toll" with slight variations; Ezra 7:24

'i1 ?? 30 Vulgate uectigal et tributum et annonas; at 4,20 tributum et uectigal et redditus. 30

also appears in the Arsames dossier (Driver 8.5); {"? frequently there and elsewhere.¹⁰⁹ Kaufman recognizes these as from Akkadian maddattu, biltu, ilku; and thinks (p. 44) that

they represent "a threefold list of Persian taxes represented in L(ate) B(abylonian) by the forms ilku, baru, and nadi/ anatu." The words thereafter drop out of Aramaic almost completely.

In contrast ODO "tax" appears in the Hebrew Bible at Num 31,28ff (and there only) where LXX; the corresponding noun of agent "publican" is Rabbinic ODIO, Palmyrene {0030, Peshitto KDDÖ representing in the Gospels. Kaufman 72 derives 030 from miksu 'tax,' and the nouns of agent probably from Akkadian mākisu. Either this is a late addition to Numbers or an early influence of Akkadian

107 ANET3 276, 288, 295.

108 Jasper Griffin, *Homer on Life and Death*; Oxford: University, 1980; p. 46. 109 30 or 0 also at Ezra 6,8 (Aram.), Neh 5,4, Kraeling 5.7.

110 HWF Saggs, "The Nimrud Letters, 1952—Part II," *Iraq* 17 (1955) 126-

160; Letter XII.10-20 (p. 128) speaks of "tax-collectors (who were) over the wharves [?] of Mount Lebanon" taxing timber, and "a tax-collector (ma-ki-su) who (had been) in the warehouses of Sidon."

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bureaucracy on Hebrew. An Akkadian letter from 740-705 BC110 records tax-collectors taxing timber on Lebanon. Mishna BQ XI •pODlOn "the chest of the tax-collectors." "customs house"

(Mark 2,14), Pesh K0DÜ , Vg teloneum. in The same equivalence = K0DÜ also at Palmyra, where the Tariff (1.7) records "dis-putes between the traders (III.66) and the publicans: .. .[]

«•>030 rra1? «un ·....:0 The NT Vulgate

publicanus traps us into thinking of the Gospel as in some sense Romans. Eventually some of the proceeds did get back to Rome from both Galilee and Judaea through tribute. But through all changes of regime the reliable tax-collectors were locals who knew the scene. The tax-collector of Capernaum was a local, Levi son of Alphaeus (Mark 2,13; see 11.120) or Matthew the Evangelist (Matt 9,9; 10,3); even in Roman Judaea the "chief tax-

collector" of Luk 19,2 (, Pesh N0DÜ Vg princeps publicanorum) is a local, Zacchaeus. Tax-collection like banditry is hereditary: Bab. Talm. Shebu. 39a "You will find no family with a tax-collector, where they are not all tax-collectors; or with a bandit () where they are not all bandits": •ptao-«': wem poDio ròs » odio an wv nrmtsa 1? ptao1? n'ps ym

20.5.2 The bureaucracy 3 is used

of an Assyrian captain (it seems correctly) at II Reg 18,24, where LXX and Vulgate satrapam (anticipating its later Persian use). At Jer 51,23 of Babylonian officials, •"3301 nina (for the latter see below). At Esther 3,12 of Persian governors. At I Reg 10,15 retroactively applied to the time of Solomon, fTK H 13; there is no other evidence that it was adopted this early in the monarchy. (But Levin thinks this text a precious witness to early usage.) In Biblical Aramaic at Ezra 5,14, again in Persian context satraps: Bigwai of Judah nna vnan (Cowley 30.1), Sanballat of Samaria piût» 3 tattoo (30.29).¹¹² It seems abbreviated from Akkadian bei pabāti "lord of a district."

The subordinate to a 2 is po, applied to both Assyrian and Babylonian officials, almost always with : Ezek 23,6 etc.; Jeremiah 51:23

¹¹¹ Also on stone the Greek enters Latin as a loanword: in North Africa a

teloneum is repaired (CIL 8.12314); in Ephesus is one Quintus a telonarius (CIL 3.13677).

^{1 12} This Sanballat is likely the same man as taç>3.30 of Neh 2,1 0 etc.; and Bigwai the Bagoses of Josephus A} 11.297-301.

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etc.; of Medes Jer 51,28. It is taken up as a title of Judaeans officials at Neh 2,16 etc. Biblical Aramaic - «»gao Dan 3,2 etc. 130 is constant at Elephantine for the Persian governor but also of civilians, Cowley 26.9 {OH} po "head of the carpenters." Kaufman 97 takes it from Akkadian saknu.

In all periods, saknu could refer to officials on two distinct levels of the administrative hierarchy: provincial governors (appointed by the king), and officials subordinate to

provincial governors and other high officials... Note also that a saknu in charge of a garrison ...could also be called "governor" (bèi päbiti).ni

There is an unique Mishnaic description (see 1.198) of a Hellenistic ceremony where a bull (") with gilt horns (2 maiSO]) is brought to Jerusalem (Bikkurim III.3). When they got near "the gov- ernors, the prefects and the treasurers went out to meet them": •1 ? T'XST" anau m D^jom mnan

These are obviously officials of the Temple. Avoth III.2 quotes Rabbi Hanina (3) deputy of the priests (•1]3 po) "Pray for the peace of the government." In the LXX of Nehemiah (2,16 etc.) the opao are translated "commanders" and are surely heads of the Temple police (III.115, where Hanina is identified with Ananos the of the Temple [Josephus A] 20.131]). Thus Bikkurim testifies to two groups of Temple officials with Assyrian titles,] and •""DìO, and a third, the treasurers, with a Persian one (•""•, Ezra 1,8).

For this Iranian word see III.240.

The same Akkadian term appears much earlier in a different trans-literation, skn at Ugarit, which knows a "mayor of the city" (skn qrt KTU 4.609.10) and a "superintendent of the house" (skn bt KTU 7.63.5). The Ahiiram inscription of Byblos speaks of "a governor among governors," D^DOD po (KAI 1.1); the "New City" or Carthage of Cyprus has a mayor, po (KAI 31.1). At Isa 22,15 Shebna is p'0. Thus the same Akkadian title is taken up in West Semitic at widely separate periods with slightly different phonetics for (so far as we can determine) nearly the same office.

20.5.3 Tattooing and flogging CP Jones,

in a notable article,¹¹⁴ proposed that Greek (and Latin) stigma normally means "tattoo," not

"brand"; certainly the verb

113 CAD 17.1.191.

114 CP Jones, "STIGMA: Tattooing and Branding in Graeco-Roman Antiquity," JRS 77 (1987) 139-155. But in the American Civil War, Union deserters were

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means "prick," so that on a previous view its use for "brand" could be only metaphorical.¹¹⁵ Penal tattooing was a Persian innovation in Greece: Xerxes tattooed the Thebans taken at Thermopylae with the "royal stigmata," — as earlier he had symbolically done to the Hellespont (Herodotus 7.233.2, 7.35.1)! The Athenians, quick studies, tattooed Samian captives with their owl, and the Samians in turn tattooed Athenians with their trireme.¹¹⁶ The Syracusans tattooed Athenians with their horse (Plutarch Nie. 29). was a runaway slave caught and tattooed.¹¹⁷ In Latin such a tattoo was normally of three letters, for example FVR "thief."¹¹⁸ The Romans saw it as an act of "writing."¹¹⁹ The mark of the Beast (Rev 13,16) on forehead or right hand is then primarily a mark of ownership; here also it is of three letters, interpreted as numbers. At Jewish Elephantine the owner's name was marked on the right hand of a slave.¹²⁰ A soldier was in a status close to slavery, and a captured deserter also was tattooed (Aeschines Emb. 79). During the Roman proscriptions, masters (who feared a recurrence of slave revolts) treasured the memory of "a tattooed slave who saved the master that had tattooed him" (Dio Cassius 47.10.4),

The meaning of stigma is extended to the permanent scars from flogging, as in "one tattooed () by the rod" (Aristophanes Wasps 1296). When Paul says "I carry the marks () of Jesus on my body" (Gal

6,17), he surely means that he had been flogged by Jews and Gentiles (II Cor 11,24-25; Act 16,23) just as Jesus had been—hardly that he had been made a

slave to Christ by religious tattooing.

branded D with a hot iron on the cheek. One Army physician, Dr. William Minor, carried out the punishment under orders (Simon Winchester, *The Professor and the Madman*; New York: HarperCollins, 1999). His obsessive memory of the act helped push him over the brink to violent and delusional madness. Most of his later years were spent at the Broadmoor Criminal Lunatic Asylum in England, where he became the most valued single contributor to the Oxford English Dictionary.

1 1 5 Still the scars of flogging are called a stigma, so a brand could also have been so named.

1 1 6 Photius, *Samiôrt ho démos* as printed by GF Hill, *Sources for Greek His-tory...*; 2nd ed.; Oxford: University, 167; Plutarch Per. 2 5 through misunderstanding reverses the situation. Actually, it is easier to imagine Xerxes taking a hot iron to the sea; and on second thought this raises doubts about Jones' doctrine in general.

1 1 7 Athenaeus 13.612C; Cicero de off. 2.25; a female runaway tattooed, Aristophanes Lys. 331.

1 1 8 Plautus Aul. 325, speaking of a "three-letter man," trium litterarum homo. 1 1 9 Quintilian 7.4.14 , si quis fugituo stigmata scripserit.

1 2 0 Kraeling no. 5.7.

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The Franciscan understanding of the stigmata has lost the imperial reference. Jewish Aramaic reveals its underclass status by having two foreign words for "flogging," one from each of two empires. Ezra 7,26 has a descending scale of penalties "death, flogging, confiscation of goods, imprisonment":

1 0 .^] 1??}

that the LXX is correct is shown by Egyptian Aramaic, where ' is a punishment for slaves.¹²¹ The word is Iranian; it appears in the Avestan hymn to Mithra in the phrase *yo nistayeiti ksratäe sraosyçm* "who orders the execution of punishment."¹²²

Roman practice was found different and abhorrent enough that *flagellum* was taken into Greek as (*Joh* 2,15, *Pesh* 8*7313, *Vg* *flagellum*) and then into Palestinian Aramaic *733.¹²³ Cicero (*Rab. Perd.* 12) regards *flagella* as worse than *uirgae* "rods";

Horace *Serm.* 1.3.119 speaks of the *horribili flagello*. There is a striking parallel to the Passion in near-identical form in several Rabbinic texts, here taken from *Mekilta* on *Exod* 20,3-6,¹²⁴ a dialogue between an unidentified onlooker and a Jewish martyr.

nm1 ? «sr no -iBr1? «sr -fi na a^ 1 ? Ksr

no

^is 1? -\b no

"—Why are you being led out to be killed? —Because I circumcised my son to be an Israelite. —Why are you being led out to be burned? —Because I read in the Torah. —Why are you being led out to be crucified? —Because I ate the unleavened bread. —Why are you getting a hundred lashes? —Because I did the ceremony of the *Lulab*." In this text "crucified" is the West Aramaic verb. Here the Jewish community reacts to its persecution, probably under Hadrian, as the Christian sect to its persecution.

20.5.4 Crucifixion

Assyria has justifiably had a bad name for "frightfulness," Hitler's Schrecklichkeit. Persia and Rome are sometimes given credit for mitigating it. But, as with the Allied victors in World War II, their route

121 Driver no. 3.6; note the accurate distinction between the two Avestan sibilants. 122 I. Gershevitch, *The Avestan Hymn to Mithra*; Cambridge: University, 1959;

para. 109.

123 At Mark 15,15 Codex Bezae has the more correct with vulgar written over the first in the corrector's hand.

124 Mekilta ed. Lauterbach ii.247. Nearly the same text at Lev. Kabbah 32.1 and Midrash on Psalms 12.5. Further discussion at Sperber *Legal Terms* 153-4.

^{\Otsr tòde» iv min i TifopB iv nson ti'js«® ^V a^ibn

Tintai® iv

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to take over its sway lay through mass killings. When Darius took Babylon, he crucified three thousand citizens (Herodotus 3.151.1).

Cyrus the younger was praised (Xenophon *Anab.* 1.9.13) for making highways safe for Hellenes and barbarians by lopping off hands and feet and gouging out eyes of criminals. At home, when M. Licinius Crassus defeated Spartacus in 71 BC, six thousand captives were strung up all along the road from Capua to Rome (Appian *Civil Wars* 1.120).

(Readers may recall that Crassus was defeated and killed by the Parthian Sureña at Carrhae, 53 BC, and his head used in a performance of Euripides' *Bacchae* at the Hellenized Parthian court [Plutarch *Crassus* 33].) When Rome in the same year (146 BC) took Carthage and Corinth, it thus found sanctions for imperial control ready at hand: conscription, tattooing and flogging, crucifixion. In the opposite sense to what the poet intended, *Graecia capta ferutti uictorem cepit*, "Captured Greece took her fierce victor captive" (Horace *Epist.* 1.1.156).

For crucifixion was standard procedure in the Hellenistic empires, particularly the Seleucid.¹²⁵ The Maccabees saw themselves as Hellenistic monarchs,

and Alexander Jannaeus crucified eight hundred captives while drinking and reclining with his concubines (Josephus BJ 1.97).

Carthage made a specialty of crucifying its own defeated generals as well as captured enemy ones (Polybius 1.11.5, 1.24.6; Diodorus 25.10.2).

The Carthaginians were then imitated by mutineers (Polybius 1.79.4).

One Mago in 296 BC enticed the suffetes of Gades into his hands and then scourged and crucified them (Livy 28.37.2). One Hannibal crucified the runaway Campanian slave Spendius, but was himself captured by Spendius' allies, who took their friend down and put Hannibal up in his place (Polybius 1.86.4-6). Hannibal the great crucified a false guide in Italy ad reliquorum terrorem (Livy 22.13.9), pour encourager les autres. Goya's *Los Desastres de la Guerra* (ab. 1815, pub. 1863), still so upsetting to us, are pale reflections of the ancient realities.

Thereby Carthage continued Assyrian and Persian practice, evidently mediated by the Phoenician cities, which owed their independence and prosperity to their inland neighbors. Phenicia alone could supply various luxury goods as well as "the enormous quantities of iron required by the Assyrian 'war machine'."¹²⁶ The Assyrians, while striving to control the coastal cities, granted them quasi-autonomous status to engage in the sea-trade at which they felt themselves incom-

¹²⁵ Hengel 73-76 (note 128 below).

¹²⁶ Susan Frankenstein, "The Phoenicians in the Far West: A Function of Neo-Assyrian Imperialism," *Power and Propaganda* (ed. Larsen, see note 11 above) 263-294, esp. 272, referring to AL Oppenheim.

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patent (1.302). Thus the example of Carthage was closest at hand for Rome. Rome herself had an archaic version of the penalty in the old formula of execution *arbori infelici suspendito* "hang him from a barren tree" (11.247,321).¹²⁷ This may be Etruscan and itself Oriental in view of Deut 21,22 "hang him on a tree." But the Roman ruling class had more solidarity than the Carthaginian, and as a result the punishment was transformed from one of nobles to one of slaves.

Crucifixion was then the sanction par excellence from Akkadian Babylon to the new Babylon Rome (Rev 14,8 !). Hengel¹²⁸ has covered most of the Greco-Roman materials. At Rome, crucifixion was "the slaves' punishment," *seruile supplicium*}²⁹ It would seem already a paradox

then that Jesus should have been so executed as "king of the But with the Old Persian kings,

crucifixion was the punishment Jews. of pretenders to the diadem. "

Darius says of Fravartish (Herodotus 2.96) that he "fixed him on a stake (uzma)", *uzmayapaty akunavam* (Beh. II.76).¹³⁰ In the Babylonian version this becomes "Then upon a stake (za-qi-pi) did I affix him."¹³¹ This is the language of the Assyrian kings and of the (eastern) Peshito Syriac

version of the Gospels (III.110). Crucifixion was exercised by the Persian empire especially on those of high rank: Herodotus records the crucifixion of Magi (1.128), others of rank (4.43), rebellious Greeks (3.125, 6.30).

Lampón proposes that Pau-sanias avenge his uncle's impaling by crucifying the corpse of Mardo-nius (Herodotus 9.78), and we saw (111.79) how Herodotus (9.120) ends his tale by Greeks taking over the punishment. Glaucon presumes that the just man will be "scourged, racked, bound, have his eyes burned out and in the end be impaled ()" (Plato Rep. 361E). Clement of Alexandria applies Plato's text to Jesus. ¹³²

On the cross, Jesus says (Luke 23:43) "Today you shall be with me in Paradise." The paradise or hunting-park remained the prerogative of the Parthian king and his satraps. Thus in Iranian context the Passion narrative assumes a different shape; although Jesus is executed as a pretender to some diadem, he is in fact its legitimate wearer.

1 2 7 Livy 1.26.4 etc.

128 Martin Hengel, *Crucifixion in the ancient world and the folly of the message of the cross*; tr. John

Bowden; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977.

1 2 9 Valerius Maximus 2.7.12 , and numerous other sources gathered by Hengel, 51-52.

1 3 0 Cf. Beh. III.52.

131 Section 6 0 of the Akkadian version as transcribed by King & Thompson (note 70 above), p. 182.

132 Clement Alex. Stromateis 5.108. 2 (GCS 52 [15] 308).

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The essence of the punishment is deterrence through public humiliation. Prometheus must be "taught to accept the tyranny of Zeus," /

(Aeschylus PV 10-11); the psalmist says "all who see me mock at me," *Wî1?! ^""l-1??* (Ps 22,8); opponents say, "If we let him go on thus, every one will believe in him"

(Joh 11,48). Esther Rabbah I.12133 reads "Where the bandit () steals, there is he crucified":

n^ta^o ion rapo nKtacr1?! pn with the Western verb "to crucify." (is the regular equivalent of Latin *latro*.) This runs parallel

to Roman practice and may reflect it (Digest 48.19.28.15): *Famosos latrones in his locis, ubi grassati sunt, furca figendos*

compluribus placuit, ut et conspectu deterrentur alii ab isdem facinoribus et solacio sit cognatis et adfinibus interemptorum eodem loco poena reddita, in quo latrones homicida fecissent.

Most authorities have determined that notorious brigands should be crucified at the site of their activities, so that on the one hand others may be deterred from such crimes by the spectacle, and on the other that it may be a solace to the relatives and kin of those killed that the punishment was carried out in the same place where the bandits committed murders.

Deterrence and solace!—exactly the themes of contemporary advocates for the death penalty.... Polybius, according to Pliny (8.47), saw lions (!) by the same logic crucified in Africa "because the others would be deterred from [harming human beings] by fear of a similar punishment," *cruci fixos...quia ceteri metu poenae similis absterrerentur eadem noxa.*

Jesus' saying on "bearing one's cross" appears six times: Matt 10,38, 16,24; Mark 8,34 (and 10,21 as var. lect.); Luk 9,23, 14,27.

The Syriac versions show a dialectal distinction for "cross" between eastern *Napf* and western *Ka^S*. The Sinaitic Syriac has *xapr* where attested (all except Matt 16,24, Luke

14,27); the Curetonian (wholly lost for Mark) has $\text{LO}^{\wedge}\text{S}$ in three passages, LOpr at Matt 16,24. The Peshitto has $\text{iO}^{\wedge}\text{pr}$ everywhere except W^{\wedge} at Luke 14,27. The Palestinian Syriac has in the two texts where it is extant (Matt 10,38; Mark 8,34).

becomes "crucify" only as a euphemism.¹³⁴

¹³³ Cited by Sperber Legal Terms 108.

¹³⁴ In Biblical Hebrew only at Ps 145,14; 146,8, which already shows Aramaic influence.

In Rabbinic the root

underlying $\text{LO}^{\wedge}\text{S}$ has only the concrete meaning "hang, impale." In Semitic generally the root * has a neutral meaning "raise up," which

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Akkadian zaqlpu appears (as in the Babylonian version of Darius'

Behistun inscription) in the texts of several Assyrian kings, $\text{ana GlS zi-qi-pi uzaqqip}$ "I impaled on stakes."¹³⁵ The semantic shift is illustrated at Ezra 6,11 where if anyone alters Darius' edict, "a beam shall be pulled out of his house, and he shall be lifted up and impaled upon it": $\text{^ i ? "non"; *ppn ^ im}$

Hence a subtle dialectal distinction at Joh 19,6 Peshitto where the chief priests cry out "Crucify him, crucify him!," $\text{Pesh } ^{\wedge}$; and Pilatus answers "Take him yourselves and crucify him" ().¹³⁶ The chief priests are represented as speaking in Palestinian vernacular, Pilatus in the dignified euphemism of eastern Syriac, "lift him up." (If the scene is fully historic, the chief priests in their excitement would use Aramaic and require an interpreter, and Pilatus would respond in Greek.) In the six versions of Jesus' saying, the Curetonian and Palestinian reflect the western vernacular, the Sinaitic and Peshitto literary eastern usage.

It has often been observed¹³⁷ that a special usage of the Fourth Gospel must rest on Aramaic: namely, that whereby "to be lifted up" refers both to the Crucifixion and Ascension (or some equivalent in the author's mind); thus at John 3:14; 8,28; 12,32-34. We can now specify that John's contact is surprisingly with what we have called eastern Aramaic where "lift up" becomes a euphemism for "crucify." (The Syriac versions of John's Gospel all miss this effect, translating

throughout with forms of D1~L.) This is one piece of evidence that Na^{pr} "cross" was in fact current in the West. But most likely the Aramaic of Jesus' saying used the unambiguous western vernacular {O^S "cross," while the Syriac versions progressively introduce the euphemistic Akkadian eastern usage.

20.6 The rebel victim as victor

Prometheus is fed on by an eagle; the psalmist is encircled by dogs (Ps 22,17). Each has fallen victim to the old curse, "Your dead body shall be food for all the birds of the air, and for the beasts of the earth"

(Deut 28,26 etc., see 1.280-282). But the exposed corpse may have a

135 CAD xxi.58a.

136 The Old Syriac is lacking here, the Palestinian Syriac in both places has forms of

137 See references in Matthew Black, *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts*; 2nd ed.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1954, p. 106; Kaufman 112.

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female companion who keeps off the carrion eaters "day and night": Rizpah for the bodies of her sons (II Sam 21,10); Aphrodite for Hector's body (Iliad 23.185-186). She runs much risk, for the imperial power that crucifies the man also prostitutes the woman (1.247-249), as with Jannaeus (III.107): "Women are ravished in Zion...princes are hung up by their hands" (Thr 5,11-12, under the Babylonian Chal-daeans). Pheretima, queen of Cyrene, even more barbarously crucified the men of Barca and nailed their wives' breasts to the city wall (Herodotus 4.202). Each of the rebel victims has a prostituted female

companion. Prometheus has Io, the concubine of Zeus; the Servant of Yahweh has the "captive daughter of Zion" (Isa 52,2), who has been sold into slavery, that is, prostitution (Isa 50,1); Jesus has the Magdalen from whom seven demons had gone out (Luk 8,2), often (though incorrectly) identified with the prostitute of Luk 7,36-50. At Joh 19,25 the Magdalen is replaced by Jesus' mother, another Rizpah; early representations of the Crucifixion show John and the Virgin on the left, the other three women on the right.

The demand of Socialist theology for a Promethean Christ was realized pictorially by the Mexican muralist José Clemente Orozco in three exemplars of manhood.¹³⁸ In the

Prometheus of Pomona (1930) the Titan, cramped under a Gothic arch, brings down fire from heaven; in a side panel, Zeus,

Hera and Io. The Christ of Dartmouth (1932-34) is shown frontally as Vitruvian man, his left hand raised before a rubbish heap of weapons, a broken Ionic column, and a Buddha. In his right hand he holds an ax with which he has

just chopped down his cross behind him. His feet are still skeletal; his resurrection body in lurid reds and blues is emerging from his split thighs. Nearby, ferocious vultures are on another garbage heap of Western culture. As a ten-year-old I saw the artist at work, and it is alleged that I appeared as one of the blond schoolchildren in the New England panel. The Man of Fire of Guadalajara (1938-39) stands overhead in the cupola of the Hospicio Cabañas as if seen from below, beside three prostrate blue figures. He is naked; his arms, legs and head are burning.

The unity of suffering and exaltation in all three figures is very marked, as in John's double theme of Christ being "lifted up" both on the cross and in the Ascension. At 11.268 we discussed the symbolism of Yahweh with his axe: destroying presumptuous empires (Isa 10,15) as they previously had taken an ax against the forest of Lebanon;

138 All these works are illustrated in D. Elliott (ed.), *Orzco! 1883-1949*; Oxford: Museum of Modern Art, 1980.

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turning the Roman fasces against collaborators (Matt 3,10 // Luk 3,9).

Today, in decades that must undo the damage done by the ax and fire to the planet's rain forests, the ax has become as ambivalent a symbol as fire, the supposed monopoly of the Mazdaean Achaemenids, brought down by Prometheus. Orozco thus transfers the real complexity of Aeschylus' Prometheus to the axe-bearing Christ. Evidently the Man of Fire of Guadalajara has also brought down fire from heaven—we may hope, not in vengeance

(Luk 9,54), nor as unbearable nuclear power, but as the "refiner's fire" of Mai 3,2. "I came to cast fire upon the earth, and would that it were already

kindled!" (Luke 12:49).

Excursus I: The Temple police at Jerusalem

In 165 BC (III.93) Judas Maccabaeus (I Makk 3,55) appointed commanders of thousands and hundreds in his army; and in AD 66 Josephus by his own account (BJ 2.577-578) "organized his army along Roman lines," including the same two ranks. Was that a novelty or a continuation? Just after the death of Herod the Great in 4 BC, when his army still existed, his son Archelaus (Josephus AJ 17.215, cf. BJ 2.11) sent "a cohort of heavy infantry with their chiliarch," to suppress disorders. Whenever a military force is recorded in Jerusalem, it has the same structure. What happened to the force commanded

by Herod the Great and Archelaus? The Fourth Gospel, which unawares has preserved a number of valuable historical notes, may suggest a clue. According to Joh 18,3, at the arrest of Jesus, Judas brought the "cohort" and assistants from the chief priests and Pharisees; they are summarized at 18,12, "The cohort and the chiliarch and the assistants of the loudaioi": οὗν ὁ οἱ , Vg: Cohors ergo et tribunus et ministri iudaeorum. Pesh:

K&SRRN IO-P'TOI -PSOK

Further, in the Palestinian Syriac comes out as .

If goes not merely with the but also with the and the "cohort and chiliarch" are already ,

defined as Jewish. This may be John's intent. But perhaps, however he understood them, he is defining two

groups. The speira and the chiliarch obviously go together; over against them are set the assistants of the loudaioi. Who are these two groups? We begin with the second.

In John's Gospel, oi ' like a number of other ambiguous terms fluctuates between two poles (11.257). In the writer's thinking about his own time he designates "Jews" as over against "Christians" (or however he named the community to which he belonged). In his sources, or in his thinking about the time

of Jesus, it can simply mean "Judaean." Joh 7,1 contrasts them with Galilaeans: "And after this Jesus walked about in Galilee; for he did not want to walk about in

,

Judaea (), because the Judaeans (!, oi) sought to kill him." At Joh 3,1 Nicodemus is naturally identified as "a magistrate of the Judaeans," . Here at Joh 18,3 ' has both colorations: in his own time it means "assistants of the Jewish people [responsible for Jesus' death]"; in Jesus' time it means "assistants of the Judaeen temple."

The appears in a police role in the subsequent narrative (Joh 18,22; 19,6) with "Jewish" authorities; at 7,32.45-46 with chief priests and Pharisees; and at Mark 14,54-5 (//

Matt 26,58), 65 with the chief priest and the Sanhedrin (Mark 14,55). At Act 5,21-26 they appear with the chief priest, the Sanhedrin, and "all the gerousia"; and in particular with the "commander of the temple" (Act 4,1; 5,24-26), ò , Vg magistratus templi, Pesh «33 the "archon." At Luk 22,52 (cf 22,4) there are several "commanders of the temple," . (Here the Old Syriac has "soldiers,"

KtartaitflON, but this may just be an error for KJ^tantOON.) These parties have available a prison (Act 5,22-23), or with guards (). These materials in all four Evangelists and Acts make it perfectly plain that there was a Temple

police organized in military fashion. Herod the Great (Josephus J 1.656) "handed over to the assistants to execute" () those who had taken down the golden eagle. Josephus (BJ 6.294) confirms that when the Temple gate opened of itself "the guards of the temple reported it to the commander," oi

(Tacitus Hist. 5.13 reports the same prodigy, apertae repente delubri fores, 11.243 .)

The appears in the LXX as translating CJ^O: Neh 13,11 Nehemiah complains to the CPUO (LXX , Vg magistratus) that the Levites are not being taken care of. Thus the O^O are the heads of the Temple police. Mishna Bikkurim III.3 (III.104) notes them together with the 13 and the treasurers (). Furthermore there was a single "po par excellence who stood beside the High Priest in certain ceremonies.1 Often though not invariably the principle of Jer.

Talm. Yoma 41a5 was followed, "One was not appointed high priest before he had served as sagan": po nstiy] in® ni? *?na ps nrn1?

njono ^na psn\n 1?

Here we can make a remarkable combination between Josephus and the Mishna. About AD 50 (C. Ummidius Durmius) Quadratus, governor-nor of Syria, sent to Rome Jewish leaders whom he held responsible for

1 Mishna Yoma III.9; VII.1; see J. Jeremias, Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus, Philadelphia: Fortress, 1967; pp. 160-162; SVMB ii.277-278.

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a slaughter of Samaritans. Among them were Ananias the high-priest AD 47-59 (SVMB ii.231; Acts 23,2; 24,1) and his son Ananos (Josephus BJ 2.243); at AJ 20.131 Josephus omits the family connection, but adds that Ananos was ie commander of the Temple.

general,

Mishna Avoth III.2 speaks of a R. Hanina the "commander of the priests" (D^ron po) and gives him the uniquely pro-Roman sentiment: "Pray for the peace of the Government; for without the fear of it, we would have swallowed each other up alive": D^n nin nx KìQìKO ma'jo

noi^an ^an a - '

R. Hanina is supposed to have survived the destruction of the Temple; this saying must come before AD 70. It is difficult not to identify him with the Ananos of Josephus. No doubt if the high priesthood had continued Ananos/Hanina would have had aspirations for it. At Mishna Zeb. IX.3 R. Hanina quotes his father (unnamed) as having rejected blemished beasts from the altar.

This police must have operated under regulations. One was surely the warning notice of which we have two copies (OGIS 598, often reprinted):2

, ') .

"No alien may enter inside the balustrade around the Temple and the enclosure; whoever is caught

will have himself to blame for the immediate consequence of his death." Josephus {BJ 5.193-4, cf AJ

15.417) describes the and the "some in Greek, others in Latin letters, that no foreigner

should enter the holy place," , áyíou

. Again, (BJ 6.124-6) he has Titus ask John of Gischala if it was not the Jews themselves who set the balustrade around the sanctuary, and put up stelae in Greek and Latin (

) warning that no one should violate it; and if it wasn't the Romans who allowed the Jews to execute violators. While we have found no Latin version, everything else fits the

inscription. Who could have set it up? It is the descendant of an earlier regulation in a letter

2 See Elias Bickerman, "The Warning Inscriptions of Herod's Temple," pp. 210 -

2 2 4 of Studies in Jewish and Christian History vol. II; Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums 9; Leiden: Brill, 1980.

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of Antiochus III (223-187 BC) preserved in Josephus A] 12.145-6 which begins with almost the same words. 3 Herod the Great must have renewed it on his own authority; the vague threat of death suggests a public lynching tacitly approved by the authorities. A Roman version would certainly have mentioned a Roman authority. It was on the basis of this regulation and presumption that the crowd tried to kill Paul (Acts 21:30).

Who are the speira and its chiliarch? Polybius 11.23.1 uses for maniples of 200 and says that three make up the . is a Hellenistic use of a word

for "bundle" to mean "tactical military unit." At II Makk 8,23 "the first division" is one of 4 divisions of 1,500 men each of Judas Maccabeus' army of 6,000.

Here the total corresponds to a legion, but a true Roman legion had no division into four parts. Later speir is used for a cohort only. In the Greco-Latin bilingual IGRR i.896 (from the Bosphorus) there is a formal equivalence miles coh(o)r(tis) = . Josephus at J 3.67 attests Roman operating independently of legions,

composed of 1000 men or 600 plus cavalry—plainly true (single or double) cohorts. At Act 21,31 (cf 10,1; 27,1) over a Roman

(Vg cohortis, Pesh. ~P30K) there is correctly a "chiliarch." Bab. Talm.

Berakh. 32b appears to say of the "legions" of stars "and for each legion I created for it 30 cohorts,"

^in

military organization, also went into Rabbinic as T30N (Midrash Ps 15,6) or 3:\$ (Mekhilta on Exod 15,2).⁴ Most commentators like Winter⁵ take it for granted

that the

speira of Joh 18,12 is the Roman cohort stationed in Jerusalem. The Roman cohort appears at Mark 15,16 and parallels as the Roman cohort and its chiliarch

appear at Act 21,31, for the officer turns out to be the Roman citizen Claudius Lysias (Act 23,26). But John's narrative makes poor sense if his speira and chiliarch are Romans: obviously they are in charge of "the assistants of the Judaeans," and a

Roman detachment would take the prisoner to their own praetorium, not deliver him to the deposed high-priest

3 See the discussion by Bickerman "Une proclamation Séleucide relative au temple de Jérusalem," pp. 86-104 of the same work as in the prev. note.

4 Mekilta ed. Lauterbach ii.24.

5 Paul Winter, *On the Trial of Jesus*; *Studia Judaica* Band 1; Berlin: Gruyter, 1961; p. 45.

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•pta-ip D^ts 1? tin-q ira1? which

would make the "ptûlp a maniple; but the Talmud has only a vague idea of Roman

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Annas. Also, Pilatus would have given orders for the Roman cohort to carry out the arrest; but by John's own showing at 18,29 he knows nothing about the case, and the supposed Romans have disappeared, since none of the detachment entered the praetorium so as not to be defiled. Thus as in the Synoptics it must be a detachment from the Temple authorities, here seen more formally than as a disorderly

(Mark 14,43) "from the chief priests and scribes and elders."

Thus if John's terminology has any kind of historical basis, and is not invented out of

thin air, we learn that the Temple police were organized in Roman fashion with the normal Greek equivalents of "tribune" and "cohort." This is the conclusion at which our most careful student of history, Josef Blinzler, arrives;⁶ and I do not see how it can be avoided. Even

after the death of Herod the Great, at least one speira with its chiliarch remained intact (Josephus AJ 17.215). In line with the conservative nature of the military at all times, we find the same structure attested at Joh 18,12, with the former army now fallen back on the core of the Jewish state, the Temple. The chiliarch of Joh 18,12 is either a subordinate of the strategos of the Temple (Act 4,1; AJ 20.131), who is then sagan of the priests (Avoth III.2); or else (if the police consisted of only one cohort) the very man himself.

Joh 18,13 alone says that the detachment first led Jesus to Annas before taking him to Caiaphas (Matt 26,57; Joh 18,24). Perhaps Annas' son Ananos was already in the ranks at the time of Jesus' arrest, and moving up to replace his father twenty years later.

Jeremias (p. 180) presumes that the "guard" at the tomb of Matt 27,65 must, if historical, be Jewish, for Roman soldiers could never admit to falling asleep on duty (Matt 28,13); then is not imperative but indicative, "you have a guard"; Vg habetis diam, Sin. Syr. 1? .

custo-

in the sense "guard" follows the regular pattern by which Latinisms like custodia taken over into Greek prefer a concrete to an abstract sense. The usage is not just Matthew's, for the word had already gone into Rabbinic: Jer. Talm.

Ned. 41b45:

mmy nrpnts x^ntaop1? "like a prison guard which was passing by." Here again then we find that the

Temple police are following Roman military practice and terminology—this time not Greek but Latin.

Thus the "cohort" () and its "tribune" () of Joh 18,12 like all their context have nothing to do with the Roman occu-

⁶ Josef Blinzler, *Der Prozess Jesu*; 4th ed.; Regensburg: Pustet, 1969; pp. 94-101.

pying forces. The cohort is unrelated to the Roman cohort of Mark 15,16 // Matt

27,27; the tribune is unrelated to the Roman tribune of Act 21,31 along with his cohort.

Rather the cohort and tribune of Joh 18,12, along with the "assistants" (), form part or all of a Jewish militarized police force of the Temple

under the high priest. As with the Nabataean army and that of Herod Antipas in Galilee, they are set up on the Roman pattern, as an inheritance from the army of Herod the Great, and before him from the Maccabean army; and take their names from the normal Greek translation of Latin terminology.

Jerusalem then at the time of Jesus (whenever the governor was in residence, III.267) held two exactly parallel military structures, Roman and Jewish, in uneasy coexistence.

Excursus I: The Temple police at Jerusalem

Chapter 21: Paradise and the Forest of Lebanon

21.1 Columbus and the Earthly Paradise

On October 18, 1498 [Old Style of course] Columbus wrote to Ferdinand and Isabel(la) from Hispaniola an account of his third voyage, expressing his conviction that he had found the Earthly Paradise, el parayso terrestrial. We do not have his MS, but a hand copy by Bartolomé de Las Casas with the heading: La ystoria del viaje

qu'el almirante don Christóval Colón hizo la tercera vez que vino á las Yndias, quando descubrió la Tierra Firme, como lo enbió á los reyes desde la isla Española.

Account of the voyage which Admiral Don Christóval Colón made the third time that he came to the Indies, when he discovered the mainland [the South American continent], as he

sent it to the Sovereigns from the island of Española. 1

This is the document in which he expresses his conviction that the Western hemisphere, unlike the Eastern, was not truly spherical:

Mas este [hemisperio] digo que es como sería la mitad de la pera bien redonda, la quai tovisse el peçon alto, como yo dixee, ò como una teta de muger en una pelota redonda.

But I say that this [hemisphere] is as it were the half of a very round pear which has a raised stalk, as I have said [above, same page], or like a woman's nipple on a round ball.²

1

Columbus...; vol. II; Hakluyt Society second series no. LXX, 1933; Repr. Millwood: Kraus, 1967; p. 3. The Admiral appears to have been born in Genoa as Cristoforo Colombo, but all his letters are in Castilian like this one, and his name in Spanish Christóval (as here) or Christóbal. I do not know on what authority the date of the letter rests. These passages

are discussed by Kirkpatrick Sale (The Conquest of Paradise: Christopher Columbus and the Columbian Legacy; New York: Knopf; 1990, 174-177)—a very harsh work on Columbus and the whole enterprise of European colonization.

Edited and translated by Cecil Jane, Select Documents illustrating the four voyages of
2 Jane, *ibid.*, p. 31.

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The Admiral reached this surprising result partly by misunderstood observations (he felt that he was sailing uphill), partly by theory (the Earthly Paradise would have had to be on a raised mountain to survive the Flood). His further indications that he was in the vicinity of the Paradise were the mildness of the climate, la suavíssima temperancia, and the outflow of fresh water (the mouths of the Orinoco river in the bay of Paria), tanta candidad de agua dulce (p. 39); for Paradise, he knew, was the source of four great rivers. He realizes that the summit on which the paradise lies, and from which the water comes, could not be reached, y creo que nadie no podría llegar al colmo-, but, he says, "I am firmly convinced in my own mind that the Earthly Paradise is there, where I have said" (p. 43):

Mas yo muy assentado tengo en el ánima que allí, adonde dixee, es el parayso
terrestrial.

Amerigo Vespucci and his successors in Brazil make the same judgment. ³ Likewise in North America:

George Alsop advertised Maryland as the only "Terrestrial Paradise." Its very trees, plants, fruits, flowers and roots spoke in "Hieroglyphics of our Adamitical or Primitive situation," and their general effects and properties still bore "the Effigies of Innocence according to their original Grafts." 4

All these travelers are drawing from a long tradition of speculation around the Biblical data of "paradise." The word is Iranian, entering Greek and Hebrew at the same time to designate the same thing—the hunting parks and timber preserves of the Old Persian satraps. How did it come to have all the resonances which Dante, Shakespeare, Milton, Goethe and so many others have exploited? Here is a word and concept that has infiltrated from Iran through classical Greek and Hebrew into the Septuagint, the New Testament, Jewish apocrypha, the Quran, and the Church Fathers—Greek, Syriac and Latin—and so on to the Renaissance and Reformation. It gathers up what Greeks said about the Islands of the Blessed and the Elysian Fields; and both the Hebrew and Phoenician versions of the Garden of Eden. No other

3 Jean Delumeau, *History of Paradise: The Garden of Eden in Myth and Tradition*; tr. Matthew O'Connell; New York: Continuum, 1995 (tr. of *Une Histoire du Paradis: Le Jardin des délices*; Paris: Fayard, 1992); pp. 109-115.

4 CL Sanford, *The Quest for Paradise*; Urbana: Univ. of Illinois, 1961; 84, citing George Alsop, *A Character of the Province of Maryland*, 1666; reprinted in *Publications of the Maryland Historical Society* no. 15; Baltimore, 1880; p. 37 [not seen by me].

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a single word creates anything like such unity among all these seemingly disparate cultures. What can we learn from its history?

We begin with the point at which "paradise" enters Greek and Hebrew history, the enclosures of the Persian king and satraps (21.2).

The usage is verified by two original Iranian texts (21.3). The status of the Lebanese forest as timber-preserve was anticipated long before by the expeditions of Sumerian and Akkadian kings and the myth of Gilgamesh (21.4). Before extensive naval warfare the original forests of the Mediterranean were most impressive (21.5); logging on the Lebanon was controlled by bureaucratic officials (21.6). After the word "paradise" entered Greek and Hebrew it was diminished to denote any garden (21.7). But in later Judaism and the New

Testament it is supernaturalized to denote the restoration of Eden (21.8). Ephrem of Nisibis in the Syriac church retains a lively sense of the symbolism (21.9). This religious usage went side by side with the

deforestation of the actual Lebanese "paradise" and other Mediterranean woodlands (21.10). I end with a few excerpts from the enormous Patristic, medieval and later literature (21.11).

And we start with the Greek Xenophon, like Columbus an explorer of new realms, but on land, and initially as attached to a ragtag army, of which he later became the general.

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In 401 BC Cyrus, younger son of Darius II of Persia, led an army of Greek mercenaries from Sardes to overthrow, if possible, his elder brother Artaxerxes II who had just succeeded to the throne. After seven days' march they reached Kelainai, a large and prosperous city of Phrygia (Xenophon Anab. 1.2.7-9): There Cyrus had a palace () and a large paradeisos full of wild beasts (

), which he used to hunt from horseback whenever he wanted to give himself and his horses exercise. The river Maeander flows through the middle of the paradeisos, and its springs are from the palace.... The Great King also has a fortified palace (...) in Kelainai at the springs of the Marsyas river, at the foot of the acropolis. ...Here Xerxes, when he retreated from Hellas after his defeat, is said to have built the [royal] palace and the acropolis of Kelainai.

When they reached Syria they encamped at the river Dardas (1.4.10):

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Here was the palace of Belesus governor ()⁵ of Syria, and a very large and beautiful paradeisos, with all the fruits that the seasons produce (,); but Cyrus cut it down and burned the palace.

After Cyrus' death in battle the Hellenes encamped at Sittake on the Tigris (2.4.14) "near a large beautiful paradeisos thick with all kinds of trees,"

The paradeisoi that Xenophon saw were at once hunting-parks for the king and his satraps; timber-reserves; and sites for fortified "pal-aces" or glorified hunting-lodges built over self-contained water supplies. The orchard on the Dardas is probable but not certain. Meiggs⁶ sees them more as parks strictly speaking, "trees for pleasure," with their function as "hunting reserves" secondary. Briant⁷ emphasizes their symbolic role in investing the satrap with derivative attributes of the king; along with their ancillary villages he sees them as ideal agricultural models of land-development, ideological vitrines, he further proposes⁸ that each satrapy in principle had one or more, and draws up a list of those known. Fauth⁹ focuses on the cultic and propagandistic role of the king and satraps in planting the park, and stocking¹⁰ and then hunting the animals.

In the twentieth year of some Artaxerxes, Nehemiah the Jew, the king's cupbearer, asked for permission to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem. The books of Ezra and Nehemiah are in some confusion: if the monarch was Artaxerxes I, the date would be 445/4 BC; if Artaxerxes II, 385/4 BC. In either case, the events are within a generation of Xenophon one way or the other. Nehemiah asks (Neh 2,8) for "a letter to Asaph, keeper of the king's park, that he should give me timber":

5 But at Anab. 1.1.2 and frequently Xenophon uses the proper term "satrap," for the Persian governors (III.86). ,

6 Russell Meiggs, *Trees and Timber in the Ancient Mediterranean World*; Oxford: Clarendon, 1982; 270-2.

7 Pierre Briant, *Rois, Tributes et Paysans: Etudes sur les formations tributaires du Moyen-Orient ancien*; Annales littéraires de l'Univ. de Besançon, 269; Paris: Belles-Lettres, 1982; 451-456. This is the best account of the Persian "paradises" known to me.

8 Ibid. p. 45 1 note 109.

9 Wolfgang Fauth, "Der königliche Gärtner und Jäger im Paradeisos: Beobachtungen zur Rolle des Herrschers in

der vorderasiatischen Hortikultur," *Persica* 8 (1979) 1-53; Reprint kindly sent me by the author.

10 The stocking of animals is plausible in itself, but not (that I can see) attested in any ancient text.

21.2 The satrapal hunting parks

1. 2. 3

LXX ("Il Esdras ^1 ? 03 ' "1 ?« 31 D ^ y "••HPT 12,8") , , ; Vg et epistulam ad Asaph custodem saltus regis ut det mihi ligna. On the parallel of the rebuilding done by Ezra under Cyrus (Ezra 3,7) the "king's pardes" can only be the forest of Lebanon. Here alone do we have testimony to the Persian bureaucracy (18.6 below), in which an official (with a West-Semitic name) must grant permission for all logging in the pardes. In another place¹¹ from my seven years in Beirut I have chronicled the exploitation of the Lebanese cedar forest from earliest contacts with Egypt to the time of Justinian, AD 527.

Two mutually contradictory themes run through the descriptions of the forest paradeisoi. On the one hand, their great age and the size of the trees is emphasized. A century after Xenophon, Theophrastus (Hist. Plant. 5.8.1) had apparently been on

the Lebanon:

In Syria in the mountains the cedar-trees reach an exceptional height and thickness; some are so large that three men cannot join hands around them; and in the paradeisoi they are even larger and finer.

Syria yàp

- three men include .

Quintus Curtius 8.1.12 affirms that a forest in "Bazaira" (somewhere in Bactriana)

had been "intact from cutting for four consecutive generations," quattuor continuis aetatibus intactum saltum fuisse. In the poem of Ez 31,3-9 the cedar of Lebanon has become the world-tree: its head is in the clouds, its roots go down to the subterranean deep (•inri vs 4), all birds nest in its branches, all animals give birth under-neath it, all nations live under its branches; the place where it grows is in the "garden of Elohim" (crn'1 ?!*]?3), and since all the "trees of Eden" envy it, it appears that the Lebanon is an alternative placement in Phoenician myth (as at Ez 28,13, III.48) of the garden of Eden. The forest paradeisoi could not possibly have been created by the Persians de novo. Rather the Great King annexed the principal existing forest lands, some like

the Lebanon still holding the climax vegetation from after the last glacial period or before (for the Lebanon it seems was

¹¹ My The Lebanon and Phoenicia, Chapter V, pp. 175-212. The materials have been worked over again by Meiggs op. cit. (note 6 above), Chapter 3, "The Cedars of Lebanon," pp. 49-87, with generous acknowledgments to myself.

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never glaciated). Many no doubt were already held as the property of native kings, perhaps mainly as timber preserves. The king and his satraps threw some kind of boundary around them, further stocked them with game, built hunting-lodges or "palaces" for king or satrap (or both as at Kelainai), provided them with supervisors (perhaps disposing troops), and gave them a uniform legal status.

But the hoary antiquity of the forest was tempered by the doctrine that the king or satrap himself must have planted it. Xenophon (Oecon. 4.20-24)¹² has Cyrus the younger, at that time satrap of Lydia, show Lysander the Spartan his "paradise at Sardes," - , and pride himself that some of the trees "I even planted my-self," . Berossos describes the "hanging paradeisos" of Babylon built by Nebuchadrezzar (),¹³ in fact a whole novel creation. In a new palace he built high stone terraces imitating mountain scenery,

he planted them with trees of every sort, and so worked up and completed the so-called "hanging paradeisos," because his wife, who had been brought up in Media, had a longing for mountain scenery.¹⁴

, , .

Only the king who in theory planted the trees may cut them; Artaxerxes II (Plutarch Art. 25.2) must set an example to his own soldiers of cutting down a tree for firewood by "taking an axe," .

It was an act of war when Cyrus cut down the paradise of Dardas (Xenophon Anab. 1.4.10 above); or when Agesilaus in 396 BC

¹² This text was the occasion for Sir Thomas Browne's work on the number 5, *The Garden of Cyrus*. "All stories do look upon Cyrus as the splendid and regular planter."

¹³ Josephus, *con. App.* 1.141 = Berossos FGH 680 F8.141. Cf Diodorus 2.10.2.

¹⁴ The "hanging garden" cannot long have outlived the Chaldaean kings of Babylon. But it was quickly invested by the Greeks with a dreamlike Orientalism and appears throughout the Middle Ages in the lists of the "seven wonders," beginning with the first, Anth. Pal. 9.58 by an Antipater, perhaps of Sidon.

Antipater's list also included Pheidias' statue of Zeus at Olympia; the Colossus of the Sun at Rhodes; the Pyramids of Egypt; the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus; the temple of Artemis at Ephesus; and the walls of Babylon. Gradually the Pharos of Alexandria (which remained standing until the 15th century) displaced the walls of Babylon. The Seven Wonders are mentioned by Strabo 17.1.33 (TOIS

) and Pliny 36.30 (septem tñiracula) but not listed by either author. See now the OCD3 1397.

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(Diodorus 14.80.2) "destroyed the paradeisos of Tissaphernes" at Sardes, In 350 BC (Diodorus 16.41.5) when the Sidonians at Tripolis of Phoenicia

"destroyed the royal paradeisos, in which the Persian kings had been accustomed to take their recreation, by cutting down the trees" (...), it was plainly a declaration of war which served the further purpose of getting timber for their new fleet of triremes.

The logic behind this apparently contradictory belief is to assimilate the king to the divinity who (with more antecedent time at his disposal) was credited with having planted the forest in the beginning. The principal documentation is Hebrew.¹⁵ The vine from Egypt overshadowed even the "cedars of El" (Ps 80,11) ^^. (but RSV "mighty cedars"). We may compare the "oak" () of Zeus (Iliad 5.693, 7.60). Ps 104,16 "The trees of Yahweh¹⁶ are watered abundantly, the cedars of Lebanon which he planted": snpj itf « 1Í331 ? \n « LXX , , .

wafer r

The God of Israel as planter is of course primarily recorded at Gen 2,8 "And Yahweh the God planted a garden in Eden, in the East (?— miqqsdsm)":

•ig p iya'i a It will mr xa?]

be worthwhile to survey the Versions to see the changes that the verse undergoes. It is essentially

unchanged in Targum Onqelos: •paip^apm «ma dti1 ?«

The Septuagint makes the momentous innovation of replacing the "garden" by a "paradise":
; it also renders *ölpa* unambiguously

"in the East."

The Peshitto Syriac follows either the Hebrew or Targum in reading • JQ but knows the LXX also,

from which it draws "paradise": *onp] pm «orn a «n1 ?« «na aiui*

The Old Latin follows the Septuagint, *et plantauit Deus paradisum in 17 Eden contra orientem*.

Only at this date (to our knowledge) does

15 See further the extensive documentation of Fauth, note 9 above.

16 But the fact that most MSS of the LXX have suggests that its Hebrew was read as "field," but

intended as "HB' "Shadday." And this is preferable, for how could Yahweh have an old cult on the Lebanon? (Ps 29 must be the transposition of a Phoenician hymn.)

17 Attested in this wording in the Latin of Irenaeus *con. Haer.* 5.5.1, ed. A. Rousseau et alii, *Livre V, Sources chrétiennes* 153; Paris: Cerf, 1969, p. 64.

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paradisus enter Latin; Gellius 2.20.4 cites it as Greek. The Vulgate, where we must see Jerome's own hand, treats "Eden" as a common noun "pleasure," and

reinterprets *01j3ö* as "in the beginning," *plan-tauerat autem Dominus Deus paradisu in uoluptatis a principio*. The first of these changes follows the LXX of Gen 3,23 where for "And Yah weh the God sent him out of the garden of Eden":

IXVUP •'-1TM j"lin1 ^ the LXX has "from the garden of delight."

But the word "paradise" was extended to rather different kinds of enclosures with different functions. We have seen that some contained "palaces," perhaps grander than hunting-lodges, in some cases fortified.

Greek may represent Old Persian apadāna in the inscriptions of Artaxerxes II: thus (Kent 155)

[imām] apadānam stünāya adagainam "[this] palace of stone in its columns." The Iranian went into Hebrew

at Dan 11,45 לְבֵיתוֹ אֶתֵּן אֶתֵּן! "And he shall pitch the tents of his palace" (Vg Apedno as if a proper noun), thought to refer to Antiochus IV Epiphanes. Hence in more secular usage to Rabbinic 13 "country place" (eg Bab. Talm. Keth. 62a). The tomb of Cyrus the elder was at Pasargadae "in the royal enclosure," (Arrian Anab. 6.29.4). East of Syrian Apamea stood the "fortified town Caphrena," oppidum Caphrena munitum (Pliny 6.119); it was "called Palace of the Satraps where tribute was brought,"

Satraparum Regia appellatum quo tributa conferebantur. Here only do we read of a centralized site for the satraps in general, although no paradise is mentioned there. But not far off was the site near the springs of the Orontes seemingly called "Paradise" as a proper noun (Strabo 16.2.19, Pliny 5.82); it may be

identical with the "Triple Paradise" () of Diodorus 18.39.1, and perhaps is still marked by the pyramid of Hermel with its reliefs of hunting scenes. 18 Perhaps the original function of the paradises was as hunting parks;

this is attested by Xenophon for Media in his fictional biography of Cyrus the elder.¹⁹ The paradises which were simply maintained in the wild state must have served above all as timber-preserves; this is the case without doubt for the paradise of Mount Lebanon, where further it is hard to imagine wild game having been released, or extensive hunting from horseback on the steep slopes. Alexander built part of his

18 D. Krencker & W. Zschietzschmann, *Römische Tempel in Syrien*; Arch. Inst, des Deutschen Reiches, *Denkmäler antikes Architektur*; Band 5; 2 vols.; Berlin: 1938; p. 161.

19 Xenophon, *Cyr.* 1.3.14; 1.4.5; 8.1.38; 8.6.12.

21.3 Original Iranian texts

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Red Sea fleet in Babylon from "the cypresses in the groves and paradises ()" (Strabo 16.1.11).²⁰ Others like the paradise of Cyrus the younger and that of Tissaphernes at Sardis may have in fact been like modern parks with only moderate-sized trees and created

from the ground up by the satrap. The language which Xenophon (Anab. 1.4.10, III.122) uses of the paradise of the satrap Belesus on the Dardas river suggests that it contained fruiting trees and perhaps was primarily an orchard. The text on which Briant relies for his idea of paradise as a center of agricultural development is Xenophon, Hell. 4.1.15. In 395 BC Agesilaus goes to Dascyleium of Lesser Phrygia:

where lay the palace () of Pharnabazus, and around it many large villages () with abundant provisions, and fine areas for hunting (), some in enclosed parks, others in open spaces (, -). Beside it flowed a river full of all kinds of fish; and there were abundant birds for skilled fowlers.

So paradeisos covered a wide variety of environments from wild mountainous forests to artificial parklike gardens to entire village complexes.

21.3 Original Iranian texts

One feature common to all these types of "paradise" must have been the fact of their enclosure, as we just saw at Dascyleium. Forests, whether natural or artificial, which served mainly as the home of wild animals to be hunted must have been walled around, both to keep the animals (just indigenous or also imported?) in and poachers out. We shall see (III.135) how Hadrian surrounded the remnants of the Lebanonese cedar forest with hundreds of inscriptions to forbid unauthorized logging; no signs of walls are reported by Breton, but there may have been some fencing in antiquity. The more artificial paradises were not intended as leisure playgrounds for citizens of nearby towns (if any) or inhabitants of villages, but for the Great King, the satrap and their entourages; for this there must at least have been a fence clearly marking its boundary. Quintus Curtius 8.1.11-13 describes the eastern district which he calls Bazaira:

20 Other ships were built in segments in Cyprus and Phoenicia and dragged overland to Thapsacus!

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Barbarae opulentiae in illis locis haud ulla sunt maiora indicia quam magnis nemoribus saltibusque nobilium ferarum greges elusi.

Spatios ad hoc eligunt siluas crebris perennium aquarum fontibus amoenas; muris nemora cinguntur turresque habent uenantium receptacula. Quattuor continuis aetatibus

intactum saltum fuisse constabat cum Alexander cum toto exercitu ingressus agitari undique feras iussit.

There is no greater sign of barbarian opulence in those parts than the herds of noble wild beasts, penned in great woods and parks.²¹ To this end they select extensive forests made pleasant by numerous perennial springs; the woods are surrounded with walls and have towers as blinds for the

hunters. It is known that the forest had been untouched for four successive years

generations when Alexander entered with his whole army and ordered the beasts to be beaten up on every side.

The parallel usage of Nehemiah and Xenophon (with his successors) shows that the word is Iranian. There can be no doubt that in Old Persian and Median it named the satrapal hunting parks and gardens.

The constant statement or implication that the paradise must be an enclosure in fact springs from the word's etymology. It appears once (only) in Avestan at Videvdat 3.1822 where its

form and etymology are believed to be clear. It is used of the "enclosure" to be built around a man who has perpetually defiled himself by carrying a corpse single-handed:
pairi.daēzqn

pairi.daēzayqn (with cognate accusative masculine plural of the noun preceding the verb), "they shall heap up a surrounding wall."²³ The noun (Frisk sv) would be exactly cognate with Greek masc. "", nearly attested in the neuter in different grade LXX II Reg 25,1 for p^ "siege-wall."²⁴ It is remarkable that in this unique Avestan usage the word is used in a highly pejorative context. It may also appear in nearly the honorific sense of the Greek and Hebrew in an Old Persian text of Artaxerxes II at

Susa in four copies (Kent 154-5), where the key words are of uncertain meaning: vasnā A(ura)M(azda)hā imām hadis tya ji-va-di-ya pa-ra-da-ya-
da-a-ma adam akunavām.

²¹ Greek ; never went into Latin paradisus until the Old Latin versions of the Bible, so Curtius uses what vocabulary he has.

²² C. Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*; Strasbourg: Trübner, 1904; 865; translation of this text in Fritz Wolff, *Avesta, die heiligen Bücher der Parsen...*; Strasbourg: Trübner, 1910; p. 328.

23 The i in Avestan pai- is a regular phonetic phenomenon by which the i following the r is anticipated.

24 See 11.296 for a likely connection of the Iranian and Hebrew.

21.4 Gilgamesh and the forest of Lebanon

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Kent prefers "By the favor of Ahuramazda this is the palace (hadis -

) which I built in my lifetime as a pleasant retreat," but notes (p. 195) the version of Emil

Benveniste "paradis de vie." The Old Persian word can be identified with the Avestan form under plausible assumptions. 25 And since are attested at Susa (Aelian Hist. Anim. 7.1 in fantastic context), likely "paradise" is intended in the Susa Old Persian texts as well.

21.4 Gilgamesh and the forest of Lebanon

What became the "paradise" of the Lebanon was from the beginning of history an object of aggression from the East. Rowton, 26 going as far as possible behind the historical cuneiform sources, concludes:

Now the Gilgamesh epic probably originated, at least in oral form, ...not much later than the middle of the third millennium BC And if we go back that far in time there is no difficulty in believing that this valley [between Mt. Hermon and the Lebanon] was a scene of surpassing sylvan beauty, with the two great mountains, deep in forest, soaring on either side.

Moderns, relying on modern translations of the Gilgamesh epic, see its hero as the first representative of Western humanism—perhaps the only such in Mesopotamian literature. What is he about? He is assigned or undertakes the task of overcoming Huwawa (Old Babylonian version) or Humbaba (Assyrian) the guardian²⁷ of the Cedar Forest:

At whose name the lands are ever in terror I will conquer him in the Cedar Forest!

...My hand I will poise and will fell the cedars, A name that endures I will make for me!

...Huwawa—his roaring is the storm-flood, His mouth is fire, his breath is death! 28

25 The second d of the Old Persian corresponds to Median and Avestan r (Kent 33b); Levin conjectures that in this later Old Persian the distinction between the prefixes para and party may have become blurred.

26 MB Rowton, "The Woodlands of Ancient Western Asia," JNES 26 (1967) 261-277; p. 267.
In general

see Horst Klengel, "Der Libanon and seine Zedern in der Geschichte des Alten Vorderen Orients, "

Das Altertum (Berlin) 13 (1967) Heft 2, 68-76.

27 In the translations available I do not find that Huwawa is anywhere given this exact description, but his role seems clear enough.

28 Old Babylonian Version III.v.2-3; ANET3 80a.

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Originally the Cedar Forest was surely in the West, not very closely located in real geography; perhaps on the Amanus or the Lebanon.

Humbaba is a formidable opponent, although not clearly defined. In a new fragment of the Old Babylonian the scene becomes precise:

E[nkidu] killed [the watchman] of the forest, At whose word Saria²⁹ and Lebanon [trembled]?⁰

There is no extended account of felling the cedars; in the Hittite version³¹ it appears that Gilgamesh has cut down a single cedar (stand-ing for the whole forest? or a world-tree?) before he and Enkidu dispatch Humbaba.³²

We are obviously meant to identify sympathetically with Gilgamesh in his contest with the fearful Humbaba, and in his failure (Tablet XI end) to grasp the plant of rejuvenation. The serpent which eats the plant of youth in its place and sheds its slough made its way as far as Greece (1.16). But how does he look in the light of history? The epic suggests no motivation for felling the cedar except that it is there.

Historic rulers cut cedar for the practical purpose of building temples: thus first the Sumerian Gudea (ab. 2000 BC).³³ Ashur-Nasir-Pal (883-

859 BC) cut cedar on the Amanus; Tiglath-Pileser III (744-727) built his palace at Calah with Lebanese cedar; Sennacherib (705-681) cut very large cedar logs in Sirara (Hermon) and used them to build his palace; similarly Esarhaddon (680-669) and Ashurbanipal (668-633).
3 4 There is a beautiful agreement with the Akkadian texts in the words which Isa 37,24 (= II Reg 19,23) puts in Sennacherib's mouth: an o -1?!?

Lin1 ? ·3: vtf- ii nnäa Vpçns

noip '- -UP "I went up Yap Dino kíík í

to the height of the mountains, the slopes of Lebanon; again and again I cut³⁵ the highest of its cedars, the most choice of its

29 Mt Hermon, Bib. Hebrew Deuteronomy 3:9; Psalm 29:6.

30 New fragment, ANET3 504b. 31 ANET3 82a.

32 I here omit consideration of the difficult and fragmentary Sumerian version (ANET3 47-50) "Gilgamesh and the Land of the Living." See Aaron Shaffer, "Gilgamesh, the Cedar Forest and Mesopotamian History," JAOS 103 (1983) 307-313.

33 ANET3 268-9; The Lebanon and Phoenicia 176-7.

34 Texts and references in my The Lebanon and Phoenicia 179-195.

35 So I translate the imperfects of the Hebrew in both books, which bolder editors would like to convert to preterites, n""DtO etc.

21. 4 Gilgamesh and the forest of Lebanon 1 3 1

junipers,³⁶ and ascended to its farthest height, the forest of its planta-tion." It would almost seem that the prophet had some idea of Sennacherib's actual words (on the "Bull Inscription") "Asshur and Ishtar...showed me how to bring out the mighty cedar (GIS eri-ni), logs which had grown large in the days gone by, and had become enormously tall as they stood concealed in the mountains of Sirara."

In the texts of the (Sumerian and) Akkadian rulers, the obstacle to timber-cutting are the kings whose territory they had to pass through; Humbaba has disappeared. While the use of the cedar-logs to build palaces is emphasized, the exploit is not merely practical; perhaps

even the reverse, the palaces are proof of the king's symbolic prowess as shown in entering

the forest. Solomon's palace "the House of the Forest of Lebanon" (I Reg 7,2), li]??1?!!

rV3, unlike the Akkadian ones, had not merely cedar beams but cedar pillars, it reproduces the forest. The motive of the Akkadian rulers is then similar to that of Gilgamesh: an heroic accomplishment. Is the obstacle that Gilgamesh had to meet merely mythological? If Humbaba corresponds to a reality, it would have to be a forest predator; since the lion was familiar to Mesopotamian heroes, the predator would have to be the bear. To a symbolic mind, the bear would be the agent or representative of the guardian deity of the forest. We have seen (11.180-184) that both Yahweh of Israel and Melkarth of Tîre have ursine characteristics.

Perhaps once the god of the cedar forest was Shadday (III.125) al-though in Psalm 29 it is Yahweh: it seems he has replaced a Phoenician deity.³⁷ As the Mesopotamian kings made claim to the coastland and its tutelary deities, to cut its timber is their right and their boast; they carry out in reality what the epic projects in myth.

Likewise the Phoenician monarchs considered the forest was theirs by right; Hiram of Tîre sends wood and carpenters to David (II Sam 5,11); Hiram sends Solomon timber for his palace and temple, but Solomon must provide the labor, and in addition cede cities (I Reg 5,15-32; 9,10-14). Josephus (con. Ap. 1.106-120) cites the Hellenistic writers Menander of Ephesus and Dios to the same effect.³⁸ Still the Israelite kings not merely regard the Assyrian kings as invaders but as

36 From t2'l~B (in its Aramaic equivalent, eg Rabbinic " [Jastrow i.198]) comes Diodorus 2.49.4; Dioscorides 1.76, Philo Byblius (FGH 79 0 fr. 2.9) as name of a mountain.

37 See Fritz Stolz, "Die Bäume des Gottesgartens auf dem Libanon," ZAW 84 (1972) 141-156. 785.

38 FGH 783 ,

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usurpers of the forest claimed for their own God. Isaiah goes on to say (37,26-29) that it had been Yahweh's purpose all along that Sennacherib should rage against him, and therefore

that "I will put my hook in your nose and my bit in your mouth." Thus what seems humanistic to us in Gilgamesh seems both imperialist and blasphemous to the Hebrew prophet in Sennacherib. The ironical lament of Isa 14 over the "king of Babylon," where the junipers and cedar say "since you were laid low, no hewer has come up against us" (14,8) may be a later addition to the book, looking at Nebuchadrezzar's logging on the eastern Leba-Thus we possess recorded contrasting views of the same trans-action as they appeared to the two opposing non. 3 9 parties.

21.5 Original forests of the

Mediterranean⁴⁰

At the end of the last glacial age a remarkable climax vegetation grew up around the Mediterranean in spite of its moderate and erratic rainfall. Although many mountains, including the Lebanon, were not glaciated, the rising sea-level created a new regime of temperature and rainfall. Theophrastus, in a passage which we quoted in part above (III. 12.3; Hist. Fiant. 5.8.1,3), further observes:

any tree, if it is left alone and not cut, left in its natural position, becomes remarkable in height and thickness. In Cyprus the kings did not cut the trees, both because they took good care of them and married them, and also because it was difficult to get the timber out. The timber cut for the eleven-oar ship of Demetrius [Polioretes] was 13 spans long [about 25 m.], and besides being of marvelous length was without knots

and smooth. But they say that the trees of Corsica are much the largest of all; for while both the fir () and pine () in Latium are very handsome, being bigger and finer than those of [southern] Italy, they are puny compared with the trees of Corsica.... The country of the Latins is well-watered. The coastal plain bears laurel (), myrtle, and wonderful beech (); of the last they cut timbers big enough to run the whole length of the keel of an Etruscan ship. The hill-country bears pine and fir.

39 The Lebanon and Phoenicia 195-199.

40 Generally for this section see Meiggs Trees and Timber (note 6 above) passim; Olli

Makkonen, *Ancient Forestry: An Historical Study*; 2 parts; *Acta Forestalia Fennica* 82 (1967) & 95 (1969); Helsinki; Ellen Churchill Semple, "Climatic and Geographic Influences on ancient Mediterranean Forests and the Lumber Trade," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 9 (1919) 13-37 (= pp. 261-296 of her *The Geography of the Mediterranean Region: Its Relation to Ancient History*; New York: Holt, 1931).

21.5 Original forests of the Mediterranean

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Theophrastus, born in barren Lesbos and settling in barren Athens, must have traveled to some extent in order to have discovered the

wealth of an actual forest; evidently not to Corsica (where he quotes others) but perhaps to Italy and the Lebanon. Plato in the unfinished myth of the Critias (see 11.68) imagines that once the sea-level of Attica had been lower before the present mere skeleton of the land was left— 9,000 years before his time [just right for the last glaciation !]:

It had much timber in the mountains, of which clear evidence still remains.

For there are mountains today which can only produce nourishment for bees [from the scrub- flora of the maquis]; but it is not long since that trees for roofing the largest buildings were cut

from them, and the roofs are still intact. There were also other tall cultivated trees which provided a great deal of pasture for flocks. Likewise the country turned to good use the annual rain from Zeus, not as now wasting what flows from the bare ground to the sea; but since it had deep earth and received the rain into it, it stored up the water from the heights behind impervious clay such as potters use.⁴¹

Thucydides 1.2.5 says that "Attica because of its mostly thin soil did not attract invaders" (*yoOv*) like other parts of Greece; but this may reflect conditions after deforestation rather than before.

Theophrastus' testimony about the old forests in Cyprus is brought forward by Strabo 14.6.5:

Eratosthenes says that in ancient times the plains [of Cyprus] had gone to wood, so that they were covered with thickets (*κοιλια*) and were not farmed.

He goes on to say that the mines helped somewhat in this situation, since men cut down the trees for the smelting of copper and silver; the building of fleets was of further assistance, since the sea was now sailed without fear [of pirates] and [was patrolled] by naval forces. Even so

they were not able to stem [the growth of timber], and so they allowed those able and willing to cut it out and hold the cleared land as their own property, free from taxes.

Rostovtzeff⁴² thinks that the period of protection attested by Theophrastus was by the autonomous city-kings of the fourth century BC; the period of exploitation by the fleets of Antigonos and Demetrius; and adds a probable period of management of the forests by the Ptolemies. Thirgood, who had been a forester in Cyprus, chronicles its ongoing deforestation, climaxed by Turkish "aerial incendiary bomb-

41 Critias 111C-D.

42 M. Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*; Oxford: Clarendon, 1953; 3 vols.; iii.1612 note 113.

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ing" of the forests in July 1974.⁴³ By the Roman period the greatest natural resource of the Mediterranean was regarded as a nuisance and obstacle to agriculture; and its wasteful utilization in metallurgy, naval building and indiscriminate clearing was seen as the greatest

of benefits to the state.⁴⁴ In ancient Lebanon, which I know best, on one hand the perennial springs were fuller

and more constant throughout the year from retention of water by the soil. The most conspicuous example of many is the river which bursts out of an underground limestone cavern (flowing over impenetrable clay) at Afqa (1.245); Ps 104,10 "You who make springs break out in the valleys; they run between the hills": *Vçiprr pa ^?? njptfan*

And further, the water received on the land was actually greater, from the dripping of fog off needles onto the ground, and from greater rainfall than now through the transpiration of water

vapor from the forests. The coastal redwood forests of California show the same pattern. Vaumas⁴⁵ believes (like Rowton) that the entire Lebanon and Antilebanon were originally

forested, with hardwoods and pine on the western slope of Lebanon up to about 1300 meters; cedar (*Cedrus Libarti*) and Cilician fir (*Abies cilicica*) up to 2000 meters; and juniper (*Juniperus excelsa*) on both slopes of both mountains above 2000 meters. The

ARBORVM GENERA IV of Hadrian (III.000) can mostly be identified. Mouterde⁴⁶ is certain that they included the

cedar, the Cilician fir, and the *Juniperus excelsa*; for the fourth, ancient species identifications need not have exactly corresponded with ours. In the north there are small remnant forests of cedar today on the eastern slopes of Lebanon, and Nebuchadrezzar (we saw) logged them about 587 BC. The Cilician fir, better preserved today in Turkey, must have produced on the Lebanon long trunks suitable for masts, but was cut back early and scarcely shows in the Akkadian records. The *Juniperus excelsa*, today very much degraded, once also was a great forest tree.

Even the picturesque cedars of Bsharre, preserved in the sacred enclo-

4 3 JV Thirgood, *Man and the Mediterranean Forest: A history of resources depletion*; London etc.: Academic, 1981; 148.

4 4 See Julia E. Burnet, "Sowing the Four Winds: Targeting the Cypriot Forest Resource in Antiquity," pp. 59-69 of S. Swiny et alii (eds.), *Res Maritimae: Cyprus and the Eastern Mediterranean from Prehistory to Late Antiquity*; Atlanta: Scholars, 1997.

4 5 Etienne de Vaumas, *Le Liban: Etude de géographie physique*; 3 vols.; Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1954; 1.286.

4 6 Paul Mouterde, "Note sur les essences forestières du Liban," *Mélanges de l'Univ. Saint Joseph* 25. 3 (1942/3) 48-49.

21.6 Bureaucratic control of logging

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sure of a Maronite monastery, show a low branched habit from dys-genic selection by centuries of grazing goats; the ancient cedar was a tall forest tree (see Theophrastus, III.123).

Not long before Hadrian, Tacitus in his famous phrase (Hist 5.6) is struck above all with the shade of the forest in its semi-tropical environment: "among such heats, Lebanon is dark with shade and constant with snows (tantos inter ardores opacum fidumque niuibus), it generates and fills the Jordan river." The sacred wild place of the Hebrew Bible is the slope of Lebanon—very likely adapting Phoenician literary motifs now lost. Here from Psalm 104, besides the streams breaking out in the ravines between the hills with the broad sea

beneath, are the ibex and coney, the wild asses and lions, the stork building her nest in the junipers above the cedar-line. What is most impressive in the California forests of the coastal redwood (*Sequoia sempervirens*) is not even the height and shade of the trees, but their enormous vegetative power in springing up from the roots of the cut or fallen, and the energy in the twisted buttresses that they throw out on whatever side their stability is threatened.

21.6 Bureaucratic control of logging

After the liquidation of the Persian empire by Alexander, in some places the former paradises were kept up, but not under that name.

Thus the forest of Lebanon was controlled or exploited by successor monarchs: by Antigonos in 315 BC (Diodorus 19.58.1-5); by Antiochos III of Syria after 200 BC (Josephus AJ 12.141); by Agrippa II of Judaea in AD 50-68 (Josephus BJ 5.36-38).⁴⁷ But the old name "paradise" does not reappear. The Hellenistic monarchs who controlled the forest of Lebanon must have done so through a bureaucracy more or less patterned on the Persian as recorded in Neh 2,8; for it reappears in the Roman period under Hadrian.

Aristotle (Pol. 6.5.4 = 1321b31, 7.11.4 = 1331b15) records "forest-keepers," but does not specify the area or their duties. When Pharnabazos

promises the Spartans timber for ships -rr;

(Xenophon Hell. 1.124-5) at Mt Ida in Phrygia (410 BC), the forest, though in his satrapy, was at least nominally held by the Great King.

Latin inscriptions in the Roman world have been thoroughly enough investigated so that we can say with some confidence: Only on the Lebanon did Romans record systematic forest management. Hadrian

47 See my Lebanon and Phoenicia 206-210.

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put up boundary markers on the living rock at what must have been the perimeter of the Lebanese forest in his own day; the extent of deforestation is indicated when we discover that today without exception they stand in the midst of treeless rocky shale. They were restudied under dangerous political conditions by Jean-François Breton,⁴⁸ who was

unable to enter northern Lebanon at all. Still he saw or republished a total of 187 inscriptions.

The key to their abbreviations is his IGLS 5001, now on the campus of the American University of Beirut:

IMP(eratoris) HAD(riani) AVG(usti) DEFINITIO SILVARVM "Boundary of the forests of the Emperor Hadrian Augustus." Many of them further read, mostly in abbreviations (IGLS 5124)

ARBORVM GENERA IV CETERA PRIVATA

"Four species of trees [are forbidden]; others are private." Above we discuss likely identifications of the four species. Two inscriptions show procurators of Augustus who have inherited the task of Asaph. IGLS 5096:

IMP(eratoris) HAD(riani) AVG(usti) VIG(ilis?) C(aius) VMBRIVS PROC(urator) AVG(usti)
IMP(eratoris) I(terum) S(alutati) P(osuit)

"Of the Emperor Hadrian Augustus. Gaius Umbrius, guard(?), procurator of Augustus when saluted for the second time as Emperor, placed it." And finally (IGLS 5186, cf. 5185) on the eastern slope of the Lebanon, where Nebuchadrezzar cut timber:

IMP(eratoris) H[AD](riani) AVG(usti) D(e)F(initio) S(iluarum) XII

P(er) PR(ocuratorem) Q(uintum) VET(ium) RUF[u]M "Boundary [marker]

no. 12 of the forests of the Emperor Hadrian Augustus, by the procurator Quintus Vetius Rufus."

22.7 The garden as private paradise

In the Hellenistic period Xenophon's word *paradeisos* is privatized to mean "garden" simply. Hebrew offers a transitional usage at Koh 2,5, where the supposed Solomon says "I made myself gardens and paradises, and planted in them trees bearing every kind of fruit": •?-'?!
The date of

LXX

48 Jean-François Breton, *Les Inscriptions forestières d'Hadrien dans le mont Liban*, IGLS VIII,3; BAH 104; Paris: Geuthner, 1980. In the forthcoming *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World* (Princeton) I sketch the forest as it existed under Hadrian on the basis of Breton's maps.

21.7 The garden as private paradise

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Qoheleth must be late Persian or early Hellenistic; the ostensible author is given the style of an ancient Near Eastern monarch or divinity, setting out trees in a grand enclosure; but the reality is of a rich man planting a garden. The usage is clear in Rabbinic, Mishna Arakh. III.2 VID3D 10 "in the gardens of Sebaste." An inscription from Sardis of about 305 BC,⁴⁹ where the paradeisos of Tissaphernes was perhaps still remembered, uses as "gardens" only. In Egypt, Nicias gives Zeno's agent Apollonius fruit trees from his and so reports on January 19, 257 BC.⁵⁰ The citizens of Itanos on Crete about 246 BC dedicate "the garden () by the gate" as a sacred precinct () to Ptolemy III Euergetes and queen Berenice.⁵¹ Antiochus IV Epiphanes set out vast parks (... , Josephus AJ 12.233) on his country estates. In the Greek of the "Rosetta stone" (OGIS 90.15, 196 BC) the (the Demotic version otherwise) are plantations of palms and other fruiting trees taxable for the benefit of the "gods," Ptolemy V and his sister-wife. An Egyptian Jew fancifully imagines himself as an irrigation-canal leading from the Nile (Sirach 24,30) "And I was like a canal from a river, like a watercourse I entered a garden":

Josephus like Theophrastus Hist. Plant. 9.6.1 (1.96) names as "paradises" the plantations of Jericho (BJ 4.467) and Judaea (6.6); when he describes the "paradises" of Solomon (AJ 8.186, cf. 7.347) he may have Jerusalem gardens in mind.

The usage of the Septuagint partly (and perhaps always in original intent) follows the same pattern, translating "by 3. Thus at Num 24,6 for 11] 333 it has ; at Jer 29,5, where the prophet addresses the exiles in Babylon, he says "Plant gardens and eat their produce":

33 WEH!

LXX ("36.5") The "garden" of Susanna is a throughout. But where the LXX likewise makes the garden of Eden a "paradise" (perhaps anticipated by the usage of Cant 4,13) it creates a new concept.

49 WH Buckler & DM Robinson, Greek Inscriptions from Sardis I, AJA 16 (1912) 1-82; no. I col. 1 line 15.

50 CC Edgar, Zeno Papyri Vol. I, Catalog général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire 79.1; Le Caire 1925, no. 59033, p. 54. The Zeno papyri contain at least 17 references

to a paradeisos: PW Pestman (ed.), A Guide to the Zeno Archive (PL Bat. 21); 2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1981, ii.696.

51 SIG3 463.

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21.8 The restoration of Eden

We saw (III. 125) that the LXX of Gen 2,8 and 3,23 translates the "gar-den" as "Paradise." Likewise in most of the prophetic passages referring to Eden (Isa 51,3; Ez 28,13; 31,8-9; Joel 2,3) for J3 the LXX has with variations. At Ez 31,3-9 the cedar of Lebanon is envied by the cedars in the "garden of God" and the "trees of Eden"; this strongly suggests that in the Phoenician myth of Ez 28,13 Eden is on Lebanon. In the erotic symbolism of Canticles the body of the beloved is assimilated to the landscape of Lebanon. In her virginity she is like the satrapal forest (Cant 4,12-13) "a garden locked...a fountain sealed":

mnn

LXX , , Vg hortus conclusus, fons signatus. Thus she herself becomes a "paradise of pomegranates," •"Oifâl 031

"13, , Vg paradisus malorum punicorum. To that extent Canticles anticipates the LXX in seeing Eden as the satrapal paradise.

Rabbinic is hesitant about making the connection; in his thought Paradise becomes a place of danger. Tosefta Hagigah 2.3:52

Four men entered Paradise: Ben cAzzai, Ben Zoma, the Other (Elisha b.

Abuyah, UtS^N), and R. cAqiba. [In the same sequence] One gazed and perished; one gazed and was smitten; one gazed and 'cut down sprouts' [apostatized];53 one went

up whole and came down whole. /_n in « «air pi "ri? orna1 ? ·33] nmiK pan in « wp u

n^i? irmi mintala p^pi ^ ina:np^ n in « nai Distia ITI

The verbs associated with cAqiba indicate that this Paradise is above the earth. The Targums do not recognize this special usage; Aramaic 03 appears in the Targ. Jon. of Jude 4,5 as "garden"; in Targ. Ps.-

Jon. of Gen 14,3 etc. for "valley"; but never for "Eden." Thus the Talmudic text rests on the LXX naming of the garden of Eden as "paradise," while shifting the site.

52 Ed. Saul Lieberman; Jewish Theol. Sem. of America, 5722/1962; p. 381. A different version of this passage at Bab. Talm. Hag. 14b.

53 Jastrow 1407 explains this idiom (which is said to continue into modern Hebrew also) as "corrupting the youth," ie the "new shoots" in the garden of society.

54 JT Milik & M. Black, The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumran Cave 4; Oxford: Clarendon, 1976; 232. Translation in Charlesworth 1.28.

How did the Aramaic come to be lost? The Vulgate explains! Enoch "was translated" (Heb 11,5 *translatus est*)—evidently into Ethiopia...—and therefore the original "was no more to be found" (*non inueniebatur*).

21. 8 The restoration of Eden 1 3 9

Non-canonical Judaism continues more boldly along the same line.

The Aramaic original of I Enoch 32 from Qumran⁵⁴ has "And I passed on to the Paradise of Righteousness":

[R]ta»p on a -p1 ? riarmo Sibylline Oracles 1.24-25 with an Homeric reminiscence "in ambrosial Paradise,"

/. The Testament of Levi 18.10,55 perhaps here with a Christian overlay, says that "one will open the gates of Paradise," . The concept is that Eden, long ago debarred from humanity by cherubim and the fiery sword, has again become accessible. Latin IV Esdras 8.52 has God say to Ezra "because it is for you that paradise is opened, that the tree of life is planted," *Vobis enim apertus est paradisos, piantata est arbor uitae*.

A possible pagan echo of the LXX usage appears in Aristides To Rome 99: among the benefits brought by Rome "And the whole earth has been beautified like a *paradeisos*." If this reflects purely Hellenistic usage, the rhetorician is comparing the earth to a garden. But the scope of the comparison, anticipating medieval thought, suggests that some resonance of Eden has come to his ears. Thus Aristides can

be added to the authors who may have had knowledge of the Greek Bible: Ovid (1.55), Vergil (1.173), Horace (11.78), Lucan (11.143), Athenaeus (1.122), Diodorus (III.321), "Longinus" 9.9, and Plutarch and Lucian (11.168).

The Apocalypse of John reverses the expulsion of mankind from Eden but otherwise does not conceptually go beyond the Septuagint.

Rev 2,7 "To him that conquers I shall grant to eat of the tree of life which is in the paradise of God." At Gen 3,22 this is precisely the outcome feared by God, as a result of which mankind must leave the Garden; John says that the judgment has now been reversed. The expression could not possibly be derived from working over the language of the Hebrew Bible or the Targum; like much in this book it presupposes the LXX.

At II Kor 12,2-4 Paul speaks of a man in Christ fourteen years ago, whom most commentators consider to be Paul himself. Paul says two things about him, that "such a one was seized to the third heaven," and "that he was seized to paradise and heard unspeakable words," . Commentators

ancient⁵⁶ and modern differ about the relationship between the "third heaven" and

^{5 5} Ed. M. de Jonge; Leiden: Brill, 1978. Translation in Charlesworth 1.795. See Psalms of Solomon 14.3.

^{5 6} Lampe sv *paradeisos* p. 1011 col. 2, B2 quotes Fathers who take various positions about the relation of the "third heaven" and "paradise."

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"paradise," and whether the third heaven was the highest to which one could attain or an intermediate state. The parallelism of the two clauses suggests that the two were more or less identified; but we need not assume that in Paul's thought the topography of either was precisely located. Since here if anywhere we have the exact language of the historical Paul, we must conclude that he has taken a step beyond the usage of the Septuagint; for there is nothing in the passage to suggest that "paradise" is the garden of Eden. Rather it is a special realm or place of revelation, which it is more natural to locate in the heavens than anywhere else. Paul here as elsewhere anticipates the experience and language of 'Aqiba;⁵⁷ both locate Paradise above rather than on the earth, both visit it unscathed.

The dialogue which Luke (23,42-43) gives to the good bandit and Jesus suggests a different equivalence: "Jesus, remember me when you come into your kingdom,"

eis ; "Verily I say to you, today you will be with me in paradise," , . The historical Jesus normally speaks of "the kingdom of God" or equivalently "of heaven"; "your kingdom" reminds us of Luk 22,28 "so that you may eat and drink at my table in my kingdom ()." We cannot be certain then at 23,42-43 of piercing behind Luke's language to anything earlier. The Fathers are divided⁵⁸ whether "paradise" here is identified with "heaven" or distinct from it. But the dialogue suggests that "Jesus' kingdom" and "paradise" are treated as alternative symbols. It is more natural here than in Paul to take "paradise" as the restored garden of Eden, which

the Apocalypse presumes has been reopened by the work of Christ. Luke (intentionally or by

good luck) has here contrasted two Persian themes (III. 108). For crucifixion was the preferred punishment meted out by the Great King to rebels or pretenders. Thus Jesus, while being put

to death as a pretender, is represented as making an audacious claim to future presence in the satrapal or regal paradeisos. And that means that correspondingly he is making the claim for himself as its rightful regal or divine proprietor.

21.9 The vision of Ephrem Syrus

The novel concept of Paradise in the New Testament as the place forbidden to Adam and reopened by Christ is variously interpreted by

57 See their common use of arrabo "pledge" (1.75, 77). 58 Lampe p. 1012 col. 1 (paradeisos C4).

21.9 The vision of Ephrem Syrus

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the Fathers, especially the Greeks, worked hard to fit it in to the categories of their thought. But in the Semitic world it is understood in a more comprehensive manner in the fifteen Hymns of Paradise (0) by Ephrem of Nisibis

(AD 306 [?] to 373).⁵⁹ These Syriac hymns are all written in six-line syllabic stanzas with the syllables arranged in the pattern: 5+5, 5+5, 5+5, 5+2, 5+5, 5+5. There is much rhyming and

assonance. It is unclear whether Ephrem may have known some Greek. But, except for loan words from Greek, most or all of which can be attested from elsewhere in Syriac, neither his syllabic metric, nor verse-forms, nor thought can plausibly be derived from any Greek original. But there are remarkable continuations of Rabbinic thought.

For Ephrem, "paradise" is not one state of affairs contrasted with "heaven" or the "kingdom," but the unique scene, both of creation, where Adam and Eve

were placed and then expelled, and of the consummation when it was reopened by Christ. (It was precisely when Jesus' side was pierced by the lance [Joh 19,34] that the fiery sword was removed.⁶⁰) Paradise is envisaged as a mountain, for otherwise it would have been destroyed by the Flood (Hymn 1.4.1 -3):

îtoma 1 ? nnvn

n on piro

K^ioo i Ki n

With the eye of my mind the summit of all mountains

the Crest of the Flood

Kri m wi n

pntû ^dî rani

Tiró n kü d 1 ?

I gazed upon Paradise; is lower than its summit, reached only its foothills.

This mountain encircles the whole earth, beyond the sea in every direction (Hymn 2.6.4-5):

59 The Syriac is edited with German translation by Edmund Beck, *Des Heiligen Ephraem des Syrers Hymnen de Paradiso und Contra Julianum*; CSCO vols.

174-5 (*Scriptores Syri tom. 78-79*); Louvain, 1957. His edition, following the British Museum MS add. 14571, dated AD 519, has no vowel-markers and only a few conventional points to distinguish

grammatical forms with identical consonants. Consequently a deep understanding of both grammar and MS usage (which I do not possess) is required to translate these compressed and allusive texts. There is a beautiful French translation by the Lebanese Jesuit René Lavenant: F. Graffin (ed.), *Ephrem de Nisibe, Hymns sur le Paradis*; Sources Chrétiennes 137; Paris: Cerf, 1968. I have followed with some modifications the translation in the excellent edition of Sebastian Brock, *Saint Ephrem: Hymns on Paradise*; Crestwood (NY):

St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1990. Ephrem on Paradise is anticipated by the Syriac Odes of Solomon 11.18.

60 Hymn 2.1 refrain with Graffin's note.

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^ 2 ION

io1 ?»! in nato

san xo·1'?

^av

Ncnna'? ròntr»

[Paradise] girds the loins of the world; encircling the great sea, neighbor to the beings on high.

As we know, God planted it in the beginning (Hymn 6.10.1-2): R im ^

^ 1 ?! nr m

The effortless power, the arm which never tires, planted the Paradise, adorned it without effort.

After Adam's departure it had a "fence" put around it—namely, a WO, the word which the Rabbis used for the "fence around the Torah"

(Avoth 1.1, see 1.161), min1? 0 (Hymn 4.1.6):

The cherub and the sharp sword were the fence of Paradise.

Ki m ^ KÜHD

At Mark 12,1 when one puts a fence () around his vineyard, Pesh has WO.

To accommodate different categories of people, both in the beginning and the end, Paradise has several regions. Simple-minded people, KtûVin (ie)61 who sinned out of ignorance, after expiation are established by the Good One at the "border of Paradise" 031

3 (Hymn 1.16). In the center of the Garden was the Tree of Knowledge (3.3). At the summit is the Tree of Life, "the sun of Paradise"

KCP- Ktööt» (3.2.2). The levels are summarized at 2.11.5-6:

1? Nnyso nan ^

Kirn1? :*]1? na n

Its ground level for the penitent, its middle for the just, its top for the victorious, its summit for the Shekinah.

In the Syriac realm the Rabbinic concept of the 3> or tabernacling presence of God (1.180) is continued in the Christian church. And it reappears further at Quran 9.26 (11.330) "Then Allah sent down his Sakinah on his Messenger": OAJL'J ħJ ħ' />V-.j<••• «jj jB î ĩi

The reopening of Paradise was due to Christ, seen under many images, in particular as the "athlete," Nta^nN = (12.6.1). 6 2 But we have our own part to play (2.2.1):

61 Thus at I Kor 14,16 the Syriac has and the Vg idiotai; compare Mishna Qidd. 1.6 tons.

62 The true Christian is seen as an athlete . see Rabbinic CET^nX Gen. Rabbah 77.3. were introduced into Jerusalem by Herod the Great (Josephus A] 15.269) and brought their name into the language.

Similar metaphorical use in Latin, Varrò Res Rust. 3.5.18 nos athletae comitorum "we old hands at politics."

21. 9 The vision of Ephrem Syrus

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np^p "l1? 30 ^ tOÖ

Forge here and take with you the key of Paradise.

That would be in identical Greek * "the key of Paradise."63 For (15.6.1-3) our intelligence () is like a treasurer (N-au)64 who can fit a key to each locked door (" 1). Paradise

would be defiled by the presence of chalcedony (KHDlp) or beryl (N^TQ), 7.4—this text goes beyond Plato Phaedo 110D and Ez 28,13 (cited 1.87), in both of which texts our jewels

are good enough to belong to the better land (III.55).⁶⁵ In the restored Paradise human beings are marked above all by the "robe of glory," 315? 'PtûOK66 which they were given and lost at the beginning , but now get back in even finer fashion,

the "robe of the house of Adam" (6.9.3) D1K

N'rtaON1? with the Greek loanword 67 Here several themes come together. it appears were reinterpreted

as "garments of Gen 3,21 light" (for 117)—perhaps an original more ethereal bodily substance (cf. 1.207). But they also are parallel (in whichever direction the influence ran) to the supernatural garment or toga which the Zoroastrian awaits after death, in some sense his alter ego in heaven, and which we saw .

coming to meet the hero in the Syriac Hymn of the Pearl (III.63). And Paul says (II Cor 5,4, cf. ' 1.58) "we do not wish to be unclothed but to be clothed upon," où . The early Church, much as it strives to overcome Gnostic or neo-Platonic dualism, remains uneasy about sexuality and cannot abide nakedness. Especially in the Syriac realm, profoundly influenced by Iran, its ideal humanity is clothed from head to foot in iridescent garments like Sasanid nobles (I. 59).

6 3 The Latin equivalent actually appears in Tertullian *de anima* 55. 5 addressing Christ, *tota paradisi clavis tuus sanguis est* "your blood is the whole key of paradise." See also de Quincey, *Confessions of an English Opium Eater* ii "Thou hast the keys of Paradise, oh just, subtle and mighty opium!" (cited from ODO 172.19). For "key" see 11.169.

6 4 For the "treasurer" see III.240.

6 5 Biblical Heb. "!"³³ Ez 27,1 6 "some jewel" cannot be brought into original relation with the jewel Rev 21,1 9 (with folk-etymology to the city Chalcedon?); Rabbinic has an alternative spelling 133, which could be the common scribal confusion of dalet and resh, but more likely represents partial assimilation as here to the Greek word.

6 6 Ephrem Hymnen *de ieiunio* 3.2.6, ed. E. Beck CSCO 246- 7 = *Scriptores Syri*

106-7 (Louvain 1964); discussion Brock pp. 66-72. 6 7 For in Rabbinic see III.245.

21.10 Deforestation

in the Lebanon and the Mediterranean⁶⁸

The forests described by the ancient sources are today reduced to scattered groves, degraded stands, or nothing. A survey of deforestation begins thus:

There is a close interconnection between ruined cities and ruined land. The

fact that the broken statues and scattered column drums of the centers of

ancient civilizations have deforested and eroded landscapes as their settings do not seem to be an accident. The general impression of synchronicity, the contemporary ruin of ancient societies and ancient environments, has been inescapable.⁶⁹

The authors quote the intuitive judgment of Thoreau:

The civilized nations—Greece, Rome, England—have been sustained by the primitive forests which anciently rotted where they stood. They survive as long as the soil is not exhausted. Alas for human culture! Little is to be expected of a nation, when the vegetable mold is exhausted, and it is compelled to make manure of the bones of its fathers.

The authors feel that 90% of the wood used in the ancient world (in the natural form or as charcoal) was as fuel. Strabo 5.2.6 (11.224) found Populonia nearly deserted () apart from some reworking of the ore from Elba (Aithaleia), while Diodorus 5.13 (following Poseidonius about 90 BC) describes the furnaces of Aithaleia itself as in full operation. The decline was probably less due to depletion of the ore than to exhaustion of the mainland forests by which it was smelted.

On the Lebanon, the damage done in the ancient and medieval world was much

extended by the wood-burning Turkish railroad engines in World War I, which Hitti

70 estimates took 60% of the remaining

68 See EW Beals, "The Remnant Cedar Forests of Lebanon," *The Journal of Ecology* 53 (1965) 679-694; Marvin W. Mikesell, "The Deforestation of Mount Lebanon," *The Geographical Review* 59 (1969) 1-28. More generally: John D. Currid, "The Deforestation of the Foothills of Palestine," *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 116 (1984) 1-11; William C. Brice, "The Desiccation of Anatolia," pp. 141-147 of idem (ed.), *The Environmental History of the Near and Middle East Since the Last Ice Age*; London etc.: Academic, 1978; Marvin W. Mikesell, "Deforestation in Northern Morocco," *Science*, Aug. 19 (1960), Vol. 132, no. 3425, 441-448.

69 J. Donald Hughes & JV Thirgood, "Deforestation, Erosion and Forest Management in Ancient Greece and Rome," *Journal of Forest History*, April 1982 (vol. 26) 60-75. This thought is expanded in Hughes' chapter "Deforestation, Overgrazing, and Erosion" (Pan's Travail 73-90).

70 Philip K. Hitti, *Lebanon in History from the earliest times to the present*; London: Macmillan, 1957; 34.

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forest. When the forests had been reduced to stumps, new shoots and scrub, the omnipresent goat finishes off the damage by constantly grazing off the sprouts before they can grow beyond its height. Eupolis the comic poet (Macrobius 7.5.9 = Kock i.269 frag. 14, cf Hughes 78) has a chorus of goats in five elegant lines listing the plants they graze—a catalog of the maquis flora. On the Lebanon, where our documentation is best and which I tried to study exhaustively, the documented timber use in the ancient world was for two main purposes: building of temples and of naval fleets. Of the two, shipbuilding appears to have been by far the more destructive.

The ancient world saw two great periods of naval shipbuilding: the naval arms race of 315-250 BC and the civil wars of the generals of the Roman republic. Our best figures for Lebanon are from 315 BC (Diodorus 19.58) when Antigonus had 8,000 men logging and sawing and 1,000 yoke of oxen dragging the timber down—perhaps for one full summer season. A temple took something like the same labor as one of these fleets: Solomon had labor-conscription of 30,000 men to cut the Lebanese timber for his temple, but used only 10,000 at

a time on the mountain (I Reg 5,27). However, temples lasted for hundreds of years; Solomon's timbers presumably endured with some replacements until Nechuchadrezzar burned the temple to the ground in 586 BC (II Reg 25,9).

The longest-lived Athenian trireme was in use 26 years; at the outbreak of the Second Punic War in 218 BC, Rome had 200 quinqueremes which were almost certainly those built or captured from Carthage in 242 BC.⁷¹ In periods of action their life-expectancy was much shorter; many no doubt were sunk or scrapped in the month they were commissioned. Thus beside the fifteen or so temples in the ancient world known or conjectured to have been roofed with Lebanese cedar, the maintenance of the fleets controlling (among other things) the Phoenician cities was a far greater burden. The systematic Romans, locking

the barn door after the horse had been stolen, put men who were probably procurators of the treasury, C. Umbrius and Q. Vettius Rufus, over the remains of the forest.

In the same way, the destruction of the great pine trees of New England was due to the insatiable demand of the British navy for masts. Malone⁷² shows how the New England forests were a key element in colonial relations, and discusses two English policies:

71 Lionel Casson, *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World*; Princeton: University, 1971; 90, 120.

72 Joseph J. Malone, *Pine Trees and Politics: The Naval Stores and Forest Policy in Colonial New England, 1691-1775*; New York: Longmans 1964, ix.

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The first visualized New England as a more useful unit of the colonial system through realizing its potential as a producer of naval stores [pitch and tar]. The second sought to safeguard the supply of masts for the Royal Navy, the most important sources of masts being the stands of tall *Pinus strobus*, or white pine, in New England. Both of these policies were expressions of the mercantilistic viewpoint.

We saw (11.268) that the death of a hero on the battlefield is compared by the *Iliad* (13.389-391 = 16.483-485) to the cutting of a great tree by woodworkers on the mountains with their sharp axes for ship timber. When Vergil (*Aen.* 2.624-631) adapts the old simile to describe the fall of Neptunia Troia, in principle he has the understanding of modern historical ecologists: when the forest that was the wealth of a city falls, the city falls. So far as the Germanic motif

of a world-tree has entered here, it testifies to the same insight, that the life of civilization as a whole is dependent on the forest under which it grew and which nurtured it. Solomon's palace, we saw, with its cedar beams was a literal reconstruction of the forest; the temple on every Greek acropolis replants the forest in stone, although it might be roofed with timber. The makers attest to the interconnection of the forest and the temple, but are insufficiently aware that the temple can in no way serve as a substitute.

21.11 Later history of Paradise

In a few places Christian commentators, looking back to the Greek world, see it as a distorted version of the Biblical witness. So Tertullian (Apol. 11-13) rebuts critiques of Christian doctrine

by pointing out that Greek paganism had comparable doctrines—which could only be inaccurate echoes of Biblical truth:

Omnia aduersus ueritatem de ipsa ueritate constructa sunt . Unde haec, oro uos, philosophis aut poetis tam consimilia? Nonnisi de nostris sacramentis.

All things against the truth were fabricated from the truth itself.... And if we speak of paradise, a place of divine pleasantness destined to receive the spirits of the saints, separated from the knowledge of the world at large by a wall composed of a certain fiery zone—the Elysian fields previously

73 Here Tertullian uses paradisus in his own language—to designate the tempo—rare abode of saints until the general Resurrection?

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captured belief [for a comparable tale]. From what source, I inquire, did philosophers and poets acquire notions so similar [to ours]? It could only have been from our mysteries.

Again, an apparently Christian scholiast on Hesiod Opera 171 "in the islands of the blessed" (III.49): ö ' ' , ,

, ,

, .

"By 'islands of the blessed' [Hesiod] hints at Paradise, which is what they called the Elysian field—either because it keeps bodies free of decay (alyta) and immortal, or from the dispersal (lysis) of ills"; the text then goes on to cite Odyssey 4.563-4 (III.51). 74 From some Jewish- Christian or Jewish source, the name and concept went into Islam. 75

Twice only firdaws(un) appears in the Quran.

At 18.107 "Lo, those who believe and do good works, theirs are the gardens of Paradise ./· ..* » / . » / t^JASJ I A

for welcome." At 23.10-11 "Those are the heirs who will inherit Paradise"

i^jj JI ó tthi ' ·

In this manner Islam was preformed at its very beginning for its fateful acceptance in Iran. The

national poet of Persia, author of the Shah-nameh, took the pen-name Firdawsi (AD 941-1020), an Iranian word, but in its Arabic form. In the Moslem world it entered folklore.

The Venetian Marco Polo, after decades of travels, by all appearances real, was imprisoned at Genoa in 1298/9; he told his experiences to his fellow-prisoner Rustichello of Pisa, who wrote them down in (Old) French.⁷⁶ Chapters 41-43 describe what Marco learned about the

Old Man of the Mountain {le Viel de la montagne) and his Assassins (asciscins). A few lines from the beginning of the tale will give something of its flavor:

7 4 A. Pertusi, *Scholia Vetera in Hesiodi Opera et Dies*; Pubb. dell' Univ. catt. del S. Cuore ns vol. 53; Milano: "Vita e Pensiero"; 1955; pp. 66-7.

7 5 An attempt has been made to derive the description of the doe-eyed houris of the Moslem Firdaws from Ephrem Hymns on Paradise 7.18; it is refuted by Graffin ad loc. (p. 103).

76 Luigi Foscolo Benedetto, *Marco Polo: Il Milione*; Comitato geografico nazionale italiano Pubb. N. 3; Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1928. Levin tells me that *Il Milione* was in origin a nickname of

Marco's, (E)milio, later misunder-

stood as a title of his book. The Tuscan and Venetian versions must all be

secondary or tertiary translations from the French. It is said that no two manuscripts have the same contents, and it seems that a big task of textual criticism remains, both of the French and of its relation to the other versions.

Le Viel estoit appelle en lor lengajes Alaodin. Il avoit fait fer entre deus montagnes, en une valé, le plus grant jardin et les plus biaux que jamés fust veu.... Et encore hi avoit fait faire conduit, que por tel coroit vin, et por tel lait, et por tel mei, et por tel eive. Il hi avoit dame et dameseles, les plus bielles dou monde, les quelz seven soner de tuit instruments et chantent et calorent miaus que autres femes. Et fasoit le Vielz entendre a sez homes que cel jardin etoit parais.

The English Mandeville,⁷⁷ drawing (it appears) mostly from Marco, tells the story of Gatholonabes the proprietor of the castle with its wondrous garden and "welles faire and noble and alle enviround with ston of iaspere, of cristalle, dyapred with gold and sett with precious stones and great oriental pearls." To his hired murderers he makes this promise:

For after hire deth he wolde putten hem into another paradys that was an c. fold fairere than any of the tothere, and there scholde thei dwellen with the fairest damyselles that myghte be and pley with hem eueremore.

The Latin and especially the Greek Fathers of the church did their best to organize what the two Greek Testaments say about Paradise into a consistent topography and history. But since the texts reflect floating symbolic concepts, their best efforts could only result in irreconcilable contradictions. ⁷⁸ Was the paradise of Eden the same as the "paradise of God" (Ez 28,13 LXX)? Was the "third heaven" into which Paul was

caught up the same, or higher, or even lower, than the paradise of which he says the same (II Cor 12,2-3)? Was paradise an intermediate state, where the souls of the just await the general resurrection?⁷⁹ A text cited by Lampe⁸⁰ asks "where do you think Paradise is?" and answers "Some say it is heavenly and perceptible by the intellect; some earthly and perceptible by the senses": οἱ γὰρ ,

.

The language of Columbus and his contemporaries about "the earthly Paradise" {el parayso terrenal) would suggest that it was contrasted with a distinct heavenly Paradise; but in fact I do not find that any Patristic or medieval author clearly affirms the existence of two concurrent paradises.

⁷⁷ Ed. MC Seymour; Oxford: Clarendon, 1967; chap. 30p. 202.

⁷⁸ The Patristic discussions are conveniently summarized in the extensive

citations of Lampe 1010-1013 and Delumeau's History of Paradise (note 3 above). ⁷⁹ Texts for this Lampe 1011b C.2, especially Irenaeus Haer. 5.5.1 (PG 7.1135AB).

Ephrem includes this as one of the zones of a stratified Paradise (III.142). 80 Ps. Caesarius of Nazianzen, Dial. 141 (PG 38.1089).

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In Dante, Paradiso becomes the preferred name of the true heavens, and the earthly paradise appears at the summit of Mount Purgatory, but not under that name, nor even under the name of Eden. But further, in what CS Lewis calls the invention of romantic love, Paradise is internalized: Dante first knew it in Beatrice, and she needs to tell him (Paradiso 18.21) "Paradise is not in my eyes alone,"

Che non pur ne' miei occhi è Paradiso.

This leads naturally to the usage of Shakespeare, where paradise is mostly a stock concept with

sexual overtones; most intensely at Romeo and Juliet III.ii.82 where Juliet marvels that Romeo can have so mur-

derous an impulse In

mortal paradise of such sweet flesh.

The process becomes complete in Milton, where ostensibly Paradise at first is the name of the earthly paradise alone.⁸¹ At the end of the sequel (Paradise Regain'd 4.612-613) the Angelic Quires celebrate Christ's victory over temptation: For though that seat of earthly bliss be fail'd A fairer Paradise is founded now.

Here almost uniquely we have the concept of two consecutive realms of paradise, on earth and in heaven. But in Paradise Lost the commentators Michael and Satan, in different ways speaking for the poet, explicitly subordinate the garden of Eden to internal spiritual states. Where the Angel recommends to Adam the cultivation of the virtues, they become a "happier" substitute for the garden (Par. Lost 12.583-587): ...add Love, By name to come call'd Charitie, the soul Of all the rest: then wilt thou not be loath To leave this Paradise, but shalt possess A paradise

within thee,

happier farr.

When the fallen angel voyeur sees the conjugal delights of the first human beings, he says (Par. Lost 4.505-508):

Sight hateful, sight tormenting! thus these two Imparadis't in one anothers arms The happier Eden, shall enjoy

their fill Of bliss on bliss, while I to Hell am thrust Here Satan professes what Milton cannot, that sexual love has

taken precedence over any other realm of fulfillment, it is "the happier Eden."

81 The centuries of speculation which lie behind Milton have been excellently studied by Joseph E. Duncan, *Milton's Earthly Paradise: A Historical Study of Eden*; Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota, 1972—the most helpful work on the topic I have found.

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And since the authors of Genesis and Canticles were poets, Ephrem and Milton (and Dante also, in spite of his greater reworking of the tradition) grasp their thought better than all the theologians who came in between.

Philologists too have their own thoughts, and perhaps some final paragraphs on the understanding of paradise will be permissible. That Median princess, homesick for her native hills and forests, had the "hanging paradise" of Babylon built for her. Whenever the

Persian Great King, coming from barren, dry and treeless Iran (Herodotus 9.122 has it called "rough" and "miserable," .,.), in his conquest of the West found running streams and forests, he enclosed them and claimed them as his own paradeisos. Near Eastern rulers, although they had in mind building temples and fleets, perhaps obscurely realized that their "enclosures" represented the world at its best, and that it stood or fell with them.

One secret current of Patristic or medieval thought affirmed that the whole earth was intended as Paradise.⁸² Thus Hugh of St Victor⁸³:

Unde et quidam affirmant totam terram futuram paradisum, si homo non pecasset, totam autem factam exsilium per peccatum.

"So some affirm that the whole earth was to become paradise, if man had not sinned, and that the whole earth became exile through sin."

So Luther tentatively in his Table Talk in the winter of 1542/1543:84 Genesis ist ein hoch buch; es liest sich niemer mer aus. Die ersten 5 capitel vorstehet man grundlich nicht. Totus mundus ist paradisus gewesen, oder ist jhe sehr weit umbfangen gewesen, umb Jerusalem her; denn die vier flus umbher gehörn all hinein. Abr die sindflut hatt es darnach gar zerrissen.

Genesis is a lofty book; it is never read all the way through. The first five chapters are fundamentally not understood. Totus mundus became paradisus, or [it] came to be very broadly encompassed, round about Jerusalem; for the four rivers all belong around there. But the Deluge quite destroyed it afterwards. 85

Similarly Sir Thomas Browne, The Garden of Cyrus, dedication: "But the Earth is the Garden of Nature, and each fruitful Country a Para-dise."

82 Delumeau 150-151 documents it from several authors seemingly not reprinted since the 16th century.

83 Hugo de S. Victore, in S. Scripturam on Gen 2,10 (PL 175.39D).

84 D. Martin Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe; Tischreden 5. Band; Weimar: Böhlau, 1919; pp. 199-200 no. 5505. But I understand that elsewhere he rejects this opinion.

85 I thank Levin for this translation.

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The Old Persian kings then (we may say) had a true sense of what the earth was meant to be. The environmental catastrophe of the ancient Mediterranean world has become a prototype and warning of the current environmental crisis of the entire planet. Robert Pogue Harrison sees that crisis running parallel to a psychic crisis:86

Because we exist first and foremost outside of ourselves, forests become something like an ancient and enduring correlate of our transcendence. And because our imagination is a measure of our ecstasis, the history of forests in the Western imagination turns into the story of our self-dispossession.

And further: part of our mind knows that the earth, even under the best ecological management, can survive for many millions of years yet but not forever. If that prospect is

unacceptable to us (perhaps it is unacceptable to all), and if still we do not give up hope, we are driven like the ancients to affirm an eternal paradise—every minute and acre of the planet taken up constantly into eternity. But that eternity, like the corresponding resurrection of the body, can contain forever only what once existed on earth. Our cue then when we pass from scholarship to activism is to recreate the paradise wherever we are. The whole planet is to become Lebanon. And of course, as Ephrem and Milton remind us, that presupposes entirely new levels of justice and charity throughout the global society.

So we can strongly affirm the horticulturists who ship seedlings of Lebanese cedar (or of California redwoods, or the Metasequoia of China) to gardens and forests around the globe. The tomb of George and Martha Washington at Mount Vernon, not built until thirty years after his death in 1799, is today shaded by a fine Lebanese cedar with its resinous fruiting cones like striated green apples. The custodians like Xenophon solemnly affirm to tourists that it was planted by none other than the President himself. It is a handsome tree surely over a century old, I am unclear whether seedlings had gotten to England or France in his time. Still the guides are correct in principle when they insist that none but the proprietor may plant paradise. When not just every botanical garden in the world, but every street and back yard, holds (along with native plants) green and growing trees of Lebanese cedar, we may affirm that Paradise has begun to reconquer the planet.⁸⁷

86 Robert Pogue Harrison, *Forests: The Shadow of Civilization*: Chicago: University, 1992; 201.

87 When the text was already in page proof I saw the collective volume edited by GP Luttikhuisen, *Paradise Interpreted: Representations of Biblical Paradise in Judaism and Christianity; Themes in Biblical Narrative 2*; Leiden: Brill, 1999. These essays and my chapter supplement each other extensively.

Chapter 22: Complementarity of Israel and Hellas

That ideal diligent reader for whom we all write deserves, after a thousand pages on the similarities of Israel and Hellas, a chapter on their differences. It is not easy to keep in mind simultaneously a pair of correlative truths: (I) Two things contrasted must be comparable; (II) Two things compared can

always be contrasted. For (I) things can be contrasted only with respect to some attribute, which constitutes a ground of comparison between them. And (II) when things are compared in their possession of some attribute, they must possess it in different and

contrasted ways, otherwise they would be identical. The authors who contrast Israel and Hellas (1.3-4)—Arnold, Boman, Havelock, Auerbach—lose sight of truth I, following Tertullian {de praescript. haer. 7.9, 1.161, 11.85}. For when he asked, "What do Athens and Jerusalem have to do with each other?," Quid ergo Athenis et Hierosolymis?, he failed to answer his own question by noting that each city was the center of a free society generating a novel literature .

It may have seemed that in previous chapters we in turn lost sight of truth II! Anyway here we begin to remedy that defect.

Children in a family create environmental niches, each claiming vacant territory: one is tidy, one messy; one loud, one quiet; one industri-ous, one lazy. The classical Hebrew and Greek worlds are a little more distant than that, cousins rather than siblings, in touch only at one or more removes, through trade by land and sea; wars of their allies; common subjection to imperialism; foreign princesses and mercenaries, colonists, artisans, exiles. But the principle of differentiation still holds. In their joint breakout from ancient Near Eastern absolutism, each developed its own version of newly emergent freedom. They fit neatly into each other, supplementing each other's strengths, remedying each other's defects, just as the bright masculine positive sun-principle or Yang fits into the dark feminine negative moon- principle or Yin.¹ Partially in the

1 The Greek and Latin names of the luminaries follow the Chinese gender: with sol with luna. But both feminine moon-words are adjectives by etymology, not nouns. The genders ,

of the various Semitic names are fluctuating.

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Septuagint, and fully in the New Testament, the cousins are married and produce a novel offspring, in some ways more vigorous than either, while each maintains its individuality. We may then describe the reciprocal relationship of Israel and Hellas as one of complementarity.

Every comparison we have made in the preceding chapters can be seen from the other side as a contrast. Here we lift out the most coherent from among all those contrasts. In

some places we rework themes of our predecessors. At the end we revert to the conventional

wisdom—not all that incorrect—which sees Israel as the fountainhead of religion, Hellas of science. Perhaps the novel framework we set around those timeworn materials will put them in a fresher light.

The initial obvious difference we find between the two societies is the style of dialogue (22.1): in Israel between man (or an occasional woman) and God, in Hellas between man and man. It is explained by differences both in time and in space. In time (22.2): Israel as an old society, Hellas as a young one. And in space (22.3): Israel as a society just inside the Ancient Near East locked into land-trade, Hellas as one just outside enjoying a cosmopolitan sea-trade.

Each of those three contrasts has a further extension. The contrasted dialogues generate different imaging of the divine (22.4): in Israel concrete symbols are never fully adequate pointers to God; Hellas is content with them. As the two societies look behind them in time to varying distances (22.5), Israel goes back so deeply as to gain a vision of historical survival; Hellas can only see so far as to identify the situations which create tragedy. Looking out in space from their center, the two societies adopt different standards of membership (22.6): Israel sharply within its speech-community accepts only those reputed to have the same lineage; Hellas accepts as its own all those who speak the same language.

Where the two societies merge in the New Testament (22.7), the same three contrasts regarding divinity, time and space determine the nature of the confluence and the respective roles of the two parents in the merger. There follow two sections regarding the character of the written texts which the two societies (and now also the early Church) hand down to us. Partly due to intrinsic features of the two languages, partly to technical features of their scripts (arising from their respective insider and outsider status), their literary canons (22.8) markedly differ: small and fixed in both Testaments, large and open in Hellas.

Closely related is their degree of translatability (22.9): high in Hebrew texts, due to their concrete character and relative lack of internal elegance; variable in Greek, where the New Testament in the end moves back towards the simplicity of Hebrew.

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In the period of the Greek New Testament and Rabbinic exegesis, each society takes on attributes of the other (22.10). But the contemporary perception of Israel as the source of religious faith, Hellas of reason and logic has its own legitimacy (22.11). In the end we revert to the geographical contrast of the two societies. Modern nations in their claims on the individual approach the absolutist character of the Ancient Near Eastern empires as mediated to us via Rome. The places where the two traditions are transmitted to us—the congregation and the classroom—speak to us from the same place as their forerunners did: Hebrew-Christian religious faith offers guidance and critique of our world from the inside, Greek scientific reason as from the outside.

22.1 Complementarity in style of dialogue

We approached the common features of Israel and Hellas (1.1) through their architectural deposits in our cities: a university where Greek texts are widely read in translation, and, among a smaller circle, in the original; around it, churches where the Hebrew Bible (along with the Greek New Testament) is publicly read in translation, and a synagogue or seminary where it is studied in the original. Buildings where people read books!—often silently, but sometimes, in the old style, out loud.

For what purposes? For the light that those books, the earliest records that lie behind us, studied somewhere in every generation, throw on our own institutions, which they more than anything else created. And therefore for help in forming our own thought and character within those institutions.

The Greek enterprise most directly formative for us is philosophy, which trains us to think clearly about our world and ourselves. We may take Plato's Dialogues as the books, and the classroom as the normal site, where Greek reason is most accessible. The Hebrew enterprise most directly formative for us is a proclamation about the source of justice, by which we are empowered to search out the places where justice is needed, and to strive for it. We may take prophetic works like Jeremiah as the books, and the place of worship as the normal site, where that proclamation is most accessible.

How do Plato's Socrates and Jeremiah most clearly differ? Socrates is constantly in dialogue with other human beings (always in fact men) of different viewpoints, from which ideally a resolution on a higher level is achieved; whereas Jeremiah is in dialogue only with God. (In this context, by "God" we mean the seemingly external source of novel thoughts that one finds in one's heart, challenging or confirming one's "own" thoughts.) Perhaps none of Plato's Dialogues records an actual

22.2 Israel as an old society, Hellas as a young one

conversation, but they may have been acted out in the Academy.

Jeremiah 36 describes how the prophet spoke out or dictated his message for others to pass on (1.47). His first chapter records a dialogue between himself

and God, in which God puts words in the prophet's mouth. (The same experience is attested by Greek poets who find a message not their own put on their tongue.)

For any particular Israelite, there is only one pre-existing point of view on a topic. Any other is the prompting of God; we may if we wish attribute it to the unconscious side of the speaker, but for him it is the word of Another, with whom he enters into confrontation. Adam and Job heard unexpected responses from their God. For the Greek, things come in contrasted pairs, both of which are affirmed: the very structure of the language encourages sentences to come with "on the one hand," "on the other."² (Only the context tells us whether Hebrew *wa-* is better heard as "and" or "but.") A Greek's neighbor can be counted on to provide an opposite to his thought, there is no need to wait for a suggestion from the gods.

22.2 Israel as an old society, Hellas as a young one

How to explain the contrast: dialogue of man and man in Hellas, of man and God in Israel? Hellas is an experimental society with no fixed view how a city-state should be governed, about the nature of the gods, what duties a man has to his neighbor. Israelites at each epoch feel that such questions are settled by a known relationship between themselves and their God, although we look back perceive big changes. We can understand the contrast in two ways: here by a contrast in time. All falls into place when we see Hellas, in spite of its seemingly old legendary memory, as a young society where the historical period is disconnected from the heroic age; and Israel, in spite of its innovations over against the Near Eastern empires, as an old society with a long continuous memory (of course holding

legendary elements) spanning many set-backs and recoveries. A couple of features show this contrast.

22.2.1 Literacy

Genesis is the history of a people without writing. But writing is there in the background, and the Hebrews show no interest in its origins;

2

Levin, "The Connective 'Particles' of Classical Greek Discourse," CUNY Forum 1979 nos. 5-6, pp. 52-58, proposes in fact that behind is a word for "hand," cf Latin manus.

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they were surely aware of both cuneiform and hieroglyphic before they began using the local alphabet. Pharaoh's signet ring (Ex 41,42) can have had no other function than to authenticate documents produced by Joseph. In Exodus, writing appears abruptly in the command to Moses (Ex 17,14) "Write this as a memorial in a book":

33 ·3 ' 3'3

At Ex 24,4 Moses writes the words of Yahweh, and reads the book of the covenant to the people (Ex 24,7). We are to assume that the two tables of stone, "written with the finger of God" (Ex 31,18), had been written previously. The Rabbis further take it for granted that both Moses and his God wrote in Hebrew.

The Homeric poems presuppose writing only where Proetus gives Bellerophon a baneful message (Iliad 6.168-169, 1.49); no language is suggested if indeed the "scratchings" are not pure ideograms. Herodotus (5.58-59), recognizing a novelty, has great interest in the introduction of "Phoenician" or "Cadmeian scratchings" (1.37, 44). Nowhere do classical Greeks betray any knowledge that an earlier form of their own language (and apparently others) was written in the Mycenaean palaces and in Minoan Crete.

22.2.2 Genealogy

Hebrew writers take it for granted that in principle the descent of every Israelite back to the

beginning of humanity was known, even though parts of the tradition might be conflicting or unrecorded. The backbone of the historical books is genealogy. And so in the New Testament. Matthew records the descent of Jesus from Abraham in $3 \times 14 = 42$ generations; Luke records 56 (perhaps $= 4 \times 14$) generations back to Abraham and 20 more back to Adam. Two Punic inscriptions of the third century BC, one from Sardinia (KAI 68) and one from Carthage (KAI 78), each gives a man 16 generations of ancestors, taking the ancestry back to the seventh century.

In classical Hellas, few genealogies go back before one's grandfather. Within the legendary heroic past a man could boast of knowing five generations back; (Iliad 6.145-211) Aeolus father of Sisyphus of Glaucus of Bellerophon of Hippolochus of another Glaucus. The seven generations of Tiresias can be counted (11.159). Thomas³ documents the few claimed genealogies. An isolated stone of Chios⁴ records the

3 Rosalind Thomas, *Oral Tradition and Written Record in Classical Athens*; Cambridge: University, 1985. 4 SGDI 5656.

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ancestors of one Heropythos to 14 generations. When historic Greeks draw their genealogy back to the heroic age, the intervening generations are normally not listed. According to Pherecydes,⁵ Hippocrates the physician traced his ancestry back (along different lines) to Heracles in 20 generations and to Asclepius in 19. Hecataeus told Egyptian priests that his family went back to a god in the 16th generation (Herodotus 2.143). The missing generations are unrecorded from Euagoras of Cyprus back to Teucer,⁶ Andocides to Odysseus,⁷ Alcibiades to Eurysaces (and therefore Zeus).⁸ The exception is that of Miltiades to a son of Ajax, where the generations are in fact given ⁹ But Thomas (161-3) finds even the historical part contradicted by external evidence. She sees these genealogies less as deposits of oral tradition than as artificial constructions by professionals. Only in Sparta was a genealogy of kings recorded: Leonidas (I) king 490-480 BC was the descendant of Heracles through 20 generations (Herodotus 7.204); Leotychidas likewise was the son of Heracles through 20 generations (the last few not kings, Herodotus 8.131). In the second passage Herodotus notes in contrast that the Athenian commander was just "Xanthippus son of Ariphron."

Thus, apart from the genealogies of Sparta, there is a break in Greek legendary memory between the fall of Troy and the earliest historical records of the mainland city-states. It was honorable to claim an heroic ancestor; superfluous to search out the generations in between. That selective memory corresponds to the break in literacy between the end of Linear and the first alphabetic inscriptions. As Greeks contrasted their rainfall with Egyptian irrigation (1.22), and their alphabet with hieroglyphics (1.28), so their recent appearance: the Egyptian priest tells Solon (Plato Tim. 22 B) "you Hellenes are only children," you are The partly legendary Israelite record for the period of Joshua and the Judges is still a unique witness behind the scenes to

the disruptive societies which ended the palace cultures of the eastern Mediterranean. As a result, the Hebrews felt that they had a continuous unbroken record extending indefinitely far back into prehistory.

5 FGH 3 frag. 59.

6 Isocrates Euagoras 12-19.

7 Plutarch Alcib. 21.1 = Hellanicus FGH 323a frag. 24. 8 Plato Alcib. I 121A.

9 Marcellinus Vita Thuc. 2-4 = Pherecydes FGH 3 frag. 2.

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22.3 Insiders and outsiders of the ancient Near East

We suggested (1.22-28) four conditions necessary (but not sufficient) for the emergence of a new freedom over against the ancient Near East: (1) geographical—a defensible citadel surrounded by rain-watered fields; (2') technological—iron for weapons and tools, lime for waterproofing cisterns (11.324) in the dry

summer; (3') social—elements of democracy; and (4') scribal—a phonetic alphabetic script. Here the geographical is key. For five thousand years autonomous local societies have never appeared in Egypt or Iraq, because of central bureaucratic control over the only source of water, the river. The Hittite empire, in rain-watered territory, did not generate free cities either: here other explanations come into play—the lack of a phonetic alphabet, the

lack of access to the sea. For precisely the Hittite successor states closest to the Greek are on the sea like Lycia, which eventually borrowed a phonetic script from Greece.

Earlier I presupposed, but should have added, one more condition: (5') proximity to the Near Eastern empires which developed technology, city-life, commerce, central administration, standing armies, literacy (mostly non- phonetic) , organized cult—even though all under absolutist regimes. Those conditions delimit both in time and space the places where (in Lincoln's words) a "new birth of freedom" was possible. Neither during the rise of the Near Eastern empires nor their decay: early in the Iron Age then. Neither at the heart of the ancient Near East, nor beyond the sphere of its trade and influence: therefore either just inside the ancient Near East, or just outside. As it turned out, the decisive evolution took place in only one society "just inside," namely Israel; and in only one society "just outside," namely Hellas.

Greeks described irrigation in Egypt as outside visitors, Hebrews from a memory of having lived there (1.22); Herodotus describes brick-making in Babylon as of his own day, Hebrews as at its first building (1.83). It might seem that Latins and Etruscans were nearly as ready as Hellas to take the decisive step forward to a free society; but except by language they were in the Greek sphere of influence from the beginning, and it is speculative to ask how they might have developed without it. The position of Israel inside the Ancient Near East explains why it

could not see itself otherwise than as an old society; the position of Hellas outside meant that it could only be a new society.

Their respective situations also gave Israelites and Greeks contrasting relationships to their neighbors. Israel was in effect a land-locked country, and her foreign trade was carried by caravans, which further did not normally take Hebrews far from home; it is an Ishmaelite

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spice caravan (Gen 37,25) that carries Joseph to Egypt. Greeks, living in a land of drowned mountain ranges, naturally traveled and traded by sea; more extensively even than the Phoenicians they engaged in colonization. Only for the time of Solomon do Hebrews remember a time of sea-trade, perhaps inflated in memory.

What resources did young Israel and Hellas have? Originally the Hebrews had few cultural institutions not available to their neighbors—the maritime and colonizing Phoenicians, the even more landlocked Ammonites and Moabites.

Their language was at most a distinct dialect of Canaanite, but fully comprehensible to their neighbors; the earliest reconstructible Yahwism hardly differs from the cult of Chemosh attested in the inscription of king Mesha of Moab; their sacrificial cult, mostly monopolized by a hereditary priesthood, in early texts shows no special originality.

The peoples of Canaan sat where armies of the great empires, Egyptian, Mesopotamian, and Hittite,¹⁰ passed back and forth. It is unclear whether the memory of an Egyptian captivity is truly part of the earliest Israelite tradition; and, even if so, how it distinguished them from their neighbors—for the Philistines likewise remembered their arrival from "Caphtor" (Crete?) and the Aramaeans from unknown "Kir" (Amos 9,7). With the advantage of hindsight we can see the first shoots of independence in the unconquerable hill-villages of Israel. But they had little independent cultural heritage. Their originality then had to rest on the decision—which their defensible geographic position made possible—to accept or reject inherited Near Eastern elements. But the historian cannot get so close as to say why the decision was made there rather than in Phoenicia, Moab or Damascus.

Hellenic culture in large part grew up in cities formerly of the Minoan- Mycenaean world with their palaces, scribal literacy, luxury goods, commerce reaching Cyprus, Phoenicia, Ugarit, Egypt. But its remembered beginnings are later and further away, on both sides of the upper Aegean, where the Homeric epics record an indigenous culture, with tenuous recollections of the Hittites (11.85). ML West has shown how Akkadian phrases made their way into the epic; we have seen how shared Mediterranean enterprises contributed vocabulary to both Hellas and Israel, as well (surely) as to lost literatures. Early on, Hellas is aware of the Near Eastern empires out there as representing a higher level of material culture; unlike Israel, it was not frightened off by them. Its inherited Indo- European language and institutions were so

10 Hittites at the battle of Kadesh on the Orontes, 1274 BC (Bryce 256-263).

strong, and its character so robust and curious, that it saw the empires rather as societies to be learned from. Hence in Hellas we find a series of borrowings from the Near East, some

(by comparison with Israel) progressive, others retrograde.

Thus we may enlarge our former contrast to a geographical-cultural one:

Israel is an old inland society just inside the ancient Near East, the terminus of trade-routes by land, struggling to escape, which however it can do only in the most critical areas.

Hellas is a new seaboard society just outside the ancient Near East, to which the Mediterranean is open for trade and colonization, enjoying indigenous cultural resources, on which the Near East exercises an ongoing fascination.

Now Hellas, now Israel is the cultural innovator.

22.3.1 Hellas as the cultural innovator Israel and

Hellas share over against the Near East a sacrificial cult (1.186-187) with special vocabulary and practices. Although in the beginnings of Israel any man may be his own priest (Gideon

at Ophrah, Jud 6,25), in the centralized kingdom sacrifice becomes the monopoly of an hereditary priesthood, down to the Maccabean priest-kings and the High Priests of the

Herodian temple. From the time when "every man did what was right in his own eyes" (Jud 21,25), a steady retro-grade movement leads back to the ancient Near Eastern pattern. While both cult and priests are criticized, there is no suggestion of carrying it out without them. By contrast, in Hellas from the beginning every man can sacrifice for himself.

Again in the realm of kingship. The emergence of Israel as a true state coincides with the taking-up of Near Eastern patterns of kingship.

Israel hardly existed as such until the elders came to Samuel and said (I Sam 8,5) "Give us

a king to judge over us like all the Goyim": D^ian-^33 -upBE»'1? "^Qnny When the state split into two at Solomon's death it is taken for granted that both parts will be under kingship; the independent state recreated by the

Maccabees was under rulers who called themselves king or high priest. There is always some current of thought in Israel for which kingship contradicts its true nature—but none which has any substitute for it. The Minoan and Mycenaean palaces were surely the residence of kings. But from the time of Homer on (Vol. II, Chapter 12)

Greek kingship everywhere except in Macedonia (perhaps not Greek-speaking) undergoes a progressive reduction. Other patterns of Indo-

22.3 Insiders and outsiders of the ancient Near East

European social structure wins out, takes over the city of Rome, influences Carthage, and perhaps by reflex Phoenicia as well. The invention of the Polis in its Greek form weakened any residual Indo-European kingship and blocked any takeover of the absolutist functions of Near Eastern kingship, which Greeks (correctly) saw as an alien tyranny.

So with literacy. From somewhere in Canaan, Hebrews inherited a phonetic consonantal alphabet, for we find one such four centuries before them at Ugarit, though still in cuneiform script. Its inadequacy is sufficiently marked that (1.49, 11.325) every Hebrew written text required an accompanying tradition of recitation. By inspired reinterpretation of the Phoenician alphabet (1.38-43) Greeks made it into a nearly adequate record of their language, from which oral recitation was possible. The results for the production and preservation of texts were profound (III. 185).

And finally in the realm of science. Through unclear modes of contact, Greeks learned from Babylonians the art of astronomy (which they partially disengaged from astrology), and, mostly as an independent development, the logic of mathematics, in particular geometry. There is no such takeover in Israel.

22.3.2 Israel as the cultural innovator At the

earliest point where we can see both societies, Israel is on its way to a full monotheism, while Hellenes (in spite of Zeus' role as king of the gods) have an extended pantheon¹¹ as in Babylon, Ugarit, Egypt, Phoenicia. Far from feeling threatened by Near Eastern pantheons, Greeks either adopted their members outright or identified them with local divinities. Indo-European antiquity also had such a pantheon, but of the divine names only Zeus the father is inherited by Hellas. For some Greek divinities we can find a home here or there around the Aegean; others remain mysterious; but the Near Eastern pantheons were the pattern. The Iliad is prematurely rationalistic in that immortal gods serve as comic relief against the all-too-mortal heroes; Aeschylus and Pindar recover the gods' reality. The religious development in Israel is a progressive deepening in the concept of the single God

whom in principle it professes from the beginning. The development in Hellas is a philosophical movement towards affirmation of a single deity—at the cost of losing such functions as the Hesiodic understanding of Zeus to be the guarantor of justice.

11 See 11.281 and West, EFH 107-113 for the pantheon.

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With the monotheism of Israel goes rejection of divination. The Urim and Thummim no doubt represent a purified form of divination; but there are almost no relics of divination by the flight of birds, thunder, or the appearance of portents; the sacrificial regulations (1.185) to prevent divination by the form of the liver show that it was known and rejected. Joseph (Gen 44,5) has a silver cup with which he suppos-edly divines (' 2>'3, LXX , Vg augurari);¹² but it plays no essential role as such in the tale. Hellenes, feeling that divided rule in the pantheon left much undecided, saw nothing to be lost by assessing the whims of Moira or Tyche through divination. In this respect Etruscans and Romans are more Greek than the Greeks; here as elsewhere they must have had a direct conduit to the Near East which bypassed the Greek mainland.

Above all, the failure of Israel to develop a slave-economy comparable to that of Athens is a progressive feature. The exceptional level of democracy

in Athens is precisely correlated with its slave-economy, in which slaves were probably a third of the free population. Homer never brings on a male slave designate *doulos*, although he is aware of the "day of slavery" (,

Iliad 6.463 etc.). While in Israel both foreigners and Hebrews could become slaves, a bad conscience about the institution led to provisions at least theoretical for their emancipation. The slaves () in Jesus' parables (translated "servants" in the RSV) represent a partial Hellenization of the social structure. But Exod 21,21 does say "for the slave is his silver"; so Aristotle calls a slave a "living tool" (*öpyavov*, Eth. Nie. 8.13 = 1161b4);

as in the Roman Empire with its vast expansion of slavery equivalently instru- mentum uocale "a speaking tool" (Varrò de RR 1.17.1).

The role of Yahweh as creator gives the natural order a numinous character lacking in Hellas. Psalm 104 affectionately surveys the Lebanese coastline from the high springs on the mountains down through the forest to the sea, along with the birds and beasts on each level as well as the human habitation. While Theophrastus admires the Lebanese forest, the Hebrews see it as an integral part of the divine order.

Already the environments best known to the Greeks were much degraded, and none of the gods claimed the forest as a special province.

And, while we hear much about lawmakers and laws in the Greek tradition, and find much miscellaneous ethical advice in both prose and poetry, there is nothing like the Hebrew Ten Commandments

12 The Versions interpret the Hebrew by the role of "augury" through bird-flight in their own societies. But the supposed divination may be one more of Joseph's false clues.

22. 4 Transcendence or immanence of the divine world 1 6 3

representing a fixed traditional moral code. The body of Delphic sayings attributed also to the Seven Sages could be expanded or contracted at will.¹³ Familiarity has dulled the novelty we ought to feel in the notion of a unique High God sufficiently in touch with his people to deliver in person an easily remembered set of principles for life in community.

22.4 Transcendence or immanence of the divine world

The most obvious difference between the two societies is Hebrew monotheism over against the Greek pantheon (III.161). "Monothe-ism" deserves two qualifications, which however

do not seriously affect its difference from the Greek pattern. (1) The divine names.

Strata of the Hebrew Bible employ different divine names, which have been interpreted as the usage of different tribal groupings: "Yahweh" (with unknown vowels) as revealed

to Moses, though in the narrative used since Gen 2,4; "Shadday" Oîti?) as archaic usage by the Patriarchs and in the book of Job; "El" also archaic but less clearly located. Adonay OitK) "Lord" from a title becomes the pronunciation of . (Perhaps "Elohim" [Din'i?K] with its anomalous grammar was seen as a neutral term to cover all the others.) But it is precarious to ascribe different characters to the three or four names; and any differences that existed

were (it appears) successfully bridged over. (2) Gods of neighbors. At one point Yahweh is seen (like Zeus!, 11.88) as "a great king above all gods" (Ps 95,3); but (Ps 96,5) "all the

13 Plato (Protagoras 343A, Charmides 164D) attests that the familiar sayings, Laconic in their brevity, "Know thyself" and "Noth-ing in excess," were inscribed on the temple at Delphi (but they have not been found there). They appear on a stone at Thera (of a gymnasium?) of the fourth century BC (IG 12.3.1020). Stobaeus 3.1.172, printed in Diels-Kranz FVS8 i.62-66, lists up to 20 for each of the Seven Sages. A stone from Miletus of the third century BC, perhaps at a gymnasium or school (SIG3 1268 with very full commentary by Diels), has a selection. Another list from Stobaeus 3.1.173 (summarized by Diels) begins "

. . . .

"Follow God; obey the law; honor the gods; respect parents" with the same partial theism as in writers of the second century CE (III.176); and a little overlap with the Ten Commandments. The Miletus stone (1.15-16) echoes the familiar theme "Help friends, harm enemies" (III.3) ; . [' . Diels asserts that "this Delphic religion retained its force through all of antiquity until the capture of Constantinople, and was never fully displaced either by the Jewish Decalogue or Gospel precepts." It constitutes, we may say, a Greek open ethical canon in contrast to the Hebrew closed ethical canon.

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gods of the peoples are idols." There is a tension, not fully resolved until late, between seeing foreign cults by analogy with Israelite as to a definable high being, and seeing them as merely empty; but that tension does not seriously undercut the Hebrews ' understanding of their own cult.

Since for Hebrews the primary dialogue is between man and God, it is a key matter how that God is understood. Since there is ultimately no other true god in Israel from whom Yahweh his God needs to be distinguished, a visual representation of Yahweh is at least super-fluent; and in fact was absolutely rejected. Nowhere are the relations of the two societies to the ancient Near East more opposite than in the realm of the plastic arts. Archaic Greeks took the image of the standing youth or kouros (human or divine) from Egypt, while bringing it to life; composite animals, Gorgons and griffins, from the Hittite world.

The language used about the God of Israel attributes to him, as to a mountain and to the Greek gods, the features of a man's body: arms and legs, hands and feet; a face, eyes and ears, nostrils (to express his anger). You would think him "anthropomorphic," as Strabo 17.1.28 noted that Egyptian temples had "no statue, or at least none of human form, but of one of the irrational beasts," ¹⁴, ¹⁵. But here Israel differs most strongly from its neighbors, where Melqarth, identified in an Aramaic inscription, appears in a ¹⁶, stele of Aleppo carrying an axe.

14

Millar ¹⁵ discusses the theory of Bickerman¹⁶ that the cult set up in the Temple of Jerusalem by Antiochus IV Epiphanes in 167 BC was not Hellenizing at all, but an adaptation of Syrian aniconic practice whereby the altar itself (1.202) became the cult-object. Still, the old Hebrew practice is a better testimony to aniconic worship. Here is a realm where the fascination exercised on the Greek imagination by the Near East outside Israel is patent and long-continuing, however many Greeks improved on their models; and where correspondingly the stubborn-ness of Israel in breaking with the Near East is stiffest. Both strategies, the ways of affirmation and of rejection of images, represent complementary aspects of how humanity views the divine. Neither warrants one of the labels "progressive" or "retrograde."

The linguistic "anthropomorphism" of both Hebrew and Greek occasionally results in parallel expressions. Thus Ex 13,9 "For with a

14 ANEP2 499; KAI 201.

15 Millar, Roman Near East, 12-13.

16 Elias Bickerman, The God of the Maccabees...; tr. HR Moehring; Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity 32; Leiden: Brill, 1979 p. 70.

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strong hand (LXX *Yahweh* has brought you out of Egypt":

••Hsiao mrr ^ nprn 3 ^

Iliad 15.694-5 "and Zeus pushed¹⁷ [Hector] forward with his most long hand," /

. Similarly the eye of the high God is spoken of (1.272, 11.34, III.5). But in poetic comparisons, a small but significant difference makes the Greek divine realm immanent, and the

Hebrew one transcendent. In Hellas, natural objects are seen as an adequate symbol of the divine; in Israel, inadequate. The difference is especially noteworthy where the vocabulary as such is

shared.

Gold and jewels. For Pindar (frag. 209, 1.73) "gold is the child of Zeus," ; again (Olymp. 1.1-2): " ,

Water is preeminent and gold, like a fire burning in the night, outshines

all possessions that magnify men's pride. 18

What could be better than gold? Hebrew finds something, Prov 8,10-11 *lôd-ⁿⁱ -ho-ur-inj? nrrjaô in?] f-nn a nin i nai;n* (Wisdom speaking)

"Take my instruction

rather than silver, and knowledge rather than refined gold; for wisdom is better than jewels"; and

similarly Prov 3,13-14; 8,19. Proverbs here as we have often noted is in the Phoenician orbit, using the foreign name of gold which went into Greek, rather than native 3.19

7 TT

Sand and stars. Again, in Israel, Hellas and Rome the sand on the seashore and the stars stand

for what is uncountable (1.314-316), even though certain ones are given credit for having counted them: Archimedes and Archytas (Horace Carm. 1.28. 1-2) the sand, Yahweh the stars (Ps 147,4). But once something is more than the sand, Ps 139,17-

18 "How precious to me are thy thoughts, O El!...if I count them, they are more than the sand,"

l-ia-V ' 030 Time and eternity. Time (*l*), says Plato (Timaeus 38B), and the heavens came into being

together, so that, if necessary, they should be

17 Aristarchus and papyri for Orsen.

18 Trans. FJ Nisetich, Pindar's Victory Songs; Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1980.

Rather than a tendentious version of my own, I follow this which I do believe conveys the implications of the original.

19 But where the actual names of jewels appear, jasper and emeralds, both Greek and Hebrew use them as adequate symbols of a better world (1.87).

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dissolved together; but earlier (37D) when he calls time "a certain moving image of eternity" (...) he describes it as an "eternal image," (with a different

form of the accusative for elegance). Heraclitus²⁰ says that "this cosmos, the same for all beings, was made by no gods or men, but always was and is and shall be ever-living fire, kindled by measure and extinguished by measure":

,

The world , , ' ,

.

Both authors in spite of subtleties appear to be saying that time and the universe partake of eternity; conversely then, eternity can be grasped through the objects of the universe. In clear contrast, Ps 102,27 (see the whole context) says of heavens and earth "They will perish, but you endure; they will all wear out like a garment": •l:??.; 1333 D"pD1 ' FINI m '1 na n

22.5 Tragedy and survival

A further difference between the societies emerges from the centrality of the tragic vision in Hellas and its absence in Israel. Tragedy, says Aristotle (Poetics 13.5), is the story of one who falls into misfortune () through some flaw (). The story of the Iliad is the anger

or grudge () of Achilles responsible for the death of his best friend Patroclus. The story of Oedipus is the hot temper of one who in a crossroads encounter kills another old enough to

be his father. The story told by Thucydides is the disaster of the Sicilian expedition arising from the Athenians' inflated estimate of their own abilities, documented in Pericles' Funeral Oration—much admired, not always for the right reasons. Perhaps it will be agreed that a pattern here runs through earlier Greek literature. Is it to be found in Hebrew? 21 David

20 Heraclitus frag. 30 FVS8 from Plutarch.

21 Here I disagree with Flemming AJ Nielsen, *The Tragedy in History: Herodotus and the Deuteronomistic History*; Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 251; 1997. Nielsen finds to his own satisfaction a tragic theme running through the Hebrew Bible. Like some others of an American-Danish school (III.328), he dates the final redaction of the Biblical history (including its "tragic" elements) so late that it could reflect Herodotus.

His last sentence (p. 164): "Thus it becomes probable that [the Deuteronomistic History] was written at a time and in a milieu where the Hellenistic influence was important in the Israelite or more correctly, the Jewish tradition." But this bold claim is not buttressed by any proposed linguistic borrowing from Herodotus or Greek in general, such as we find in Qoheleth or Daniel.

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suffers reverses seen as caused by his own failings, like the death of his first child by Bathsheba, but his life goes on as life does—the story seems more based on real life than Greek tragedy. The story from Genesis to Kings is the continuity of a people in spite of all setbacks.

The Exile is seen as retribution for the faults of Judah, but only Lamentations makes it a total disaster. II Kings ends with Jehoiachin eating at the king's table. In spite of harsh words against Babylon, Jeremiah says in God's name to the actual exiles there (29,7) "But seek the peace of the city where I have sent you into exile": natf 3 "'rrípan "IEJ'K ? •i'rtf-nK Wnii

Hebrews looking beyond their own traditions, to Egypt or Babylonia, were in touch with societies that traced their history hundreds and thousands of years into the remote past; and, even while struggling to escape, they learned from those empires to record and

cherish their own distant history. For a supremely practical purpose. Levin on Elohim in the Hebrew Bible says:²²

The conviction of the Bible authors [about the nature of the Hebrew God] came (I think) from observing which patterns of human association are viable in the long run, and which ones end in failure. Their wisdom was a kind of pre-scientific sociology, far-sighted and practical at the same time; modern research is more methodical but not more acute or penetrating.

They fasten upon the relation of father to son, as the basis of society and of all wholesome growth and development.

Thus the distinction between clean and unclean beasts is a traditional hygiene; the development

of the (seemingly) instinctive abhorrence of incest is an observational eugenics; the Sabbatical rest of the land (11.25) is a heuristic agronomy. All such principles in the books of Moses required data over numerous generations in order to be verified. In contrast, the moral and social principles in Hesiod's *Works and Days*, while often persuasive and in agreement with Moses, rest mostly on one man's observations, even though (no doubt) drawing to some degree on traditional experience.

The Hellenes at no period had a long enough history behind them, legendary or historical, to

say for certain which patterns of life in the human family (particular or universal) were sustainable

in the long run. But they had a long enough history to say that certain patterns of life were self-

destructive and doomed to failure even in a short run. The formative events of Israelite history made it the primary depository in

²² Saul Levin, *Guide to the Bible*; 5th ed.; laser-printed; State Univ. of New York at Binghamton, 1996; p. 12.

the ancient world of both levels of wisdom. Moderns with our indi-

vidualism, like the Greeks, need to identify and ward off social patterns which will implode upon ourselves in our own lifetimes. But with the flux of technological innovation and changing family structures we are giving up even the prospect of founding a dynasty; we expect in advance that our grandchildren will strike out in different ways. The uniqueness of the Kennedy clan is just the fact of its existence with a seemingly unchangeable Catholicism. For ourselves we can hardly imagine any proposal (in the nature of things never fully demonstrative) that certain social patterns over an indefinite period of time actually work.

22.6 Criteria of membership: lineage vs. language

Israelites, once they undertook to define themselves over against other peoples, precisely because they differed so slightly in material culture from other Canaanites, adopted a rigid definition of the difference between themselves and their neighbors. Thus they answered the question, "What makes us different from other peoples?," much differently than the Greeks. *is* masculine (except when seen as an army) while *is* feminine.²³ At 1.22 we brought the two names as far as possible together.²⁴ Israel/Jacob is the father of twelve tribes. Hellen is the father of three in Hesiod²⁵ "And from Hellen the war-loving king came Doros, Xouthos and Aiolos the chariot-fighter" '

Xouthos was the father of Achaios (Ἀχαιοῖς), and of Ion (Ἴων) the ancestor of the Ionians

(Apollodorus 1.7.3) with their twelve cities in Achaea and in Ionia (Herodotus 1.145, 11.205). But

Hellenes came to name themselves not after the man but the region , whose original referent

is variously reported, but which already Hesiod Op-era 651-3 uses for the whole Achaean host:

"...Aulis, where once the Achaeans, after waiting out a storm, gathered a great host from sacred Hellas () to Troy the land of fair women."

Herodotus also uses "Hellas" as a feminine adjective to denote the Greek language. At 6.98.3 he explains the names of the Persian kings "in Greek," ; at 9.16.2 he represents a Persian

23 But we should resist the temptation to see the polar opposites Israel/Hellas as masculine/feminine, much less with the other attributes of Chinese Yang/Yin.

2 4 And see on "amphityonies" of twelve peoples at 11.203. 2 5 Hesiod frag. 9 Merkelbach-West.

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as "speaking in Greek" to a Theban, Later is the only way of saying "in Greek." Plato (Tim. 21E) says that the "founding divinity" (fem.!,) of

Egyptian Sais "is named in Egyptian Neith, in Greek...Athena," , ...'. At Xenophon Anab. 7.6.8 Seuthes the Thracian "had an interpreter, although he himself understood most of what was said in Greek," , . At Act 21,37 the tribune Claudius Lysias (23,26), taking Paul for a different agitator, is surprised that he can understand Greek, ;, Syriac UT rPW r "Ionian," Vulgate Graece nosti? Thus the primary connotation of "Hellas" comes to be the land and society of all those who speak Greek.

When an earlier Alexander of Macedón urged the Athenians to submit to Xerxes, and the Spartans urged them to stand fast, the Athenians said No to Alexander, and to the Spartans defined the features of their commonality which blocked any thought of becoming traitors (Herodotus 8.144 .2):

, , , ...

The Hellenic [nation], being of one blood and one language, along with the common shrines and sacrifices of the gods, as also the customs arising from a shared upbringing....

Here four things are seen as constituting the Hellenes: common de-scent, language, temples and customs. But Isocrates (Panegyricus 49-

50) sets a priority among them:

But so far has our city [Athens] left behind other men in regards to thought and speech (), that her pupils have become teachers of the others, and have brought it about that the name of the Hellenes no longer is felt to refer to a race () but a mental disposition (), and that those are called Hellenes who share our education () rather than a common descent ().

Earlier Isocrates had said that the best sign of "our [Athenian] education" (-) was "things said" () by those who "use speech well," . While like other men he puts his own profession in first place, his claim that the use of language is the surest sign of Hellenism is supported by Herodotus' usage.

Israelites have no specific name for their language. Isa 19,18 "the lip defines the common of Canaan" ("JJ3? language of Canaan (1.7),

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including Hebrew, Phoenician, Moabite, Ammonite—and perhaps even Philistine, as far as its speakers had taken over Canaanite as with king Achish of Ekron (11.298). At II Reg 18,26 the contrast between "Judaean" (-) and "Aramaic" () refers to the peoples who spoke those tongues rather than to any clear concept of the languages themselves. In John's Gospel, is attached to proper names which can only be Aramaic, (5,2), (19,13),

(19,17); it then similarly refers to the language spoken by people who called themselves "Hebrews," rather than to any clear distinction between what we know as Hebrew and Aramaic. In the Hellenistic period, most must have thought the Aramaic they spoke simply a vernacular form of the

Hebrew they heard in the synagogue without full understanding; only an occasional Rabbi and Jerome understood the true situation (III.205).

The fact that all Hebrews speak the same language is taken for granted but not emphasized. Ezekiel (3,5) is told, "You are not sent to a people hard of lip and heavy of tongue, [but] to the house of Israel": ^N-iEP -1TM m^ttf nFiN mĩ nas i naö ••poi? osr1?« '1? even though his

message will be more acceptable to foreigners than to Israel. One dialectal difference in

... - ... · the sibilants is noted, between Gileadite rfratf "ear of wheat" and Ephraimite *7'30 (Jud 12,6); mod-ern scholars find others. Moabite and Phoenician inscriptions prove that those languages,

along with Hebrew, were closely related dialects of Canaanite and mutually comprehensible. We find little difference between the material cultures of Israel and Phoenicia (1.7), so that Phoenicians could transport to Hellas many objects, institutions and words today only attested from Israel. But the Israelites found a world of difference in cult and manners. (It is unknown how the much broader cults at Elephantine were regarded in Jerusalem....) Commonality of language hardly appears as

a definition of what constitutes Israel. When Hebrew was replaced by Aramaic (which had previously supplanted Akkadian in Babylon) at the Exile, with Phoenician succumbing somewhat later, the self-image of the Israelites was if anything intensified. For many centuries no Jew grew up speaking either Hebrew or Aramaic as his mother tongue. But there never came a time when

a speaker of Greek would call a non-speaker a Hellene.

Thus "Israel" refers to a markedly smaller group than those who spoke the same language: namely, those who in the categories of Herodotus had the same shrine () of the same God, with the same sacrifices () and customs ()—all codified in the books of the Law. The name "Israel" reflects the conviction that those commonalities were restricted to clans or families tracing their ancestry (physically or conventionally) to the twelve sons of Jacob/Israel.

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22.6 Criteria of membership: lineage vs. language

Herodotus vaguely takes it for granted that the community of those who speak Greek is coterminous with those of common descent; Isocrates sharply defines it that language correctly used rather than lineage is what defines a Hellene.

The same contrast defines how the two people thought of outsiders. While Cretans (themselves mostly Greeks, but marginalized) are distrusted by other Greeks generally as liars, and Cilicians suspected as bloodthirsty (1.30-32, 11.315), Carians are looked down on as speaking strangely, "Carians speaking barbarously" (Iliad 2.867), and therefore a suitable corpus uile for taking risks with (Cicero pro Fiacco 65). Sanskrit barbara "non-Aryan" is conventionally taken as the source of with the onomatopoetic connotation "stammering"; but Levin finds it poorly attested and proposes that in fact it is derived from the

Greek. 26 Hellenes never hold it against "barbarians" that they worship the wrong gods. On the contrary, the gods of foreigners are just the gods of the Hellenes under different names: Babylonian Belos is Zeus (Herodotus 3.158.2), Egyptian Neith is Athena; Aphrodite has different names among Assyrians, Arabs and Persians (Herodotus 1.131.3). For Hebrews, the error of the Goyim is to worship the wrong god in the wrong

way. David says to his God (II Sam 7,23) "And what one (LX X reading "other") nation on earth is like your people, like Israel, whose God(s?) went²⁷ to redeem them to himself as a people?": i^-nna*? o",n*t7K-- iD,7ri

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Initially Israel and Hellas, through their presumed superiority respectively in worship and in language, see themselves as set apart from other nations. (But precisely through that superiority they later come to see themselves as having a universal mission with something of infinite value to offer to all.)

Israel as defined by its lineage is much smaller than Hellas as defined by its language. The area of all peoples who spoke dialects of Canaanite

26 Older etymologists assumed that Akkadian barbaru must somehow reflect an Indo-European word also attested in Sanskrit; but in fact the Akkadian means simply "wolf"; and Frisk, who at i.220 suggests that the Indo-European is derived from Akkadian or its Sumerian counterpart BARBAR at iii.49 recognizes the true state of affairs.

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27 The plural ID'pn suggests that the reference is to the gods of another nation: none such went out to create a people. I Chron 17,21 simplifies, reading singular, "a people [Israel] whom God went out to redeem to himself as a people."

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(including then Punic of Carthage) is larger than Israel, and more nearly comparable with the area of all who spoke Greek. But there was no common history or cult holding Canaanite speakers together: Egypt and Babylon put down attempted coalitions; there is no record that Carthage brought texts from the homeland. In the Near East, far from imposing their language on neighbors, Canaanites in the north and east kept losing adherents to speakers of Aramaic—which really was a missionary language, although likewise without common history or cult. At the earliest point where we can see the spread of Greek-speakers, they are held together by the Homeric poems—doubtless earlier by predecessors of those poems, heroic lays about the siege of Troy. And so with cult. Greeks fought with each other as often as neighbors anywhere in the ancient world; but they held the same pantheon of gods, and the festivals of those gods in peacetime were a bond of union. In Canaan, as elsewhere in the Near East (and more conventionally in Homer), the enemies of people were symbolized and reinforced by the presumed enemies of their gods.

To determine who their true associates were, Israelites looked back in time, to the genealogy theoretically known through tradition or writing; Greeks looked out into space, to see whom they could understand by virtue of their speaking the same language. Sea-trade further naturally gave Greeks a spacious outlook and a familiarity, at least superficial, with foreigners—Carians, Cilicians, Lydians, Libyans, Lycians, as well as Cretans, half foreigners; Israel knew those as mercenaries serving in their midst,²⁸ and their land-neighbors mostly as potential rivals in war. Through that trade the Anatolians learned Greek and after Alexander joined the Greek world. Through their relations with Mesopotamia and Egypt, Hebrews felt themselves surrounded by monuments of a distant antiquity, and in their tradition maintained connections (however adversarial) with those remote eras.

When Greeks came to see those same monuments, they could only interpret them as somebody else's antiquity. The legendary migration of Danaus and his daughters (1.227) from Egypt, or of Cadmus from Phoenicia (1.37), is not thought of as bringing any knowledge of foreign social institutions.

28 Only the Lycians are unattested in the Hebrew Bible, although their own name of (Herodotus 1.173) appears in the Xanthos trilingual as Trmmile, K[^]Oin (1.29-31). But like the Hellenistic Lycians, the Lukka appear at Amarna 38.10 as pirates, and less certainly in Egyptian, Ugaritic and Hittite texts (RLA "Lukka" vii.161-163).

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The worlds of Israel and Hellas came into full contact with the conquest of the Near East by

Alexander, when speakers of Aramaic (including now Jews) took on simplified Greek as a second language.

Already before Alexander (1.34) Phoenician Tripolis had its Greek name, and Greek loanwords, "carve" and "stater" (11.299) had infiltrated the Aramaic of Egypt. The book of Jeremiah (42-44) shows that a substantial Jewish population had made its way into Egypt; along with other nationalities they came to the new city of Alexandria and prospered, and there the Hebrew Bible was translated into Greek, according to the legend of Aristeas by seventy (-two) scholars. A Greek-speaking school of Jewish philosophy grew up, attested by the Wisdom ascribed to Solomon, and later by Philo.

Perhaps more from Alexandria than Jerusalem, Greek-speaking synagogues grew up around the Mediterranean, wherever Jewish traders or artisans took up residence.

The book of Acts (however schematic its history), along with the letters of Paul, shows that Christianity spread out from those Hellenistic synagogues before forming its own congregations. An Aramaic-speaking Jewish-Christian church in Palestine maintained a shadowy existence for many decades, but left little record. All the preserved literature of the earliest Church is in Greek. Only in Edessa of Syria did Aramaic-speaking Christians form their own church and translate the Greek New Testament into their dialect, Syriac. Not until after Constantine did Aramaic-speaking Christians in Palestine itself produce a translation in their dialect, the so-called "Palestinian Syriac," now extant except for fragments only in the Gospels. With both, at most some lingering traditions remained of the Aramaic originals of Jesus' sayings. (But the Syriac versions are precious reconstructions of the original [III.203], for they were made by men whose native language was Aramaic, living under conditions not all that different from Galilee.)

Hellenistic Judaism died out except as far as its Greek Bible was preserved in the new Christian Church; the Greek-speaking synagogues were the seed-bed of the Church, which however became so threatening that they reverted to Hebrew or eventually went out of business. Some texts will document the continuation of Hellenistic synagogues. An inscribed pillar in Greek from Aphrodisias of Asia Minor of the third century CE²⁹ lists a large number of men with Jewish names and a not

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much smaller list of men with pagan names introduced by . The first nine of the theosebeis are noted as ()—ie members of the city Senate or of a synagogue organization? We have here the same two categories as those attested at Antioch of Pisidia in varying formulas, Act 13,16 οἱ and 13,43 . So at Athens (17,17) Paul converses in the synagogue with . Of individuals, (Act 16,14; 18,7).

Joh 9,31 may reflect the Hellenistic category. Evidently at Aphrodisias a category of theosebeis (partial or full converts?) joined Jews in the synagogue, and surely the bulk of the service must have been in Greek with readings from the LXX.³⁰ On February 8, AD 553 Justinian issued an edict at Constantino-ple³¹ on languages

in the synagogue worship and some other topics.

The Greek text is the original, the ancient Latin translation is faulty.

He has received petitions from one or both parties of those who wish to use Hebrew or Greek in the service. He permits both, and Latin too (); he prefers the Septuagint

on the grounds that prophecies to the coming Christ appear more clearly in it, but grudgingly allows that of Aquila () also. He absolutely forbids the use of the which must surely be the Mishna. Reading between the lines, we may conjecture that Hebrew liturgy along with the Mishna was winning the day, but that advocates of the Septuagint remained, whom the Emperor supports as far as he can.

We think of the New Testament as the Greek account of a Jewish spiritual movement.

But that omits an important factor, by leaving the character of the Greek account undefined. Back to Alexander: how did the Macedonian conceive the idea of a campaign against the

Near East? It was already united in the Persian empire: with a few exceptions like Phoenician Tyre, there would be no independent centers of resist-

Vol. 12; Cambridge: University, 1987. Discussion by Louis H. Feldman, Jew and Gentile in the Ancient World: Attitudes and Interactions from Alexander to Justinian; Princeton: University, 1993; pp. 362-369.

30 An inscription of uncertain Imperial date from the theater at Miletus (Gabba 33) has "Place

of the Jews known as theosebeis"—ie semi-converts?

31 Corpus Juris Civilis, III, Novellae [of Justinian], Berlin: Weidmann, 1895, ed. R. Schoell & W. Kroll, no. 14 6 pp. 714-718. Greek text, translation and discussion in Amnon Linder, The Jews in Roman Imperial Legislation, Detroit: Wayne State & Jerusalem: Israel Academy, 1987, pp. 402-411. See also James Parkes, The Conflict of the Church and the Synagogue: A study in the origins of antisemitism; Cleveland: Meridian & Philadelphia: Jewish Pub. Soc. of America, 1961; pp. 251-253.

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ance. We said that Hellas (to which we may now add Macedonia) was a society just outside the ancient Near East, with its own resources, but on which the Near Eastern empires exercised an ongoing fascination.

One of the items in that fascination, it now turns out, was precisely the lure of empire! Athens for a time under Pericles maintained an empire with taxation— but over poleis which remained independent. Alexander has been called the

last of the Achaemenids; from them he learned the very concept of a world-

empire. After Alexander's victories and death, Palestine shifted between Ptolemaic and Seleucid control; then after a brief heady independence under

the Maccabees, it fell under Rome, whether or not it was ruled by nominally autonomous client-kings, a Herod or Agrippa in Jerusalem, an Antipas in Galilee. And the Romans in turn had learned how to conduct an empire from their competitors, the Semitic Carthaginians and the Hellenistic kingdoms.

Rome also was the student of ancient Near Eastern imperialism, at one more remove.

The courts of the Palestinian client-kings, in particular the Herods, intermarrying with other Near Eastern dynastic houses, must have been largely Greek-speaking. Roman

administration in the East operated almost exclusively in Greek. Thus Greek was not merely the language of trade and of an upper- class culture in Palestine; above all, it was the language of imperial control. The three languages of the lingua franca are mirrored in the three facets of the New Testament: its narrative and spiritual theme is Israelite; its linguistic form and social institutions are Greek; but the political reality it faces is Roman.

We may then redefine the confluence of Israel and Hellas in the New Testament. Its founding events exist just inside the ancient Near East, at the heart of old Israel; they are shaped and narrated by the language and spirit of Hellas—but a Hellas that had learned from its stance just outside the Near East what it meant to speak for an empire. In those special senses, its matter is Israelite and its form Hellenic.

We may now look at some features of Christianity in relation to its parents, in the same sequence as at 22.4—22.6 above.

22.7.1 Language about God in the New Testament One

thing that sets the New Testament apart from Greek literature—classical, contemporary to it or subsequent—is its unargued presupposition of a single God. How did the New Testament as a Greek book achieve that certainty? The obvious answer is, From the Greek Bible, the Septuagint. While we can detect several translators at work, each with some peculiarities, their differences do not at all coincide with the great variety of styles in the Hebrew Bible. Hebrew Esther, which

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nowhere mentions the God of Israel or his name, has additions in the Greek which abundantly make up for that defect. It is in the Septuagint that the conviction of a single God enters the stream of

Greek literature.

A belated and partial record of the innovation brought by the Septuagint appears in philosophical writers of the second century CE.

Epictetus (in Arrian 1.3.1-3) found no inconsistency in saying "God is the father of men and of gods," and then in going on to assume that one knows himself to be "the son of Zeus." For Marcus Aurelius 12.5 it is the same thing to say "you are arguing with God,"

Plutarch in his beautiful essay "On those whose vengeance by the divine is delayed,"

(Mor. 548) can speak (551C) of "the gentleness³² and magnanimity that God displays," ³³
. I suggest that the alternative of expressing

their thought in the "theistic" mode is due to the subterranean influence of Hellenistic Judaism. Epictetus knows that Jews have specific dietary regulations (Arrian 1.11.12-13, 1.22.4); Marcus at

least knows of the Jews and finds them unruly (Ammianus 22.5.5);³⁴ Plutarch (Quaest.

Conviv. 6.1-2 = Mor. 671-2; see 1.158) has a speaker prove to his own satisfaction that the god of the Jews

is identical with Dionysos.

Thus the New Testament uses and much extends a language about God already implanted in

Greek by the Septuagint, and being adopted by Greek writers of the second century CE. But it goes beyond both Hebrew austerity and Greek tentativeness in its language about God as Father, concerned for every sparrow and hair, ravens and lilies; it sees a specific new series of events as the work of God in history; in its universality it breaks down all remnants of both Hebrew and Greek ethnocentrism. One factor of its success in the Greco-Roman world

was its reinforcement of the optional theism already current there.

22.7.2 Why is the New Testament not a tragedy?

Like the Hebrew Bible, and deriving from it, the New Testament looks back to the remotest origins of humanity. We said that the lack of

³² is used in the LXX only of human beings, eg Sirach 3,17.

³³ MSS, a non-word.

³⁴ See Stern ii.605 who cites the variant readings of the adjective by which ineptiores.

Marcus describes the Jews, inquietiores, inertiores,

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tragedy in the Israelite world was due to the conviction that the pattern of life chronicled in the Hebrew Bible, and deposited in the Law, was a guarantee for continuity of the family and people

that led it. But not continuity of the individual. What would happen if external events blocked the continuity of family and people? Such immortality as the classical Hebrew man knows is derived

from the conviction that his sons and their sons have a promised future existence. Any individual

life after death was at best ambiguously hinted at in the Psalms (.000). Ezekiel's vision of the valley of dry bones coming to life (37,1-14) is explicitly a symbol of the reviving of the exiled collective people, not of individuals. The conviction of a future continuation was not shaken by the Babylonian exile; it was shaken by the Maccabean martyrs, and at that time a doctrine of the "resurrection" of the dead explicitly appears (Dan 12,2; II Makk 12,43-45).

The narrative of the Gospels up until the end reads for all the world like a tragedy. The coming

destruction of Jerusalem, which colors all the New Testament through prophetic expectation,

perhaps in places through vaticinia ex eventu, even more than the Exile raised doubts about any

future continuation of the Jewish people. All along, Greek heroes and ordinary people found only

partial comfort in the continuity of their descendants after their own death. The Homeric heroes were

more interested in perpetual fame (1.10-11). The prospect of going down to Hades monopolized Greek attention more strongly than Sheol for the Hebrews. And so (Chapter 19) the lively imagination

of the Greeks more strongly than with the Hebrews constructed hopes of blessedness in better lands, first for military heroes, then for the morally virtuous. Perhaps the Hellenization of the Near East then assisted the Rabbis in constructing the doctrine of the DTION (11.169) out of the ambiguous hints in the Psalms.

But no historical antecedent explains Paul's confident hope in the reality of Christ's resurrection as a pledge of his own; nor the multi-form Gospel narratives of Jesus' resurrection appearances.

That conviction was one of two or three features of the new faith which commended it to the

masses of the Hellenistic-Roman world, oppressed by the fear of death. What is marginal in Judaism

becomes absolutely central in Christianity, based on narratives with no correspondents in Israel.

The last of the thirteen principles of faith of Maimonides, inserted in our prayer books in Hebrew, is that "there will be a raising of the dead at the time when it shall please the Creator":

nxā niv v nūn • "«non mnnts In the formation of American Reform Judaism it was explicitly dropped.

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The "Pittsburgh Platform" of 1885 from 1889 to 1937 3 5 , says: , the basic statement of Reform

We reassert the doctrine of Judaism, that the soul of man is immortal, grounding this belief on the divine nature of the human spirit.... We reject as ideas not rooted in Judaism the beliefs both in bodily resurrection and in Gehenna and Eden (Hell and Paradise) as abodes for eternal punishment or reward.

And that high-water mark of liberalism has not been fully reversed.

The Nazi Holocaust, the greatest trauma to Israel in all of history, was named Shoah after Zeph 1:15:

nxitfpi riK'tf \...· rn:iyor It drove

Vg dies irae dies ilia...dies calamitatis (HN'ttf') et miseriae. occasional Jewish thinkers like Richard Rubenstein towards something like atheism:

When I say we live in the time of the death of God, I mean that the thread uniting God and man, heaven and earth, has been broken. We stand in a cold, silent, unfeeling cosmos,

unaided by any purposeful power beyond our own resources. After Auschwitz, what else can a Jew say about God? 36

But Zephaniah (1,14) still called it "the great day of Yah weh":

est dies Domini magnus. Rubenstein finds that unacceptable:

^na n mrp-a r nn p Vg iuxta

Traditional Jewish theology...has interpreted every major catastrophe in Jewish history as God's punishment of a sinful Israel. I fail to see how this position can be maintained without regarding Hitler and the SS as instruments of God's will. ...The idea is simply too obscene for me to accept.

And still contemplation of the Shoah, which has created overwhelming political support for the state of Israel among Jews both in America and elsewhere, has not created an overwhelming agreed conviction of the resurrection among them. Perhaps this "Sadducean" tendency (Mark 12,18) comes from a feeling that Christianity has preempted the doctrine.

35 Encyclopaedia Judaica; Jerusalem: Macmillan, 1971, xiii.570-571. Neil Gilman (The Death of Death: Resurrection and Immortality in Jewish Thought; Woodstock [Vermont]: Jewish Lights, 1997) considers that Maimonides in fact found the doctrine of resurrection problematic, and (p. 154) "care[d] desperately

that Jews understand the afterlife in terms of spiritual immortality." Gilman further chronicles the substantial replacement of resurrection by immortality in both the Reform and Conservative wings of American Judaism.

36 Richard L. Rubenstein, After Auschwitz: Radical Theology and Contemporary Judaism: Indianapolis etc.: Bobbs Merrill, 1966; pp. 152-153. This is the original edition; later ones somewhat soften the thought.

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Thus, without intending it, modern Hebrew has found the name of what English calls the "Holocaust" (itself a word with endless over-tones) in the text which above all for the Christian West evokes the death of the individual and of the creation. The sequence Dies Irae is anonymous; its popular attribution to Thomas of Celano rests on no specific evidence. It first appears in MSS of 1255, and was adopted in the Tridentine Missal for a

Requiem mass. The haunting melody, uniquely for Gregorian, infiltrates modern compositions since the *Symphonie Fantastique* of Berlioz. The author appears to be using Augustine de civ. Dei 18.23 or some such source for the Sibylline verses: *Dies irae dies illa Soluet saeculum in favilla Teste David cum Sibylla*.

For the tuba mirum spargens sonum see the texts cited at 11.234, 262; for the liber scriptus, see Rev 5,1 and cAqiba's ominous pinax (Avot III. 17, 1.75 etc.).

22.7.3 Membership: why did Christianity win out?

Why did Christianity catch on so widely in the Roman world—and beyond—when the Greek language and the Jewish synagogue as such did not? (At 22.11 below we discuss how one component of Hellenism, reason and logic, has seemingly caught on universally, outdoing all competitors...) Its success can in large part be laid simply to the fact that it does not need to recognize the existence of any outsiders. In both Hellas and Israel, the old rejection of the foreigner, barbarians or goyim, was replaced by a new conviction that one's own culture contained a precious novelty which deserved to be made available to all peoples (III.309). But Hellas and Israel were never able to make that gift unconditional: the Greeks could not separate it from their language, the Hebrews from their ancestry. In the New Testament with its new universal appeal, both blockages were overcome.

The simplicity of New Testament Greek gave it a special translatability,

so that the new community was not restricted to any language, the abandonment of circumcision removed the restriction to any lineage. Christianity can be seen as the creation of a new family, in principle universal: "Behold my mother and my brothers!" (Mark 3,34). A conscious decision to join (risky in the first centuries) must be made; but the act of entrance by baptism was non-threatening, the door was kept open for all. The pre-existing harmony between Hellenic and Hebraic cultures analyzed in these volumes explains in part why the new Church found footing throughout the Greco-Roman world—and to its Bible added superstructures of Greek philosophy and Roman law.

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22.8 Literary canons, closed and open

Primarily we know the two peoples through their texts—Hellas secondarily through its art and architecture. During the long centuries when the texts were preserved by Rabbinic and

Byzantine scribes, their status differed somewhat: among Jews the canon is seen as the charter of an ongoing community; in the Greek world, the texts are studied for their own sake, in tension with the new Christian books. In both worlds, the texts became the subject of a large exegetical literature.

Earlier (1.10-14) we compared Hebrew and Greek texts in several characteristics: their continuity of preservation, their phonetic script, their origin from a whole people, their theism and humanism, their exemplary character and originality. Those mark the common status of the texts as recording, and constituting, a new emergent of self-knowledge and freedom in sister societies. But the two bodies of texts have obvious differences as well.

Hebrew literature is a sharply defined canon of twenty-four books (five of law, four each of Former and Latter Prophets, eleven of writings). One can read it through in translation in a few

weeks—though not exhaust it in a lifetime. Greek literature is a much larger body of verse and prose, which only the brazen-gutted () can work through; Egyptian papyri (many literary) and inscriptions put it beyond any individual's scope. What accounts for the difference?

In part (we saw) the small size of Israel over against Hellas, due to its more rigid self-definition (III. 168). In part technical features of Hebrew composition and deficiencies of its script; but these

also can be attributed to its being inside the ancient Near East, and to the re-stricted realms in which it was able to manage a clean breakout.

Scattered evidence suggests that Hebrew literature was once somewhat more extensive than now. The compilers of the history in a few places quote from a collection of verse. From the "Book of the Up-right" (~ltö'?n TOO) comes David's lament over Saul and Jonathan (II Sam 1,19-27); Joshua's couplet on the arrest of sun and moon (Jos 10,12-13, where however the LXX omits the attribution); and the verse of Solomon on the completion of the Temple (I Reg 8,12-13, attributed

at 8,53a LXX to some book).³⁷ From "the Book of the Wars of Yahweh" comes the geographical note at Num 21, 14. Kings and Chronicles (with Neh 12,23) often cite other chronicles variously

3 7 The LX X attributes it to "The Book of the Song" (ëv), where perhaps the Hebrew read "Ptsn 130 as a variant of 30.

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entitled.³⁸ Still, the Rabbis who discussed the status of the 24 books found no competitors; rather, they raised doubts about some of the Writings. At most, the canonical books existed in variant forms, as witnessed by the changed order of materials in the LXX of II Kings, Jeremiah and Proverbs. (But the Qumran MS of Jeremiah 4Q72 seems to follow the Masoretic order.)

The classical passage is Mishna Yadayim III.5, "All the sacred Writings render the hands unclean":

‫כֻּטְאוֹ עֲנֵן -וְרוֹ The only doubts

were whether the Song of Songs and Qoheleth were sacred writings. R. 'Aqiba summed up what became the ruling, "All the writings are holy, but the Song of Songs is the Holy of Holies":

[וְרוֹ " יְדִידָהּ Rab Judah said in the name of Samuel, "[The scroll of] Esther does not render the hands unclean" (Bab. Talm.

Megillah 7a):

^ יִנְיֹחַ

paraphrasing, the editor asks incredulously whether Samuel truly believed that Esther "was not spoken through the Holy Spirit":

מִאֲכָזִי 1?

In the end all preserved books ended up on nearly the same level.

The manuscripts from Qumran provide fragments of Aramaic Tobit;³⁹ Aramaic Enoch (1.16, 151; 11.332); Hebrew Jubilees; 40 and perhaps the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. The Manual of Discipline, War Scroll and Psalms from Qumran are compositions of the sect itself. All these materials are in a wholly other—I will say inferior—realm beside the Hebrew Bible. The book of Sirach occupies a middle ground. The endless Rabbinic literature—even including its crown jewel, the tractate Avoth of the Mishna—purports to be commentary rather than supplement to the Hebrew Bible, although the careful reader finds important advances, as in the doctrine of the "raising of the dead."

The Greek books best attested in manuscripts either imposed themselves on the whole people, or were chosen out by for preservation as models of their kind. These are more than what we

38 But the "Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Media and Persia" at Esther 10,2 may be a mere invention. For after the Daiva inscription of Xerxes, the cuneiform record of later kings markedly deteriorates. We have no evidence that specifically Aramaic chronicles existed, and it is not easy to imagine how the author of Esther would have gotten hold of such.

3 9 DJD xix.1-79, 1995, ed. J. Fitzmyer; see 1.309. 4 0 DJD xiii.1-185; 1994.

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mean by "grammarians": they did declamations themselves (Polybius 32.2.5); they were previously called (Dio Chrysostom 53.1).

Aristophanes ò arranged the dialogues of Plato in trilogies (Diogenes Laertius 3.61); Aristarchus the great Homeric critic is called (Athenaeus 15.672A). Other books came through dark ages in a few manuscripts or a single one; fragments of many others are preserved in the sands of Egypt. While the Library at Alexandria contained far more works than we possess, popular taste and the grammarians certainly retained a selection well above the average. All evidence indicates that the lost epics stood on a far lower level than the Iliad and Odyssey. Already Solon, it was said (Diogenes L. 1.57) decreed that the Homeric poems should be recited in some fixed order, / .

The criterion for choosing the dramas to be preserved is uncertain: literary excellence? suitability for teaching beginners? grammatical interest? Probably not suitable for performance, the Hellenistic and Roman periods put on their own plays. The entire corpus of tragedy made its way safely to Alexandria. Lycurgus⁴¹ sponsored a law that the tragedies of Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides "should be written out and preserved in a public place," and that the "city scribe" () should rehearse the actors from those copies . Ptolemy II Philadelphus of Egypt put down a deposit of fifteen talents of silver to borrow the originals from Athens for copying; but when he got them, he sent copies back to Athens and kept the originals, forfeiting the fifteen talents. ⁴² The time and place are unknown at which the selections from the corpus that have come down to us were made.

The grammarians had some historical interest, for they preserved a sequence of historians: Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Arrian, Polybius. In that respect they were like the makers of the Hebrew Bible, who forcibly shaped available materials into a single narrative from the beginning to the Exile—and then abbreviated it from a new point of view in Chronicles, with a later appendix in Ezra and Nehemiah. The Greek historians lend themselves to that treatment, in that Thucydides consciously sets himself up as a successor to Herodotus, and Xenophon to Thucydides. Either grammarians or philosophers determined that Plato and Aristotle needed

to be read; we admire their choice, much as we would like to have more writings of the Presocratics and Stoics. But

41 Lives of the Orators preserved in the appendix to Plutarch's *Moralia*, 841E.

42 Surprisingly recorded by Galen in his commentary on the Epidemics of Hippocrates, Kühn xvii.1.607.

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because several different criteria were operative, many minor works came through as well.

The whole enterprise of classical studies would be different if the holdings of the Library of Alexandria had been preserved entirely or in part.⁴³ It would be more like the study of medieval or modern literature, where nobody can read everything, and both casual readers and scholars must rely initially on other people's judgment. Perhaps Greek literature would be less influential than now, since even its best works would seem more optional. But that imaginary contrast mirrors the actual relationship of our present "canon" of Greek literature to the Hebrew Bible. For Jews, Christians and ordinary readers alike, the limitations of the Hebrew Bible make each book precious in a special way, over against the chaotic spread of even the Greek literature we do possess. If instead of our thirty-two Greek tragedies we had just the Oedipus Rex and thirty-two Hebrew works like Job (if indeed such ever existed...), the Oedipus would take on an even more absolute character, and we would find limitations in Job now invisible. The Hebrew Bible (and after it the New Testament) is comparatively so short and imposing that, even outside the communities where it is heard in a special sense as Revelation, it is taken in utmost seriousness as an object with no obvious parallel.

But this does not yet explain why the Greek canon was so much bigger than the Hebrew one in the first place. In part it is because the community of those who spoke Greek—from Massilia to Cyprus, from the Black Sea to Libya—was much bigger than the twelve tribes of Israel, or even than all those (including Carthaginians) who spoke a dialect of Canaanite .

But it also has to do with differences between the Greek and Hebrew languages, and between the alphabetic scripts in which they were respectively expressed.

22.8.1 Memorizability of languages Greek

verse is much more memorable than Hebrew. At 1.47-48 we insisted that equally in Israel and Hellas all "literary" compositions existed primarily as oral performances. But long Greek compositions were easier to get by heart. Ion the rhapsode had Iliad and Odyssey by heart (Plato Ion 530B); in a few months a bright American twelve-

43 It is unclear how long any particular collections of the Library were preserved. Already in Caesar's siege of Alexandria in 48 BC some of the Library at least was burned (Plutarch Caesar 49.3; Dio Cassius 42.38.2); under Aurelian, AD 272, the library of the Bruchion was in large part destroyed (Ammianus 22.16.13-15).

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year-old learned to recite Iliad 1.1-52 with good conventional pronunciation and moderate understanding. The reason is that Greek is fully syllabic, and in hexameter (as in iambic) it has a form of verse where varying syllabic patterns are controlled by an overall fixed structure. Unlike the Sapphic stanza, paralleled in Sanskrit, dactylic hexameter has no Indo-European parallels. But the obscure words in hexameter, besides metrical anomalies only explained by an older form of the language, show that it had a long previous history in Greek and in the Aegean.

In contrast, the Hebrew short indistinct vowel (shewa) prevents any syllabic analysis. (Syriac verse, which had the same problem, is supposed to have a syllabic pattern [III. 141]; but it is surely on a Greek model.) Hebrew verse is thought accentual, with patterns such as 3:3, 2:2, and (in the njPp or lament) 3:2; but poetical books vary greatly in the accuracy of the accentual count, with Psalms among the most irregular. A rare syllabic

approximation to the Greek pattern will point out the differences. Gen 9,644 "He who sheds the blood of man, by man shall his blood be shed":

TIDE» QiKa •-[]<,-[

»...•• -|..

sopék dām ho'odóm II bo'odóm domów yissopék

has an elegant ABC:CBA pattern with and C rhyming, and (by chance or intention?) all full vowels. Its 6:8 pattern of syllables is occasionally found in hexameter: see Hesiod Opera 348 "Not even an ox would die, if it were not for a bad neighbor"⁴⁵

' I ' II I I The Hebrew line is

easily memorized, but isolated. It has no distinction of long and short syllables; and no vowel harmony, for of its 14 vowels, 8 are identical, the qomes. The Greek line is not especially musical, but of its 14 vowels, there are 7 different, and the most common, and , only occur 3 times each. The metrical pattern is more common in Latin. Vergil Georg. 2.490

félīx I qui potu-lit II rē-lrum cog-lnoścere I causas (III.38), where further each of the six vowels under the ictus is different (1.12).

Hebrew texts, both prose and verse, were undoubtedly recited orally each in its appropriate context. But in contrast to Greek, both prose and verse are broken up into short sections, memorizable by diligence rather than by internal cues. As we saw (1.47) in our study of Jeremiah

4 4 Often previously cited here in other contexts: 1.5, 11.279, III.23.

4 5 West explains, "Friendly neighbors would often be able to prevent the loss of the animal by their own intervention or by timely warning."

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36, for a longer recitation, particularly with a mixture of prose and verse, a scroll was essential as an aide-mémoire. Alma-Tadema's notorious A Recitation from Homer,⁴⁶ besides other anachronisms (square Roman columns, doubled roses, public affection to a young lady) has the reciter use a scroll, which would have mortified Ion.⁴⁷

22.8.2 Superiority of Greek script

Likewise differences in alphabetic scripts blocked large-scale composition in

Hebrew but encouraged it in Greek. The deciding element is the appearance of the vowels in Greek script (1.41-43), derived in part from the vocalic offglides in Semitic script (ie diphthongs in -y and -w) but entered with full consistency. Several features of the Hebrew language as the Masoretes heard it made any simple marking of its vowels impractical. Classical Arabic (and in part Ugaritic) marks only three vowels aiu, with a further notation in Arabic for long vowels. 48 The vowel system of Phoenician is unknown. But Hebrew has seven vowel qualities (further modified by offglides), of which three also come short, in addition to the vocalic shewa. In the inflection of nouns and verbs, the vowels shift in complex patterns; the numerous variants show that oral usage fluctuated. It might have happened that the original writing system included vowels by imposing an artificial unity.

It didn't. From Phoenician or some predecessor Canaanite dialect, Hebrew, like Aramaic, adopted the 22-letter alphabet of consonants only, which unlike the vowels were extremely stable.49 The frication of single stops after a vowel, although surely an old feature of the Hebrew dialect, did not block recognition of the stop and the fricative as to be represented by the same letter. As we saw (III. 160), in Israel pressure for innovation had to be selective. Where the society could get by with what it found around it, it kept things unchanged; as with kingship and the sacrificial priesthood, so with the alphabet.

As a result, only simple Hebrew texts could be read aloud from a previously unseen document (I.49-50).50 Our Phoenician inscriptions,

46 1885, Philadelphia Museum of Art.

4 7 Alma-Tadema, I am sure without knowing it, comes closer to restoring an Homeric recitation in Roman Greece.

48 Emphatic consonants in Arabic color the following vowels, but the script has never marked this feature of the language, and the coloring is never phonemic. 49 Probably in fact Hebrew had more than 22 consonantal sounds (11.324), and the scribes improvised with the alphabet they were given.

50 See now the English version of S. Levin's fundamental article, "The 'Qeri' as the Primary Text of the Hebrew Bible," *General Linguistics* 35 (1997) 181- 223, ed. JP Brown (Levin Festschrift).

which modern scholars believe we mostly understand, were perhaps intended as simple texts. But Ugaritic verse, comparable to Hebrew, must conceal many subtleties forever lost for its want of vowels. If the book of Job had been transmitted without vowels, nobody could understand it even as far as we do today, nor read it out loud. As a result, as Levin has shown, each book of the Hebrew Bible required for its preservation—that is, for its ongoing oral recitation—a double tradition: the written text which reminded the reciter of the unpredictable materials coming next; and an oral tradition of the pronunciation, above all of the vowels.

Now Hebrew society was a small one, with limited specialization of function. Each division of our Hebrew Bible was the property of one group in society: the books of the Law, probably of the priests; the Former Prophets, perhaps of court historians; the three major prophets, each of a group of disciples like Jeremiah's Baruch; Proverbs (I have suggested) of a banker class; Psalms of some Temple functionaries. But most of the groups were not full-time scribes or grammarians.

Each had the double task of safeguarding the written text of their book, and of teaching young men to pronounce it exactly according to the received tradition. The total of 24 books must then represent about the maximum that Israelite society could find custodians for. When a new composition like the Book of Job came on the scene, it must either be rejected or completely assimilated.

The contrast with Greek compositions is then clear. The very ear-liest Greek scrolls, it is true, were not all that easy to read from either.

The lines may have been "as an ox plows a field" (1.11), the first beginning at the right, the second at the left, and so on; there were no word divisions, the lines of verse were probably unmarked.

West in his *Works and Days* p. 60 creates a sample of what its first text may have looked like. 51 But the indispensable phonetic feature of the vowels was present. A reciter, faced with such a scroll even of an unfamiliar text, had two sets of data previously internalized: the patterns of the hexameter, and the two or three possible accentuations of a word with known letters. After having heard the *Works and Days* or a book of Homer a few times, he would have the sounds recalled to his mind by the written text, since most of its phonetic features were represented there somehow. The most important function of the written text was as a corrective of creative or unintentional oral changes.

The prose of Herodotus or Thucydides would seem a tougher nut to crack. But long prose texts, written later, must have been set out more

51 But Levin thinks the early poetic scrolls were already easier to read than this.

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clearly and their transmission by itself shows that their script was lucid enough for the reader—people read aloud even to themselves—to proceed through the text at normal speed, and provide it with the proper word-divisions and accents. The particles marked the pauses—they were put into the original oral text for precisely that purpose.

Thus the character of the Hebrew canon was the product of several factors all working in the same direction. Its mandatory character was in part the result of its small size. Its small size was due to (1) the small size of the community that preserved it; (2) the resistance of Hebrew texts to memorization; (3) the defects of the writing system, which required a separate dual tradition of each preserved work. Likewise in reverse for the Greek "canon." Its more almost optional character was in part the result of its large size. Its large size was due to (1) the widespread geographical spread of its writers and custodians; (2) the memorizability of Greek verse; (3) the merit of the writing system, which did not require prior hearing to the comprehension of a written verse or prose text.

22.8.3 The canon of the New Testament

The New Testament, although written in Greek, looks more like a compact Hebrew compilation than an expansive Greek one. But soon enough, in the Greek, Latin and Syriac churches, a very copious literature sprang up, larger than the preserved body of pagan Greek and Latin literature, perhaps also than the Rabbinic. In the judgment of its own authors, as in the judgment of their contemporaries and of moderns, this work is a commentary on an original which infinitely surpasses them. Augustine's *Confessions* stands by itself for many centuries as a book running parallel to the New Testament with a narrative of experience. Although the defects of the Hebrew writing system no longer blocked the production of the earliest Christian literature, the mere fact of the limited Hebrew canon seemingly operated to keep the New Testament down to size. Furthermore, it came from a small community with not many natural writers in a very few generations.

The formation of the New Testament canon generated what today we mean by a "book": the codex. Perhaps at first each book of the New Testament was written on a scroll

—smaller than the scrolls of the 24 books of the Hebrew Bible, as befitted a community on

the road.

But the first witnesses to the New Testament text, the papyri from Egypt, are written in a new format, the codex—the form of our printed books today—which then spread to all Greek and Latin books, and

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eventually most Jewish ones too. 5 2 From Christians or Moslems the Masoretes took the idea of a non-sacred codex to record their pronunciation of the text, while scrolls of the Torah went on containing only the sacred consonants. Levin explains the advantages of the codex in the new situation: 5 3

For many generations the leading Christians were chiefly adult converts from pagan worship.⁵⁴ That circumstance disposed them all the more to a book form that made the entire text quickly accessible.... In exegetical works above all, where they were commenting on a given holy book, they needed other relevant passages to prove or confirm their point.

Roberts & Skeat, while doubting this argument, provide additional support for it (p. 50):

...one thinks of Augustine in the famous 'Tolle, lege' episode [Conf. 8.(12).28], when he kept a finger in the codex of the Pauline Epistles to mark the place of the providential passage he had found.

And so Augustine (Conf. 4.[3.]5) de paginis poetae cuiuspiam...cum forte quis consulit "When by chance one consults the pages of a certain poet." 5 5 For any Church use—the Gospel locally received, Paul's letters—there was pressure to have a single codex.

In two respects then the New Testament reflects its Palestinian setting: in spite of all appearances it turns out to be a non-tragedy (22.7.2) like the Hebrew Bible; it likewise has a small closed canon. In two respects it breaks with both Israel and Hellas: in principle it has no need for a definition of insiders (22.7.3), and therefore ultimately no need for a definition of outsiders; its enlarged language about God (22.7.1) goes beyond both. Its use of the Greek language reflects a later development in Hellas: not just as the common tongue of the Greek city-states, but the new function of Greek as the instrument of imperialism, first of Macedón, then of Alexander's successors, then finally of Rome.

52 Colin H. Roberts & TC Skeat, *The Birth of the Codex*; London: British Academy, 1983; 38-41. They list eleven Christian Biblical papyrus manuscripts which they judge to be of the second century CE; all are in codex form.

53 Saul Levin, "From Scrolls to Codex: The Ancient and the Medieval Book," *Mediaevalia* 12 (1989 [for 1986]) 1-12, esp. p. 4.

54 [I would add that many converts had passed through an intermediate stage as "God-fearers" in the Hellenistic synagogue. JPB]

55 The SHA Hadrian 2.8 has Hadrian consult the Vergilianas sortes to discern Trajan's attitude towards him, and end up with a passage in Book 6. This presupposes a codex, for unrolling a scroll you would know just about what you were getting; but this authority is unreliable, and I wonder if the Aeneid existed in codex form in the early second century CE.

22.9 Translatability of Hebrew and Greek texts

22.9 Translatability of Hebrew and Greek texts

What does it say about a text in one language that its key features are translatable into another— easily? with difficulty? Hardly at all? I have heard that the Russian of Tolstoy and Dostoievsky is not so essential as to render the English versions seriously defective; certainly the story-line comes through with abundant clarity. It might seem that the elegant linguistic structure of Shakespeare renders him less translatable. But the German version of August Wilhelm von Schlegel and Ludwig Tieck (1796-1833) has so won the day that Germans tend to think of Shakespeare as a poet of their own language! For one thing, all agree in the supremacy and variety of his characterization, which no translation can spoil. But further this is also because "die Stammes-verwandtschaft des deutschen und englischen Idioms mächtig zu Hilfe kam."

56

Tempest IV.i Folio: And like

the baseless fabricke of this vision

The Clowd-capt Towres, the gorgeous Pallaces, The solemne Temples, the great Globe it selfe, Yea, all which it inherits, shall dissolue, And like this insubstantiall Pageant faded

Leaue not a rack behinde: we are such stuffe As dreams

are made on; and our little life is rounded with a sleepe...

Schlegel:

Wie dieses Scheines lockrer Bau, so werden Die wolkenhohen Türme, die Paläste, Die
hehren Tempel, selbst der

grosse Ball, Ja, was daran nur teil hat, untergehn; Und, wie dies leere Schaugepräng'
erblasst, Spurlos

verschwinden. Wir sind solcher Zeug Wie der zu Räumen,

und dies kleine Leben Umfasst ein Schlaf...

The two metrics run parallel, with an extra syllable at the end where the vocabulary warrants it. The most conspicuous loss is the insubstantial Latinism, which German has no good parallel for. On the same grounds, both Greek prose and verse ought to have been quite translatable into Latin. And in fact, the meters of verse were taken over and

56 Wilhelm Dechelhäufer, W. Shakespeare's dramatische Werke; translated by August Wilhelm von Schlegel and Ludwig Tieck; 13th ed.; Stuttgart etc.: Deutsche Verlags- Anstalt; ca. 1891; p. XI.

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if anything improved; but Roman writers and poets set themselves other tasks than the translation of Greek.

For the Greek church of the East, the Bible is the Septuagint plus the Greek New Testament, in uneasy coexistence with the texts of pagan Hellas. For the Latin church of the West, the Bible is Jerome's Vulgate, in uneasy coexistence with the texts of pagan Rome. Jerome's Old Testament is a more adequate and nobler version than the Septuagint; his Gospels often unconsciously restore the lapidary brevity of the underlying Aramaic. In both Testaments his excellence springs from his guilty knowledge of the Latin classics.

Greek texts were never fully translated into Latin: the western Middle Ages knew Aristotle best. The key event was the capture of Constantinople by French and Venetian crusaders in AD 1204. It appears that from there Greek MSS were brought west as far as England. The

victors set up Latin principalities in Greece and appointed their own bishops there; and the land was opened to western scholars. The Britisher John Basingstoke took lessons in Athens from one Constantina, to whom remarkable psychic powers were attributed, daughter of an archbishop of Athens.⁵⁷ On his return he translated a Greek grammar into Latin ("Donatus Graecorum," not ex -tant?); in 1235 he was Archdeacon of Leicester and a friend of Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln, who probably learned Greek from him.⁵⁸ From some such underground source the Fleming William of Moerbeke also learned Greek, became the Pope's contact with the Eastern church, and at the end of his life (ab. 1278-1286) was the Latin archbishop of Corinth.⁵⁹ The Nicomachean Ethics of Aristotle were first completely translated by Grosseteste about 1245; the Politics by Moerbeke (who had previously translated most of Aristotle's works on logic) about 1260.

There is a large MS tradition of these medieval translations. When Aquinas quotes rather than paraphrases Aristotle we can mostly pin-point the version. Thus he quotes⁶⁰ the Eth. No. 1132a22 as *iudex est iustum animatum*; the Greek is *ὁ δίκαιος* "for the judge wishes to be as it were living justice,"

⁵⁷ This archbishop must be one of the latter Greek archbishops of Athens, listed at DHGE v.22 sv "Athènes," either displaced by the Frankish bishop or maintaining a shadowy claim to legitimacy.

⁵⁸ Dictionary of National Biography; Oxford: University, vol. i (1917), 1274- 1275.

⁵⁹ L. Minio-Paluello, art. "Moerbeke, William of" in Dictionary of Scientific Biography ix.434-440; New York: Scribner's, 1974.

⁶⁰ Summa Theol. Secunda Secundae, quest. 58, art. 1 ad quintum.

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where Grosseteste⁶¹ *iudex enim vult esse velud iustum animatum*. Elsewhere⁶² he quotes Pol. 1252b28 as *perfecta enim communitas civitas est*, the Greek is *ἡ πόλις* "the perfect partnership composed of several villages is the

Polis," where already the *translatio imperfecta* attributed to Moerbeke has *6 3 ex pluribus vicis communitas perfecta civitas*. When the Clerk of Oxenford has

Twenty books, clad in black or reed,

Of Aristotle and his philosophy

these are expensive bound Latin manuscripts of Moerbeke's versions, for the subject is logic.

In the three hundred years after Grosseteste and Moerbeke, Greek achieved an overwhelming role in education. Roger Ascham was tutor to princess Elizabeth (born 1533) as a teenager from 1550-1552; and speaks of her later:⁶⁴

...our most noble Queen Elizabeth, who never took yet Greek nor Latin grammar in her hand, after the first declination of a noun and a verb; but only by this double translating [to English and back again] of Demosthenes and Isocrates daily, without missing every forenoon, and likewise some part of Tully [Cicero] every afternoon, for the space of a year or two, hath attained to such a perfect understanding in both the tongues, and to such a ready utterance of the Latin, and that with such a judgment, as they be few in number in both the universities, or elsewhere in England, that be in both tongues comparable with her majesty.

(But Ascham might not have reported it if the Princess ever sulked, or played hooky, or muffed a translation....) He runs through her praises at the time in a letter to Sturm, April 4, 1550 (Old Style),⁶⁵ in which he speaks of her ingenium sine muliebri mollitia, labor cum virili constantia, and adds that the morning began with the New Testament and included Sophocles.

61 Aristoteles Latinus xxvi.l—3.3 p. 234.

62 Summa Theol. Prima Secundae, quest. 90, art. 2 ad finem.

63 Aristotle Latinus xxix.l p. 5. The full Latin translation of the Politics, unquestionably done by William of

Moerbeke, is critically edited from the MSS by F. Susemihl parallel to the Greek in his major edition *Aristotelis Politicorum Libri Octo cum uetusta translatione Guilelmi de Moerbeka*; Leipzig: Teubner 1872. For the translation is so exact that the readings of the underlying Greek MS are mostly discernible—an excellent witness, several centuries older than our extant MSS.

64 In his *Schoolmaster*, ed. Giles, *Whole Works*: London, 1864 iii.180, repr. New York: AMS, 1965.

65 Giles i.191.

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For an age when both Hebrew and Greek texts were translated into a vernacular we go to that same sixteenth century. In the later Middle Ages there was a thin stream of knowledge of Hebrew, mostly derived from Jewish converts; it was much augmented when the Jews were expelled from Spain, 1492. Northern Europe is the key; for there the Latin Vulgate is rejected in favor of new translations, which, above all in England and Germany, formed the basis of a renewed vernacular literature. The rediscovery of the Bible in the Protestant Reformation of northern Europe comes almost at the same time as the Italian Renaissance of classical, and in particular Greek, learning.

Luther's German New Testament was published in 1522 and his complete Bible in 1534. Parts of William Tyndale's Old Testament (with some use at least of the Hebrew) were published in 1530 and 1537, parts copied by Miles

Coverdale in 1535. Genesis 3 in Tyndale's version will show how it set the standard for all that followed:⁶⁶

But the serpent was sotyller than all the beasts of the felde which y LORDE God had made / and said unto the woman, Ah syr [!] / that God hath said / ye shall not eat of all manner trees in the garden. And the woman said unto the serpent / of the fruit of the trees in the garden we may eat / but of the fruit of the tree y is in the myddes of the garden (said God) se that ye eat not / and se that ye touch it not: lest ye dye.

The successive versions won the hearts of English-speaking people, both as the newly provided text of the religion they had long professed, and as the standard of their own language.

The Gospels and the Revelation of John, as sharing the Semitic substructure of the Hebrew Bible, found equal resonance in English; Acts as a flowing narrative presented little difficulty either. Paul's letters and especially Romans, in spite of Luther's championing of them, are true Greek texts and difficult ones at that, and in many versions come out crabbed. A few classical Greek prose texts found adequate translations at nearly the same time as the English Bible and remained influential. North's Plutarch (1579, second hand from a French version) underlies Shakespeare's Julius Caesar and Antony and Cleopatra⁶⁷ and contributes much to their elegance. Sometimes the poet had nothing to do but an easy versification:

⁶⁶ David Danieli (ed.), Tyndale's Old Testament...In a modern-spelling edition; New Haven: Yale, 1992; I restore Tyndale's spelling from Daniell's plate of the Pentateuch of 1530.

67 See especially North's version of Cleopatra in her barge, lightly adapted by Shakespeare and from him by Eliot in *The Waste Land*.

22. 9 Translatability of Hebrew and Greek texts

Furthermore, there was a certain Soothsayer that had given Caesar warning long time afore, to take heed of the day of the Ides of Marche, (which is the fifteenth of the moneth) for on that day he should be in great danger. That day being come, Caesar going unto the Senate house, and speaking merily to the Soothsayer, tolde him, The Ides of Marche be come: So be they, softly answered the Soothsayer, but yet are they not past.

Thomas Hobbes published his translation of Thucydides in 1629; he found much in the Greek (we may assume) that he already believed, and took more from it. A recent study⁶⁸ finds Thucydides deeper than his translator:

Is it realistic [with Hobbes] to assume that all people act predictably, that they are always guided strictly by self-interest, that all other motivations are a sham—or, if genuine, so rare that to take them into account is useless?

...According to Thucydides, human beings are multifaceted, so that it becomes necessary, for example, to examine individual leaders and to listen seriously to their reasons for acting a certain way.

But Hobbes so resonated with the historian that his interpretations continue to hold the field. We may compare Hobbes' manly version of the Melian Dialogue (5.105.1) with Rex Warner's (III.7):

For of the gods we think according to the common opinion; and of men, that for certain by necessity of nature they will everywhere reign over such as they are too strong for. Neither did we make this law, nor are we the first that use it made: but as we found it, and shall leave it to posterity for ever, so also we use it: knowing that you likewise, and others that should have the same power which we have, would do the same.

In English (I cannot speak for German) the translations of Greek verse accentuate the peculiarities and faults of each age. Chapman's *Iliad* (1616), which Keats found a "pure serene," for us is Elizabethan bombast with its seven-beat lines and rhyme: Achilles' banefull wrath resound, O Goddess, that imposed Infinite

sorrows on the Greekes, and many brave souls losd From breasts Heroique— sent them farre, to that invisible cave That no light comforts; and their lims to dogs and vultures gave.

Here "resound" replaces "sing," "breasts" is padding, " gets a popular (but uncertain) etymology, and "lims" replaces "them-selves." Pope's version (1715) is hardly a translation, but a whole new

68 Laurie M. Johnson, *Thucydides, Hobbes, and the Interpretation of Realism*; De Kalb: Northern Illinois Univ. Press, 1993; 201-203.

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construction of images, built distantly on the Greek narrative: "It is a pretty poem, Mr Pope, but you must not call it Homer":⁶⁹ Achilles' wrath,

to Greece the direful spring Of woes unnumber'd, heav'nly Goddess , sing!

That wrath which hurl'd to Pluto's gloomy reign The souls of mighty chiefs untimely slain:
Whose limbs,

unburied on the naked shore, Devouring dogs and hungry vultures tore...

"Limbs" and "vultures" show that Pope had Chapman before him.

Homer is read in the twentieth century through translations which are at least accurate, line-by-line, and idiomatic, like Richmond Lattimore's (1951), but

hardly memorizable:

Sing, goddess, the anger of Peleus' son Achilleus and its devastation, which put pains a thousandfold upon the

Achaeans,

hurled in their multitudes to the house of Hades strong souls of heroes, but gave their bodies to be the delicate feasting of dogs, of all birds...

But here hurled still reflects Pope.

English versions of tragedy in the late 18th and 19th centuries are even

more precious and mannered than of epic; in the 20th century even less singable or memorizable.⁷⁰ Still, only in our century have educators felt obliged to make Greek books

widely available to the cultivated reader, whereas in the 16th century there was a growing cry for Hebrew books (along with the Greek New Testament) to be accessible to men, women and children in the pews.

And it is intrinsically harder to spoil Hebrew than Greek. To our ears the Septuagint did its best to spoil Hebrew, but the New Testament writers—all steeped in the Septuagint—turned it into a people's mode of expression. Modern versions of the English Bible have successively watered down the elevation of the Authorized Version, and the vogue of inclusiveness has rejected the goal of accuracy which originally motivated the new translations. Greek epic and tragedy until recently brought out the worst instincts of translators; today, only their incapacities. The structure of Hebrew narrative comes from the unavoidable sequence of events; Greek adds antitheses and (in epic) the verse-pattern. My own translations in these volumes follow the least objectionable patterns available, and strive for nothing more than a mediocre accuracy.

69 Richard Bentley, in Samuel Johnson's *Life of Pope*.

70 See Eliot's critique of translations in "Euripides and Professor Murray," *Selected Essays 1917-1932*; New York: Harcourt Brace, 1932; 46-50.

22.9 Translatability of Hebrew and Greek texts

What does this tell us about Hebrew and Greek texts in the worlds of their origin? The only narratives in Ugaritic are mythical verse; Hebrews surely rejected any models they might have found in Akkadian literature. If we imagine Hebrew narrative coming out of hill-villages remote from Canaanite cultural influence, we can only conclude that isolation and a dawning sense of freedom brought into being a wholly new level of transcription for popular stories and sagas. The figures of Hebrew narrative are archetypes we instantly recognize: apart from a few abstract terms of psychology or ethics, the vocabulary is of concrete nouns and verbs whose translation into other languages is as near as possible automatic. The Greek of the New Testament narratives, in view of its Semitic background, has many of the same features. Only at the end of a long Greek prose development did Plutarch approach a comparable level of simplicity. The excellence of Hobbes' Thucydides is a shining exception.

Besides its built-in difficulty, Greek verse had complex antecedents.

Behind the Homeric epics we can discern a background of shorter lays in somewhat different dialects, but in the same old metrical form, although not as such known elsewhere in Indo-European. The elaborate structure of Greek drama, both tragic and comic, with its variety of meters, dialects and styles, requires an extensive prior history. In Hebrew, lack of defined syllables, meter, vowel harmony as vehicle of expression means that less is lost in translation (for there is less to be lost). Likewise the New Testament is eminently translatable for the same reason as Plutarch. This does not mean that the Hebrew Bible is less deep or universal than Greek works, just that it has fewer secrets.

(But I should add that there are many more Hebrew phrases we simply do not understand, for want of parallels.) Thus a paradox: the clannish and isolated Hebrews produced a more generally accessible work than the outgoing Greeks! Hebrew verse texts, though less memorizable than Greek, are more translatable.

But it is not the sole (though the final) task of literature to show what humanity may become; a necessary preliminary task is to also define what humanity is. While people in readiness to hear the Biblical texts hear them correctly, and pattern their lives according to them; people not so ready, or with distorted psyches, hear them incorrectly and do much damage. Indispensable to undoing the damage is the laborious work of scholarship, trained (normally) on other texts, classical or indigenous. So a further item in the complementarity is the relative accessibility (in translation) of the books of Israel (including the New Testament); and the greater precision of the texts of Hellas, necessary in training people how to read such books.

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22.10 Reciprocal takeover of attributes

Although today in the West the heritage of Israel is seen as religious faith, and of Hellas as scientific reason, this was not so clear in the first centuries of our era. Directly after the formation of the New Testament, each society takes on characteristics of the other. Thus the large fact of Greek religion has a sociological continuation in the Church. The cathedral of Syracuse incorporates the Doric columns of the temple of Athena Nike of the fifth century BC; the Romans built the columns into walls; the Christian basilica changed at least internal arrangements; under Islam a minaret was built;⁷¹ the eighteenth century

added a rococo façade. Each successive cult involved processions, singing, vestments, a contrast between leaders and people.

More generally, Greek civilization is built on the necessity of myth.

In Chapter 19 we saw how much more strongly than Hebrews, Greeks needed to find a sequence of better lands, offering blessedness first to heroic figures, then to all. Plato ends his major dialogues with a myth concretely supporting the theoretical conclusions of the discussion.

The myth of the Phaedo (1.87-88) agrees in two contrasting elements with Israel: human beings around the Mediterranean like ants or frogs around a marsh; over against them a better world of jasper and emerald. And wherever we could make a comparison like this, it was always Hellas that had fantastic elements, merging true and ideal geography, while Israel retains a dignified realism in descriptions of the earth, and a sober transcendence about its God.

As Greek ultimate affirmations rest on Mediterranean myth, parallel to Hebrew-Phoenician ones and in part derived from them, so Rabbinic exegesis rests on a basis parallel to Greek logic and Roman law, perhaps derived from them. To give the Greeks exclusive credit for an inheritance of Reason ignores the logical principles developed by the Rabbis to interpret the Torah. 72 Some themes they pick up are illustrated in Plato Laws 7.793AB (Daube 243). It begins with a distinction between "unwritten customs" and

71 That is my recollection from a visit in summer 1960, but I cannot easily verify it.

72 Lee I. Levine, *Judaism and Hellenism in Antiquity: Conflict or Confluence?*; Seattle: Univ. of Washington Press, 1998; 113-116 briefly discusses two positions on the degree to which the Rabbis borrowed from Greco-Roman thought.

He calls Saul Lieberman a "minimalist": *Hellenism in Jewish Palestine*; New York: Jewish Theol. Sem. of America, 5711/1950; "Rabbinic Interpretation of Scripture," 47-82. He calls David Daube a "maximalist": "Rabbinic Methods of Interpretation and Hellenistic Rhetoric," *HUCA* 22 (1949) 239-264.

22.10 Reciprocal takeover of attributes

[] "written laws";⁷³ and goes on that "very old ancestral customs when properly founded and become habitual, acting as a shield hold subsequently written laws in full safety":

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A heathen asked Shammai (Bab. Talm. Shabb. 31a) "How many Torahs (nmn 03 do you have?")

and he answered "Two, written and oral":

no mini anmto mm trnti»

'Aqiba (Avoth III.14), defining more closely Avoth 1.1 (our 1.161) said "Tradition is a fence to the

Law," min1 ? 03.

The seven exegetical principles of Hillel (Tosefta Sanhédrin 7:11; Sifra introd.) owe something to Hellenistic-Roman logic. —In particular the first, 01 bp "Light and Heavy," ie a *minori ad maius*: "If holds in the trivial case A, how much more so in the weighty case B."

Again at Bab. Talm. Shabb. 31a Hillel brings a proselyte to reason 011 bp on Num 1,51: a stranger ("ISH, where Hillel includes even king David) who approaches the tabernacle is put to death; and the proselyte concludes "how much more one like myself !" At about the same time the logic appears in pagan Greek: Diodorus 1.1.2, when fictitious mythology about Hades begets piety, "how much more (rather) does history, the prophetess of truth () and metropolis of all philosophy ()" build character!⁷⁴ It is striking in the New Testament. Luk 12,28 (cf 11,13) "If God so clothes the grass of the field, how much more (rather) you?" where Pesh " KOS, Vg quanto magis. Rom 11,12 "If the fall [of the Jews] is the wealth of the world...how much more (rather) their fulfillment?" The NT usage

is often taken as a reflection of the Rabbinic logic; but I suggest that both it and the Rabbinic ultimately are from Latin: Cicero de Oratore 3.213 quanto ...magis admiraremini si audissetis

ipsum "How much more would you have marveled if you had heard [Demosthenes] in person?" Still, Rab-binic logic, whatever its source, was deeply internalized.⁷⁵ The Euro-

⁷³ Aristotle (Rhet. 1.13.2 = 1373b5) divides law () into and . Rabbinic borrows the first word in a whole Greek sentence, unattested in Greek and perhaps parodied or misunderstood: *Dianas Diai] ouo^oa si s*

(Jer. Talm. Rosh hash. 57a7 5 bottom), ie ? "For the King, the law might as well not have been written down, he only needs to observe it if he wishes to.

"

74 See Josephus BJ 2.365.

75 We saw (11.214, 278) that a parallel development of legal logic leads from the case-by-case style of the Roman

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pean Jewish community, its intellect practiced by those centuries of exegesis, led the modern world in various enterprises: rational philosophy with Spinoza, economics and sociology with Marx, psychology with Freud, physics with Einstein.

22.11 Faith and reason

Today the polarity between Israel and Hellas is mostly seen as one between religion and science, faith and reason. An influential and in places helpful treatment of the theme "Faith and Reason" appears in an encyclical (September 15, 1998) of John Paul II.⁷⁶ The contrast is partly a simplification in view of the realms where each society tres-passes on the presumed monopoly of the other. The two concepts nearly fall together in Hebrew, where "truth" (3) comes from the root "יָדָה" "be reliable," as is clear from the form Ps 91,4 3 "[God's] reliability," LXX , Vg ueritas eius. Thus at I Reg 22,16 Ahab says to Micaiah, "How many times shall I adjure you that you should speak nothing to me but the truth in the name of Yahweh?"

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LXX , Vg ut non loquaris mihi nisi quod uerum est. Greek "true" does not have the modern connotation of something's being in conformity with the real world, but of its inevitability, "that which cannot escape notice."

Still current perceptions are historical facts with their own legitimacy. Until recently in Europe and the United States, "faith" meant the profession of Judaism or Christianity; and still today communities here adhering to Islam, Buddhism, Hinduism are seen as

to some degree alien. And even more so "reason" means the habits of thought derived from Greek philosophers—as filtered through Latin understanding. To discuss the truth or falsity of the insights in the ancient Near Eastern empires would be wasted effort;

we know too much about their re-stricted social systems. Does that mean that Hebrew or Greek insights should likewise be considered outmoded? It might seem that the question arises mainly with Jewish-Christian faith; and that the process of reasoning, once grasped by the Greeks, is mandatory and unchanging. But our theme of complementarity suggests that the two should be more nearly parallel.

to the codifications, contemporary with each other, of the Roman lawyer Gaius and the Mishna.

76 Printed in *Origins: CNS Documentary Service*, Oct. 22 1998, vol. 28: no. 19.

The English translation is due to the Vatican, and appears to have the same authenticity as the Latin original *Fides et Ratio*, which I have not looked up.

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Today relations are the exact opposite of what they were in the later Middle Ages. Then society was based on a generally accepted system of belief, and secular Greek rationalism was only just making its way.

Today Christian (and Jewish) belief is marginalized as a private choice, while Greek rational thought seems triumphant everywhere. In the United States, government must everywhere permit, but nowhere authorize, the places of worship where a transcendent source of justice is proclaimed. And even though the study of the classical languages has retreated, Greek literature in translation is the solidest part of the university canon (such as it is...), with the English Bible as a very optional extra.

If we take the present situation as a permanent state of affairs, the whole enterprise of these volumes is put under a cloud. For it would mean that the breakout of Israel from the ancient Near East, although admirable in many ways, was still darkened with the uncritical beliefs of its origins; and that only the Greeks were sufficiently distant to throw off their pantheon, god by god, and (with much backsliding into myth!) move towards a full reliance on reason. Here our historical study throws us back to look at ourselves. In my best understanding, does reason, carried through sufficiently far, demand to be completed by an affirmation of faith? or does it leave faith as an optional or arbitrary supplement to

itself?—the position which faith occupies in all of American law, and in much American practice. (But Presidential candidates must belong to a Christian church; most weddings are performed by clergy; department stores, if they wish to end the year in the black, play Christmas carols in December.)

We may here settle for a minimum definition of faith: affirmation of a providential God watching over events. For early Israelites with an indefinite future ahead, it was enough to affirm that the continuity of their family in ongoing time was thereby secured. In the formative period of Judaism and the New Testament, when the final destruction of the Temple and the dispersal of the Jewish people were in the cards, Providence required further a symbolism of the resurrection of the body. For us likewise, with the certainty that life on this planet, even if prolonged for millions of years, will eventually be wiped out by a dying sun, it may still require something more than even the continuity of history over that period. To affirm the values in a secularized Hellenism or Judaism, celebrating their human cultures but rejecting what they say about God or the gods, blessed lands or the restoration of the dead, is much less than they affirmed about themselves. If that is all our famous Greco-Roman or Jewish- Christian heritage amounts to, we are being given a much reduced inheritance by the probate court

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of history. We do not have a long enough view to know whether either tradition will continue to blossom if it is so far cut off from its roots; or whether humanity will be psychically able to continue its enterprise if all it can see ahead, near or far, is a blank wall.

We said (III.154) that the enterprises of those two old societies are continued among us in two places: classroom and congregation. They teach and pass on, respectively, the use of logic and the use of trust.

In a kind of meta-logic and meta-trust, let us ask what functions they perform in our society. They are parallel and contrasted: each relies on books handed down from its mother society to train contemporaries in urgent tasks likewise inherited from it. They are equally inevitable structures of our society. In their graciousness they freely make those books available for private study, and many people do learn calculus and read the Bible on their own, or home- school their children. People in a society without classrooms or congregations would not have those options. The teaching may be poorly or well done; the

congregation may be formed on too narrow or broad a basis. But if a community abandons traditional formats it must improvise, and its improvisations will not be better than what they replaced. —And classroom and congregation each has a style. While the style can be learned by self- study, it is the group which preserves and carries the style on. We have near- universal agreement that the style of the classroom is indeed indispensable for approaching the problems and tasks of our society with commitment and understanding. Is the style of the congregation equally a necessary prerequisite for something?

It used to be taken for granted that membership in the congregation was the necessary prerequisite for a sound family structure, training children (and parents too) in responsibility. Today families alienated from the old congregations, or unaware of them, are doing about as well as the meeting- goers. Perhaps everything would run downhill if the congregations simply disappeared—an unlikely event, as most sociologists would agree. It used

to be taken for granted that the congregations were the organ of society from which aid went out to the poor, hungry, sick, suffering. Since then the government first took on those tasks, then dropped a number of them, asking the congregations to fill in the gap.

But the homeless, hungry, mentally disturbed walking the streets present a bigger task than congregational charity can easily take on.

Marx in the last of his eleven Theses on Feuerbach⁷⁷ says: "Die Philosophen haben die Welt nur verschieden interpretiert, es kömmt

⁷⁷ Written in 1845, not published until 1888 (by Engels); often taken as a summary of Marx's essential insights.

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drauf an, sie zu verändern." The world is changed in many ways by many agents — governments, corporations, wars, revolutions.... The changes that do the least damage, and have the brightest future, are those brought by people working out of faith communities by nonviolent direct action for new levels of justice Susan B. Anthony (1820-

1906) out of a Quaker heritage participated in the three great women's tasks

of the nineteenth century: temperance to rescue their menfolks from drunkenness; abolition of slavery; their own suffrage. Gandhi from his Hindu background (with a little

help from British thought) discovered a peaceful way for a people to recover its autonomy. The American revulsion against the war

in Viet Nam elicited Buddhist allies who thought as we did. César Chavez carried the banner of the Lady of Guadalupe to campaign for the rights of farmworkers. Martin Luther King Jr. out of the Black church, Dorothy Day and the Berrigan brothers out of Irish Catholicism, did what we know. As technology, law, physics, healing only arise from a place where reason is allowed free play; so the grassroots commitment to peace, justice and the integrity of creation (in the formula of the World Council of Churches) only arises from the heart of faith communities. That is less a theoretical doctrine than an observational fact. Direct action on a purely secular basis tends to be grim, austere; faith adds an indispensable joy. People have the option of dispensing with the classroom and the faith communities in their own lives; society as a whole will either nurture both or do without their products.

With respect to the ancient Near Eastern empires, we saw, the two societies of Hellas and Israel grew up, respectively, just outside and just inside. Since nothing ever fully dies, modern states to some degree inherit the status of those empires: our law and the very concept of law is Roman; Rome historically continued the imperialist techniques invented by those regimes. Correspondingly then the two free traditions ever since maintain something of their original stance over against the inheritors of those original empires here. The Greek tradition of reason looks at our institutions in guidance and critique as from the outside, the Hebrew- Christian tradition of faith in guidance and critique as from the inside.

We have been so well trained by the classroom and our Hellenic tradition of logic in general that the first thing we ask, when we come to face the Hebraic tradition of faith in the congregation, is "Is it true?" That question is more in the style of the classroom than of the congregation. But also, the validity of scientific theories developed in the laboratory and classroom is judged by their results: does relativity or the proposed structure of DNA explain observed facts? Then it

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should be fair to say, The validity of an insight nurtured in the congregation of faith is judged by its results: the campaign for change that flows from it. If such campaigns for change are necessary for the continuation of our society in justice, and if (as seems to be the case)

they emerge primarily from faith communities, the faith of such communities is a necessary structure of our society.

Chapter 23: The Foreign Vocabulary of Jesus' Aramaic¹

The full confluence of Israel and Hellas comes in the New Testament, a Greek record of a Jewish movement. Its Semitic grounding is restored by its translation into dialects of

Aramaic: the Syriac of Edessa, first in two unpointed MSS of the Gospels,² and then the complete New Testament, the Peshitto;³ later a Palestinian dialect version of the Gospels in Syriac script ⁴. Of all the New Testament strata, at least the sayings attributed to Jesus

mostly rest on an Aramaic original. Here with caution I study the vocabulary of that original, as best it can be reconstructed. I guess that Mark's incidents rest on an oral Aramaic base, and that a Greek document behind Matthew and Luke rested on a written Aramaic one; but I hardly use those guesses. I am sure that some sayings were reworked or created in Greek; but I am not sure which. The sayings are the best record imaginable of one who, like Socrates, trusted his hearers to preserve whichever of his words they wished. I add a few sayings from other Galileans in the Gospels. It is doubtful that the Syriac translators had an oral tradition of Jesus

Aramaic; but, speaking as they did his mother tongue, and living in communities like his, they are still our best witness to it. Differences in dialect are partially correctable from Rabbinic.

We will find that the Aramaic noun-vocabulary underlying Jesus' sayings, far from being one more witness to primeval Semitic, was heavily infiltrated by the languages of imperial rule in Palestine—

1

A condensation has appeared as "The Noun-Vocabulary of Jesus' Aramaic," pp. 240-278 of CE Evans (ed.), *The Interpretation of Scripture in Early Judaism and Christianity...*; JSPSS 33, SSEJC 7; Sheffield: Academic, 2000.

2 The two MSS are the Curetonian (London and Berlin) and the Sinaitic

palimpsest (St Catherine's, Sinai); edited by FC Burkitt, *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe...*; 2 volumes; Cambridge: University, 1904. The translation may go back to the late second century CE.

3 The New Testament in Syriac; British and Foreign Bible Society: London, 1950.

4 AS Lewis & M. D. Gibson, The Palestinian Syriac lectionary of the Gospels...; London: Kegan Paul, 1899.

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Akkadian, Iranian, Greek and Latin.⁵ The foreign vocabulary is shown as deeply rooted in Palestinian Aramaic by its appearance in Rabbinic

(where Aramaic and Hebrew are nearly interchangeable); and in the Arabic of the Quran!⁶ Echoes of Gospel and Talmud in the mouth of the Prophet show contact with Jewish or Jewish-Christian groups; their anomalous form may be partly due to a sectarian source, partly to his own speculations. Some of the Akkadian loans go back as far as Ugarit, documenting continuity of foreign themes in Semitic religious expression in the two millennia between 1400 BC and AD 600.

In (23.1) we note evidence for native Aramaic in the sayings of Jesus. We then treat foreign words in the restored Aramaic of the sayings from

the successive imperial languages. In (23.2) we discuss items borrowed from Akkadian of Babylon, including names of social groups and features of urban design. In (23.3) we treat Iranian loanwords in the sayings: abstractions, words of Medo-Persian administration and religion, some entering Greco-Latin like *gaza* "treasure."

In (23.4) paradoxically we treat Greek loan-words in the restored Aramaic of the sayings, as evidenced by those very words in our Greek New Testament! The sayings resemble Midrash and Targum in their

use of such. They name imported elements of Greek culture except three for key features of Judaism (III.247)—Law, Covenant, Sanhedrin. In (23.5) we treat Latin loanwords in the Aramaic sayings, all mediated through Greek: actual transcriptions, as of coins and measures; and Greek equivalents for terms of administration from the Roman chancery. Finally (23.6) we survey elements of a *lingua franca* in Roman Palestine: a vocabulary shared by Aramaic, Greek, and Latin, nearly all of Greek origin or of Latin mediated by Greek. Its primary monument is the New Testament, which owes to it its high translatability.

5 The foreign vocabulary of Syriac is discussed by Sebastian P. Brock, "Greek Words in the Syriac Gospels (Vet and Pe)," *Le Muséon* 80 (1967) 389-426; John F. Healey, "Lexical Loans in Early Syriac: A Comparison with Nabataean Aramaic," pp. 73-84 of *Studi Epigrafici e Linguistici sul Vicino Oriente antico* 12 (1995), a special issue on "The Lexicography of the Ancient Near

Eastern Languages" with many valuable essays.

6 For the foreign vocabulary of the Quran see Jeffery. An especially nice item is Latin *castra* "camp." Frequent in Greek papyri of the Roman period; see IGRR 3.23 7 *Kastra*. Rabbinic Deut. Rabbah 1.16 and Mishna msp , IX.6 *Dma s nw n ma p* "the old camp of Sepphoris." Quran 22.4 4 Allah destroys many a *qasrin* So the Arab. Middle East is covered with sites bearing the name of "Camp," *Qasr*, just as Britain with sites called Chester: Bede 2. 2 *ad Ciuitatem Legionum, quae a gente Anglorum Legacaestir, a Brettonibus autem rectius Carlegion*.

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23.1 The sayings of Jesus as Aramaic

In Palestine in the first century of our era, what languages were learned by children from their mothers and playmates? Certainly Greek in some upper-class urban quarters; but it is unclear how far Greek percolated down to villages. We cannot pinpoint any groups where Hebrew was so learned. From the Jewish exile onwards, Aramaic steadily replaced Canaanite dialects including Hebrew. (But it is hard to document a shift from Phoenician Canaanite to Aramaic.) In written Palmyrene and Nabataean Aramaic (as with the Ituraeans, who left no Semitic texts) men's names are of Arabic formation. The Moslem conquest took over an area speaking dialects of both Arabic and Aramaic, which latter colors the colloquial Arabic of each country until this day.

Aramaic of Damascus spread to Babylon as the medium for trade and administration of the Old Persian empire rather than cuneiform, because it was simpler and written with pen and ink. When the leaders of Jerusalem ask the Rabshakeh to speak in "Aramaic" which they understood, and not in "Judaean" which the people understood (II Reg 18,26, see 1.7), they had in mind the

nationality of the speakers, not some perceived difference in the languages. The Epistle of Aristeeas 10 (followed by Josephus A] 12.15) makes an unclear distinction between the language of the Law and "Syrian." But Jerome and the Rabbis understood the difference.

Where Laban and Jacob give the "heap of witness" (Gen 31,47,11.132) Aramaic and Hebrew names respectively, the Vulgate adds *uterque iuxta proprietatem linguae suae*, "each in the style of his own tongue." At Dan 2,4 Jerome notes the transition from sermon... hebraeo; the materials that follow hebraicis quidem litteris sed, lingua scribuntur chaldaica, quam hic syriacam uocat "are written in Hebrew letters but the Chaldaean language, which [the text in his translation] calls 'Syrian'!"⁸ R. Samuel b. Nahman said (Gen. Rabbah 74.14): "Do not think lightly of the Aramaic language ("lit»1 ?)! For the Holy One honors it in Torah, Prophets and Writings" citing Gen 31,47; Jer 10,11; and Dan 2,4.9 R. Johanan advised against praying in Aramaic "for the Ministering Angels do not understand Aramaic"

(Bab. Talm. Shabb. 12b, Sotah 33a):

•OIK "pe^a mtsn -^ -

⁷ See Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "The Languages of Palestine in the First Century AD," CBQ 32 (1970) 501-531, reprinted in his *A Wandering Aramean: Collected Aramaic Essays*; SBLMS 25; Chico: Scholars, 1979, 29-56.

⁸ Jerome *iti Daniele* I; CC series latina 75A p. 785.

⁹ Aramaic is contrasted with the "holy tongue," ie Hebrew, at Sotah 49b.

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Josephus first wrote the Jewish War in his "ancestral tongue" (, BJ 1.3) "

for "upland barbarians (TOT S).

Nabataeans? This must be Aramaic, for no non-Jews understood Hebrew. John's Gospel (III.170) designates Aramaic place-names as —ie the language spoken by Hebrews. Paul makes a speech Act 21,40; but even if he could extemporize in Hebrew, his hearers would not understand it. What language did Josephus think he was writing? What language did Paul (or Jesus!) think they were speaking? What but a vernacular form of their difficult sacred Book! Only Rabbis knew

that the Targum was in a different language from the original; others surely thought it the modernization of an archaic text, as Greeks today read Homer in a version with accentual hexameter.

Some late Jewish texts are in forms of Hebrew: the inner documents of the Qumran sect, the bulk of the Mishna. Others in Aramaic: papyri of the 5th century BC from Elephantine, apocryphal documents from Qumran, the Targums. Ezra and Daniel in both. Qumran Hebrew is archaizing, 10 Mishnaic Hebrew scholastic (but colored with Aramaic forms). Scattered inscriptions and papyri from the first century CE and later are in a confusing mix of Hebrew and Aramaic (with Greek too).

Most of Hillel's sayings (from school context) are in Hebrew, but some (more popular) in Aramaic: thus the sequence beginning "Whoever makes his name great loses his name" (Avoth I.13): 1130 KOS5 >33.

The clearest proof that the native language of Jesus' Galilee was Aramaic lies in the Greek Gospels themselves. 12

23.1. 1 Some indications of Aramaic in the sayings

Inconclusive data. Some evidence excludes neither Hebrew nor Greek

as the original language of the sayings. 13 Thus while Galilaean piace-

Lo W. M. Schniedewind, "Qumran Hebrew as an Antilanguage," JBL 118 (1999)

235-252, sees it as "created by conscious linguistic choices intended to set the speakers and their language apart from others."

11 Likewise the saying "Isn't the poor soul a guest (NOODN) in the body?" {Lev.

Rabbah 34.3, III.15, with the Greek word also!).

12 Maurice Casey, Aramaic Sources of Mark's Gospel (SNTSMS 102; Cambridge: University, 1998)

1-72, surveys previous research into possible Semitic originals of NT strata, and finds the best treatment to be that of Matthew Black, An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts; 2nd ed.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1954.

13 Greek for Jewish concepts is inconclusive. Thus Matt 23,15 "proselyte," Pesh to? ! (11.291,111.14); Matt 23, 5 "prayer-boxes,"

Pesh "pn^an; "Gentiles"; "synagogue," Pesh NntBUD; "angels."

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names are Semitic (and Matt 11,21-23), they might have been spoken as Greek just as in our text.¹⁴ So for the Twelve (Mark 3,16-19).¹⁵ Caiques of Hebrew idiom were likely drawn from the LXX: Luk 21,24 "by the mouth of the sword" is at Gen 34,26 LXX where Heb. 2 •»a'p; Mark 13,20 passa "all flesh" is frequent in the LXX, eg Gen 6,12 where Heb lÈtt"

1

^; Matt 16,17 "flesh and blood" (cf. Gal 1,16) echoes Sirach 17,31

(Heb. lost) with constant Rabbinic DU >3 "[^ö "king of flesh and blood."

Data proving a Semitic original, but not which. Transcriptions: Mark 7,11 "gift" is Hebrew but Matt 27,6 "treasury" is Aramaic; 16 Matt 23,7-8 "my great one,

Rabbi," here first in Greek, might as well be Hebrew (post-Biblical). "Son of X." Thus "sons of the bridechamber" (Mark 2,19); "sons of the kingdom" directly or ironically (Matt 8,12; 13,38); "son of Gehenna"

(Matt 23,15 with a double Semitism); "son of peace" (Luke 10:6); "sons of this age" (Luk 16,8) over against "sons of light" (Luk 20,34);¹⁷ "sons of the resurrection" (Luk 20,36).¹⁸ Awkward

translations. Jesus' prayer surely had a clear adjective for "bread"; (Matt 6,11 = Luk 11,3) shows that the translator found no natural Greek for it.

The abstracts of Mark 2,21 show unfamiliarity with household terms: "Nobody sews a piece () of unshrunk cloth on an old garment; if one does, the patch () tears away

from it." Luk 11,41 is hardly Greek.¹⁹

Clear transcriptions of Aramaic. The vocative "Satan" (Mark 8,33) is surely Aramaic and corresponds to Pesh definite N3EO;²⁰ LXX in Hebrew form only at I Reg 11,14 ; in Aramaic form Sirach

14 Sepphoris appears as at Joh 11,54 in Codex D.

15 Thus most of the apostles carry Semitic names; but ' and are Greek,

probably represents an Aramaic version of , and is

probably Aramaic-Greek "son of Ptolemy."

16 So Josephus A/4.73; Josephus at COM Ap. 1.167 cites Theophrastus (Stern i. 12.) to the effect that the Tyrians forbade as a foreign oath.

17 The Qumran War Scroll (1 QM 1.1) defines itself as the war of the "sons of

light" (TIN -OA) against the "sons of darkness" (^A) .

18 The two ages. The contrast between "this age" (•'PIUN) and "the age to come" (3 D^IUN) runs through Rabbinic Judaism (eg Avoth IV.16, cited 11.233). Three Gospel sayings echo it (III.34), but all may be editorial work.

19 But we may doubt Black's proposal (p. 2) of a mistranslation which Matt 23,26 has right, for there is little evidence that Matthew and Luke knew a sayings-collection in different translations from the Aramaic.

20 As applied here to Peter, "Satan" may just mean etymologically "tempter."

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21,27 . Rak Matt 5,22 "stupid" can only be Aramaic Kp"H "good-for- nothing"²¹ and is so interpreted by the Peshitto Kp~l. Words of power. To the deaf man (Mark 7,34) Jesus says ; Pesh makes it intensive reflexive 'ëtpattah, and Jastrow (ii.1251) so reads Lev. Rabbah 22. 4 (Aram.) "he who was blind was opened":²²

nnan x "OD mmpi

At Mark 5,41 the best MSS have "girl, get up": KIT^ta is Targumic; the Pesh writes a final -/, ", but the Greek attests an Aramaic feminine imperative the same as the masculine.²³ The word from the Cross. In the quotation from Ps 22,2 at Mark 15,34 = Matt 27,46 most MSS have for Aramaic "inpDEI.²⁴ The name of God is (for Aramaic in most MSS of Mark), (for Hebrew 1'?!<) in a few; likewise in KB of Matthew 5 The Hebrew is a learned correction. We have

Targums to Psalms²⁶ with nearly the Gospel form; they were not written down so early, so Jesus' usage shows an oral Aramaic translation in synagogue school or worship.

Festivals, Matt 26,2 "Passover" is the LXX form for Targumic 03. Mark 2,27 etc. is often plural (Mark 3,4); it is Targumic KrQtf (Ex 16,28) interpreted as a Greek plural of a festival,

Translations of Aramaic. Mistranslations. At Matt 7,6 "Give not the holy to dogs" the original must have been "a gold ring" with an Akkadian loanword in Rabbinic

Aramaic (III.230). 27 Alliteration. Syriac verifies it at Matt 11,17 "We piped to you and you did not dance, we

2 1 Bab. Talm. Taanith 20b 111130 HDD np n "Wretch, how ugly you are!"

2 2 BAGD interpret it as simple pe'al reflexive, but equally Aramaic.

2 3 The unique perfect middle imperative Mark 4,3 9 addressed to the sea "be muzzled"

suggests a Greek magical formula (papyri cited by Erwin Rohde, *Psyche...*, 2nd ed.; Freiburg: Möhr, 1898; ii. 424). When Jesus walks on the sea and encourages the disciples (Mark 6,50 = Matt 14,27) "be of good cheer," the Peshitto transliterates the root 10 as a word of power (11.282).

2 4 Codex D both places has for Hebrew "FDri?. Codex in Mark strangely has the corrupt .

2 5 Mark 15,2 5 "He is calling for Elijah" suggests rather the Hebrew form, but is outweighed by the evidence for the Aramaic verb.

2 6 Luis Diez Merino, *Targum de Salmos*, Bibliotheca Hispana Biblica 6; Biblica Poliglotta Complutense; Tradición sephardí de la Biblica Aramea IV, 1; Madrid: Instituto "Francisco Suárez"; 1982. But I cannot elsewhere easily find a study discussing the origin or date of the Psalms Targum.

2 7 Black pp. 143-17 7 proposes many passages where he sees the Greek as misunderstanding an Aramaic original; but only a few rise to a high level of plausibility.

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mourned to you and you did not lament," where the Peshitto has forms of the same root:28

1 ? -p^Ni -pmpn R^I ii:^ por •pnip-iN ^

Debt as sin. often refers to literal debt;29 but Luke 13,4 pre-serves a Semitism, "Do you think that [the eighteen] were 'debtors' () more than all the men in Jerusalem?" And so in the Lord's Prayer (Matt

6,12, see 1.250) the Peshitto preserves "debts" and "debt-ors":

TOTt1? 1p3t£> j3 ^ pain fi PUEM Here the original meaning may

well have been literal, but the Pesh must understand "sinners." "Lord." Greek surely demands Aramaic

Mark 13,35 "householder," , Pesh Kmm mû; Rabbinic30 ""IRQ. Matt 11,25 "Lord of heaven and earth," , Pesh îOOEH «; Dan Cowley 30.15 iÖB RIO "1? "to Yahu lord of heaven." 5,23

23.1.2 Sobriquets coined by Jesus Jesus as second

Adam renames the persons and agencies around him— above all himself. 31 Many names are sardonic; he takes people ironically at their own evaluation or that of others. I call them by a French term of uncertain origin, sobriquets. Any Rabbinic parallels are dis-tant, for he radically transforms whatever he takes up. Some are transcribed in our Greek Gospels, some translated. Most require an Aramaic origin.

23.1.2.1 Sobriquets in transcribed Aramaic Kephas. Mark 3,16

gives Simon's new name in Greek, ; Matt 16,18 explains it, after all along calling him Peter. Joh 1,41 gives

the Aramaic with translation which latter he afterwards Petros,

uses.³² Paul mostly calls him (Gal 1,18 etc.); only at Gal

28 Black 118-142 has many back-translations of sayings with predominant consonantal sounds appropriate (as he deems) to the context; but his retroversion into Galilaeen Aramaic would have admitted other possibilities.

29 The root 31 is common in Elephantine Aramaic to denote a legal liability, thus (Kraeling 4.14) "And if I start a suit against you with mention of that house, I shall be liable (3 HMt) and shall give you silver, 5 karsh..." 3 "sin" seems more common in Rabbinic Aramaic than Hebrew.

30 Jastrow 834a citing Gen. Rabbah 58.

31 This and the next section expand a paragraph in my "The Son of Man: 'This Fellow,'" Biblica 58 (1977) 361-387, pp. 370-371.

32 Here the renaming is reciprocal, for Simon's brother Andrew has just said "We have found the Messiah," where the narrator adds "which is translated 'Christ'."

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2,7-8. The Syriac has S3ND throughout. At Matt 16,13-23 Jesus calls Simon the Rock, and then right away Satan. "Rock" must be sardonic, either literally as "thick-headed" or ironically as "unstable." 3 is Aramaic: Bab. Talm. Moed Qatan 25b KTQl "stones of hail."

"Sons of thunder." At Mark 3,17 James and John are called . They rather than the Baptist or Jesus take on Elijah's role of bringing fire from heaven (Luk 9,54; II Reg 1,9-12). Cf. the (Aramaic?) place-name "Sons of Lightning," 2_,,?3 Jos 19,45 (11.63).

Mark's Greek is corrupt (the of MS 565 seems the correction of one knowing Syriac); Pesh has 3 "sons of tumult" which it explains from the Greek as Köln "JH.

Beelzebub. For (better attested than correct) the Syriac has anr^ID and Vg Beelzebub,33 identifying him with the god of Ekron, II Reg 1,2-16. That god is "Lord of the flies" (1.219-

221): either deformation of some original; or honorific, "Averter of flies from the sacrifice."

Mark 3,22 has Jerusalem scribes say "He has Beelzebul"; but with a final I it appears nowhere previously short of Ugaritic,34 so this may be Mark's own deduction. Perhaps then it is Jesus' coinage: Matt 10,25 "If they have called the master of the house (, Vg patrem familias, Pesh "HQ1?) Beelzebul..."

Demons are squatters in the house of a man's body (Matt 12,44 = Luk 11,25), so "master of the house" fits their chief. 'par "divine residence" is Biblical Hebrew, eg 3 I Reg 8,13;

then this designation uniquely is based on Hebrew.

Mammon. Luk 16,9 "unrighteous wealth" is doubly Semitic, (more normal Greek Luk 16,11).

Pesh interprets as an Aramaic definite R310Ö. Rabbinic "property": Avoth 11.12 "Let the property of your associate be dear to you as your own":35

pVD -*?» " -pan POO TT1 Personified in "You cannot serve God and Mammon" (Matt 6,24 = Luk 16,13).

Gehenna, (cf. James 3,6) from Heb. D13H ([3] ""a "valley of (the son of) Hinnom," meaning uncertain. The Greek ending points to unattested Aramaic; Jos 18,16 LXX MS "" . First "garbage dump," then "place of perpetual fire." Matt 23,15 "son of Gehenna,"

33 The Old Latin in part has correctly Beelzebul.

34 KTU 1.6.İV.16 zbl b'lars, perhaps "Prince Baal of the earth"; discussion 1.220. 35 Also in the Damascus Document (CDC 14.20), context broken; and frequent

in Aramaic as "money" (Sokoloff 311).

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uiòv (Pesh 33); Bab. Talm. Rosh Hash. 17b 033 3 "sons of Gehenna."

Abba. Jesus calls God "Father," perhaps as an orphan, for Joseph early leaves the tale. Aramaic translated Mark 14,3 6 ; Peshitto " K3N as if already obscure. So Paul twice (Rom 8,15; Gal 4,6). 3 6 Does K3K reflect a child's language "Daddy" (11.317)? Colloquial at Mishna Sank. III.2 ION]t3X3 "My father is acceptable to me [as judge or witness]." Bib. Heb. rarely calls God "Father" (11.57).

23.1.2.2 Sobriquets preserved in Greek The

"whited sepulchres" of Matt 23,27, , are a one-time sobriquet.

Again, when Jesus calls Herod Antipas the tetrarch "that fox (jackal?)," Luk 13,32. 3 8 "Hypocrites."

Classical is a stage "actor," as "respond-ing" to the chorus. Surely in Jesus' lifetime Sepphoris had a theater seating 4,500. 3 9 Nabataean

Nlt^n40 is part of a tomb. Bab. Talm.

Megillah 6a has "theatres and circuses of Edom, " ie Philadelphia of Ammon: 4 1 ®

at

36 BAGD 1 call an Aramaic vocative incorrectly interpreted as a definite, whence Greek ò nominative instead of vocative; but what can they mean by a Semitic noun in the vocative?

37 It is a striking coincidence that "Father in heaven" (ò Luk 11,13) restores the old Indo-European title of the Sky Father, Zeus and Iuppiter (11.55).

38 The Greek is inappropriately feminine, so the Peshitto masculine K*7Un must represent the original.

39 Zeev Weiss, "Sepphoris," NEAE iv.1324, who regards it as built "in the early first century CE, possibly in the reign of Antipas." An early date is confirmed by the familiarity of the Gospels with acting. It was the first part of the city you would arrive at, walking up from the

SE. Already Herod the Great had built a theater in Jerusalem (Josephus A] 15.268), along with others in Sidon and Damascus (BJ 1.422).

40 CIS ii.163.2, Seia.

41 Classically theater and circus overlap: Vergil Aen. 5.289 theatri circus "the circus of a theater";

Plutarch Aem. Pauli. 32.1 "in the equestrian theaters which [the Romans] call circuses," i; ; and in Roman law (Novell. 98.359) processiones...esse uolumus Septem, omnes in circo et in arena et in theatro "we wish there to be seven processions, all in the circus, the arena and the theater. "

nrpnpi . can only be "actors"

Matt 6,2.5.16 : they sound a trumpet, stand and pray, disfigure their faces, all "to be seen (or praised) by men.

03, which elsewhere means "showing partiality, respecting one [influential] person above another." At Luk 20,2 1 where adversaries

"

Matt 6,2 Pesh as often has K3K3

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say "you show no partiality," , the Peshitto has 3 3D] 1?.42 Why did Aramaic apply "lifting up faces" to actors? See Matt 7,5 = Luk 6,42 "Actor (),

first take the beam () out of your eye," Pesh:

jri? sm p Dipi1? pax no] Thw actor wore a wooden mask for characterization and acoustics.

One who objects to the splinter in his brother's eye is an actor; he has on a whole wooden mask or "beam." The Greek is classical: Aristotle Ars Rhet. 1413b28 "one

whose face is immobile, who wears a mask." Then KSîO 303 was reinterpreted "one who wears a mask"; Jesus sees the actor as presenting a false face of virtue.

"This generation. " Jeremias⁴³ noted Jesus' fourteen sayings about as "of extreme rebuke" to the unresponsive contemporary world. It is the exact opposite of the kingdom of God, for they are introduced identically by a double question: Luk 13,18 "What is the kingdom of God like, and to what shall I compare it?" followed by a double parable; Luk 7,31 "To what shall I compare the men of this generation, and what are they like?" followed by their reactions to John and Jesus. ⁴⁴

"The kingdom of heaven (of God)." Jesus' overarching concept is assembled from scattered usages. ⁴⁵ The obligation to recite the Shema is to take on "the yoke of the kingdom of heaven," D⁴DtS ^ (Mishna Berakh. II.2); Targum Jonathan on Zach 14,9

has "And the kingdom of Y. shall be revealed upon all the inhabitants of earth at that time":

Kinn Kj-pya KJHK "on-1 ^y " ^ ^anm

Elsewhere⁴⁶ I arrange Jesus' sayings about the kingdom in four groups: "the kingdom is at hand" as subject of verbs;⁴⁷ "to enter the king-

4 2 Similarly in the Targum: at Deut 10,17: God is no respecter of persons, *cria RÊP-N*?, LX X où , Onqelos T>3« 30 0 MllDip 1?.

Sokoloff (p. 70b sect. 9) gathers texts for Palestinian Aramaic usage.

43 Joachim Jeremias, *New Testament Theology: The Proclamation of Jesus*; tr. John Bowden; New York: Scribner's, 1971; p. 135.

4 4 Behind Jesus' usage lies in part Deut 32, 5 "a crooked and perverse generation," where LX X is quoted at Phil 2,15.

early editor of Mark 9,1 9 (P45 et al.) added to for Matt 17,1 7 = Luk 9,41 so knew Mark. ,

4 5 Full inventory of Rabbinic texts by DC Duling in ABD iv.50-56. Jesus' usage was surely uniform, either "kingdom of heaven" or "kingdom of God," but now unrecoverable.

4 6 Article "Kingdom of God" in *Encyclopedia of Religion* (New York: Macmillan, 1987) viii.304-312; xvi.682.

4 7 "Thy kingdom come" in context derives from the Aramaic Qaddish (11.29).

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dom"; the kingdom as object of search and struggle; "in the kingdom" seen as a banquet at the end of time. Jesus' awareness of current expectations appears in the polemic against them: it is not enough to say "Lord, Lord " (Matt 7:21); it is nearly impossible for a rich man to enter the kingdom (Mark 10:23); it does not come with signs (Luk 17:20). 48 Once his irony

flashes out: Semitic "sons of the kingdom," which at Matt 13,38 defines the good seed, marks false confidence at Matt 8,12 "the sons of the kingdom will be cast into outer darkness."

"The Son of Man." Late sayings about a "son of man" coming in glory (eg Mark 14,62) probably reflect a Church development resting on Dan 7,13. Still they follow the rule that "Son of Man" is only put in Jesus' mouth. In the earliest sources Jesus plainly so refers to himself. Twenty years ago⁴⁹ I proposed that this was the most ironic of his sobriquets, resting on what others called him, "this fellow." It rests on Aramaic mi "Q "a man." At Luk 7,34 = Matt 11,19 he represents opponents as saying, "Lo, a fellow () who is a glutton and winebibber"; this is their response to the fact as he de-scribes it, "The Son of Man () came eating and drinking." At Mark 2,1-12 where the scribes say, "Why does this one () speak thus?...Who can forgive sins but God alone?," Jesus answers in a broken sentence, "But that you may know that the Son of Man has authority on earth to forgive sins..." His answer has most point if

they asked him "Why does this fellow speak thus?" Thus "Son of Man" parallels his naming of the other actors on his stage.⁵⁰

Jesus uses "sinner" in the lit- eral sense on occasion.⁵¹ In contrast stands the far-reaching irony at

48 Matthew alone (3,2) represents John Baptist as proclaiming "Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand"; it is unclear whether this is John's own usage or a retroversion of Jesus'. The episodes which represent others as somehow anticipating the kingdom— Joseph of Arimathea (Mark 15,43), Pharisees (Luk 17,20), disciples (Matt 18,1, Luk 14,15)—

if historical, attest less a pre- existing expectation than a partial response to Jesus' own teaching.

49 "The Son of Man: 'This Fellow,'" Biblica 58 (1977) 361-387. Delbert Burkett, The Son of Man Debate: A History and Evaluation (Cambridge: University, 1999; p. 34) rejects this proposal

on the grounds that "the Gospels never represent Jesus' opponents as using the expression [Son of Man]." But in fact anthropos can represent nothing else in Aramaic.

50 Casey 112-117 surveys early Aramaic usage of "son of man." Sokoloff 100b referred me to Jer. Talm. Yebamoth 13a23 (tr. Neusner) "By your lives! I gave you a son of man who is as good as I am": •po'? 3 m prTi 51 Thus "this

adulterous and sinful generation" (Mark 8,38); "the Son of Man is betrayed into the hands of sinners" (Mark 14,41 pars.). He does not

"Sinners, " "publicans and harlots. "

disagree

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Mark 2,17 "Those who are well do not need a doctor, but those who are sick; I did not come to call the righteous but sinners." He adopts the usage of those who call themselves "well" and "righteous." Are they not the ones in most need of his treatment? But they can only receive the medicine of denunciation or parable. At Luk 15,7 he speaks as if beside one repentant sinner there are ninety-nine just persons needing no repentance.⁵² In both places adversaries call his associates "(publi-cans and) sinners" (Mark 2,16; Luke 15, 2); and the Evangelists naively assume that these are two actual categories of Galileans.

See again Matt 11,19 = Luk 7,34, "Behold a man who is a glutton and winebibber, the friend of publicans and sinners,"... . Luk 7,29 puts publicans on the scene but no sinners.

"Sinners" is genderless, contrary to Jesus' pairing of male and female examples.⁵³ The parallel is perfect at Matt 21,31 "the publicans and harlots () precede you into the kingdom of God"

(1.248-9; 11.333). That is how adversaries designated his followers!⁵⁴ Jesus accepts the designation, as Willie Stark (in Robert Penn Warren's All the King's Men) wins over the country

folk by calling them "Friends, red-necks, suckers and fellow hicks."⁵⁵ "Men" and other adversaries of God. Over against God, Jesus sees

a front of mixed adversaries. "You cannot serve God and Mammon"

(Matt 6,24); "If Satan casts out Satan, ...how shall his kingdom standi ...But if I by the spirit (Luke finger) of God cast out demons, then the kingdom of God has come upon you" (Matt 12,26- 28); "Give the things of Caesar to Caesar and the things of God to God" (Mark

when others call themselves a sinner: Peter (Luke 5:8); the publican (Luke 18:13). The editor, the Pharisee, and Jesus all agree that the woman of the city is a sinner

(Luke 7:37-49). Most strongly he seems to accept the conventional designation at

Luke 6:32-34 "Even sinners lend to sinners."

52 In the parable of the Pharisee and publican the latter is indeed a sinner—but much more so the righteous Pharisee (Luk 18,9-14). In the humanistic parable of the Prodigal Son (Luk 15,11-32) the younger brother is in effect a sinner and the elder righteous, and in a rare exception both are treated sympathetically.

53 A man losing a sheep, a woman a coin (Luk 15,2-10); a man with mustard seed, a woman with leaven (Matt 13,31-33 = Luk 13,18-19); one man and woman taken, one of each left (Matt 24,40-41 = Luk 17,34-35).

54 At Matt 5,46-47 they become "publicans...Gentiles" (...); at Justin Apol. 1.15.9-10, with a better tradition than the Synoptic, "[male] prostitutes...publicans" (...).

55 Quakers take their name from their opponents, and perhaps Methodists. . B. Mattingly ("The Origin of the Name Christian/," JTS ns 9 [1958] 26-37) thinks "Christians" were so named in Latin form at Antioch (Act 11,26) after the Neronian clique of Angustiarli (Tacitus Ann 14.13-15) .

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12,17).⁵⁶ "Men" also join the front, Mark 8,33 pars. "You do not think () the things

of God but the things of men." "So that you may not appear fasting to men but to your Father" (Matt 6,18); "This is impossible with men but not with God" (Mark 10,27); "What is high

among men is an abomination before God" (Luk 16,15). Since in Aramaic "men" is "sons of man," it can also form puns or riddles with "Son of man": Luk 6,22 "Blessed are you when the sons of men (Peshitto Kt93 "'33) hate you...on account of the Son of Man (ie 'this fellow,' Peshitto 593 ma)." 5 7

23.1.3 "Amen I say to you"

is a running formula of emphasis with variations.⁵⁸ It is often dropped by Luke (assuming he uses Mark) or Hellenized to . Matthew (19,23; 24,2) twice adds it to Mark; Matthew and Mark prefix it to materials in editorial style; simple () is frequent. But obviously it was there in the tradition from the beginning. What is its grammar? One verse has it followed by a strong Semitism: Mark 8,12 "3 sign will not be given to this generation." Is this simply imitating the LXX? Heb 3,11 quotes Ps 95,11 LXX "As I swore in my anger, They shall not enter my rest,"

cos , . iWip-DN raía ^nyatfr-itf« But the LXX text had its own authority.

Here I boldly assume that Mark 8,12 (alone!) records the original Aramaic construction.

Hebrew negative oaths have a paradoxical grammar.⁵⁹ I Sam 19,6 Saul says to Jonathan of David, "As Yahweh lives, he shall not be put to death," 0·"0 "", LXX Zfj , just like Mark 8,12. Joiiion 503-50560 explains the use of DN as contamination

56 As with Mammon and Satan, Caesar is a pan-Aramaic name: Nabataean (Cooke no. 98, AD 47) ic p Cl^p1 ? U36S 3 "The seventh year of Claudius Caesar"; Bab. Talm. Gitt. 56a "Nero Caesar" ic p 11TJ; Palm. Tar. 103 "Germanicus Caesar" "ICPp 033.

5 7 Mark 9,31 "The Son of Man is delivered into the hands of the sons of man"; and passages where "man" likewise stands in riddles with "Son of Man"

(Mark 2,27-28; 8,37-38; 14,21). See Biblica 58 (1977) 372.

58 Sometimes in the singular ; doubled in John, .

59 Positive oaths too, here I simplify by considering only the negative ones.

60 Joiiion prefers this to the explanation that a curse-formula is omitted in a negative oath; for an oath

of God has the same grammar, Ez 20,3 "As I live, I will not be questioned by you," DD1? * OK "", si .

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with a curse, eg II Reg 6,30-31⁶¹ "Thus may God do to me and more also, if the head of Elisha ben Shaphat remains on him today": tjr". tstó

-mir ·1 risi • •"1 ?.«

al^n'r^y

In effect Saul says "God do so to me and more also if David is put to death."

Jesus says not to swear at all (Matt 5,33-37; 23,16-22); but rather (Matt 5,37) "Let your word be Yes Yes, No No," ò , ou où. This may mistranslate an original better rendered at James 5,12 "Let your Yes be Yes, and your No, No," vai vai ou ou.⁶² But Jesus needed to certify sayings by a formula, which as it seems to have inherited the oath-grammar. Rabbinic has the same grammar for an oath as Biblical Hebrew.⁶³ The woman suspected of adultery (Num 5,20) takes an oath with "Amen" and normal (non-paradoxical) grammar (Mishna Sotah II.5) "Amen that I have not gone astray...Amen that I have not become defiled":

TIKOt23 K'PEI 10N...TPtût2> 1 ?!» 10 «

Then we can transform Jesus' negative statements introduced by "Amen": "As I speak to you truly, [may I be proven a false prophet]— if a sign is given this generation" (Mark 8,12); —if a prophet is honored in his own country"

(Luke 4:24); —if a slave is greater than his master" (Joh 13:16); —if stone is left on stone" (Matt 24,2). I leave it open whether all the "Amen" sayings can be so explained.

23.1.4 Counter-indications of a Greek original?

We found no evidence for a Hebrew original of the sayings: in two words which echo Biblical Hebrew C^Qf "residence," III.210; 10 "rebellious,"

III.250) Jesus may be making a learned pun. Are there counter-indications to suggest that the sayings were originally Greek? () The Greek tradition. The "Synoptic problem" reveals a complex pre-history of the Gospel

materials in Greek. Where Matthew and Luke agree with Mark, many conclude that both knew Mark in Greek; I would add, in an early editing with traces in the later MSS of Mark's text.⁶⁴ The common materials of Matthew and Luke, mostly sayings,

61 This passage is almost unique in that the content of "God do so to me and more also" is indicated by a preceding action, where the unnamed king tears his garments and so puts a conditional curse on himself to be torn; see 1.272.

62 I wonder if Matthew's formulation lies behind the double of John's Gospel.

63 MH Segal, *A Grammar of Mishnaic Hebrew*; Oxford: Clarendon, 1927; 216.

64 My "An Early Revision of the Gospel of Mark," *JBL* 78 (1959) 215-227.

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are often attributed to a Greek document ("Q"), better preserved by Luke; I see Matthew as attesting a broad Greek revision of "Q", 6 5 Mark as excerpting an earlier stage of the revision.⁶⁶ But far enough back on any line we come to matter which demands an Aramaic original, at least for the sayings. That Aramaic had a primarily oral tradition; for the sayings are so novel as to be unintelligible in an unpointed text.⁶⁷ (2') Greek grammar in the

sayings. Of all the sayings, the evangelists or their sources write most freely in the parables. Luke in the Prodigal Son has nine aorist participles introducing a main verb (15,17) instead of Semitic parataxis, along with two genitive absolutes (15,14.20). But (III.245) the parable also includes four Greek words which went into Aramaic; Luke may have elegantly translated an Aramaic source but retained Greek vocabulary which he found there in transcription.

(3') Use of LXX in the sayings? Sometimes Jesus seems to presuppose the LXX just where it differs from the Hebrew. That could lead to one of two unpalatable conclusions: (a) Jesus the boy knew Greek, and the Nazareth rabbi explained the Hebrew Bible out of the LXX; or (b) such passages were created by the Evangelists (or their Greek sources) out of whole cloth. The first seems unlikely for a country village; the second undercuts the evidence that Jesus was concerned to interpret the Bible correctly. But we can modify the first: the rabbi explained the Hebrew text out of a Targumic tradition more Hellenistic than that finally recorded in Onkelos and Jonathan.

The image of God. Jesus asks "Whose is this image ()?" (Mark 12,16), and goes on (1.299) "Give God the things of God," ie one's whole

self.⁶⁸ The underlying connection is Gen 1,26 LXX where humanity is made ' ' ' "after our image and likeness" (13013 •Ü'p^S). Jesus would seem to be using the LXX.

But here Targum Pseudo-Jonathan⁶⁹ has KMPVLD XJQ^^n, where ^pV T is a distortion of K^Jip"1«, since at Gen 5,3 the LXX for 10^ 3 has and Pseudo-Jonathan correctly now ^ ^. As Onqelos and

6 5 My "The Form of 'Q' Known to Matthew," NTS 8 (1961/2) 27-42 66 My "Mark as Witness to an Edited Form of Q," JBL 80 (1961) 29-44 .

6 7 The unpointed MSS of the Old Syriac and Palestinian must then have been

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simply an aide-mémoire for readers already familiar with the matter.

6 8 Compare Avoth III.7 "Give him what is his, for you and yours are his," » "l^tsi l^BO l^ n citing I Chron 29,1 4 "Of your own have we given you. "

6 9 EG Clarke, Targum Pseudo-Jonathan of the Pentateuch [Brit Mus MS Add 27031]; Hoboken: Ktav, 1984.

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Jonathan frequently transliterates the LXX into Aramaic,⁷⁰ so Pseudo-Jonathan; it is the deposit of a tradition going back to rabbis who knew the LXX. Jesus might have asked "Pharisees and Herodians" (Mark 12,13) "Whose image is this?" either in Greek with or in

Ara-maic with K',^{31p},K. And Rabbis used palp"»« of the "image" () of the Emperor. Exod. Rabbah 30.16: "Parable of a man who insulted the image of the king and was brought before the bema (). The king said, 'Have you not read in my decree () that whoever touches my image is lost?'" 1? -[^on no^1? ròm ^ •pinp-'K nap dik1?

"

-UK Kin.] wau»

of bandits. At Mark 11,17 Jesus quotes Jer 7,11 LXX for the Temple as a "den of bandits,"

, is the fixed equivalent for Latin latro "bandit" and pejorative (III.260) for

quasi-Messianic uprisings. He implies that the Temple authorities, rather than any resistance

fighters in the hills, are the true thieves subverting law and order. This overtone is lost if Jesus

cited the Hebrew •^ rnuip. But went widely into Aramaic CtüD"11?, and the Peshitto of Mark here has (OED1?! 70. A Jerusalem Targum of Jeremiah might have used O^tOO^1?

here—or the Nazareth rabbi might so have interpreted.⁷¹ Fitzmyer⁷² surveys evidence that Jesus spoke Greek, and occasions on which he might have spoken in Greek; but thinks it unlikely that he would ever "teach and preach in Greek."

On the basis of the structure which Jeremias provides, it is evident that the Evangelists were aware that in some situations (home, discipleship groups, synagogue) Jesus spoke in Aramaic, whereas, in the world at large, he spoke Greek.

70 My "The Septuagint as a Source of the Greek Loan-Words in the Targums," *Biblica* 70 (1989) 194-216.

71 Cases treated elsewhere. —At the Last Supper (I Cor 11,25) Jesus calls the cup the "new covenant," (Jer 31,31 LXX); it has the overtone "last will and testament" like Rabbinic •'pTVH (III.248). —At Luk 23,43 "in Paradise" presupposes that Eden is renamed Paradise as in the LXX and apocryphal Judaism (III.140). —At Matt 5,35 Jesus calls earth the "footstool (ùttottóSioiv) of [God's] feet," quoting Isa 66,1 LXX; Beit Shammai (III.244)—equivalent to a Targum—has D'mEnSK.

72 Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "Did Jesus Speak Greek?," *Biblical Archeology Review*, Sept./Oct. 1992, 58-63 (with footnotes 76-77).

73 GR Selby, *Jesus, Aramaic and Greek*; Doncaster: Brynmill, 1990; 104.

^DE ^t» Koatav-a A den

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Most of the sayings are spoken to Galileans—men, women, and children; some no doubt understood Greek, all had Aramaic for mother tongue. The situation of Jesus in Galilee over against urban Greek culture is like that of César Chavez over against dominant Anglo

culture. Chavez grew up in Yuma, Arizona in a Spanish enclave. He spoke Spanish at home but in school had to learn English. He told his biographer,⁷⁴ whenever he spoke Spanish "I remember the ruler whis-tling through the air as its edge came down sharply across my knuckles." Still,

his work came to require contact with Anglo sympathizers, as in the liberal churches. Jesus was organizing (if we may so speak) much more in his own community, and went outside mostly in confrontation. But on occasion a group in front of him might all understand Greek, but not Aramaic. He might then formulate his thoughts in Greek. What kind of Greek?

I have often heard Chavez speak English. It was clear and expressive. But I felt that what he said in English had been previously formulated in Spanish. My Palestinian students in Beirut had good English; but they said nothing they could not have said better in Arabic. A Semitic substructure underlay their English. A Lebanese professor discarding a document told the secretary "Tear it and throw it," missing the idiom "Tear it up and throw it away." So I conclude: even if Jesus sometimes delivered his message in Greek, it was a message initially formulated in Aramaic.

23.1.5 Jesus as Semitic poet?

Bultmann is gratified when the sayings fall into Semitic poetical format, even while concluding

that somebody other than Jesus spoke them. Thus at Matt 8,20 "The foxes have holes, and the birds of the sky nests; but the Son of Man has not where to lay his head," he notes the nested antithetic and synonymous parallelisms.⁷⁵ Burney,⁷⁶ writing after Bultmann's first edition but oblivious of it, used the Semitic structure of the sayings—including those of John's Gospel—as proof of their authenticity:

⁷⁴ Jacques E. Levy, *Cesar Chavez: Autobiography of La Causa*; New York: Norton, 1975; 24.

⁷⁵ Rudolf Bultmann, *The History of the Synoptic Tradition*, tr. John Marsh; 2nd ed.; Oxford: Blackwell, 1968; p. 81.

⁷⁶ CF Burney, *The Poetry of our Lord: An Examination of the Formal Elements of Hebrew Poetry in the Discourses of Jesus Christ*; Oxford: Clarendon, 1925; p. 9.

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The Aramaic renderings of our Lord's sayings which form a marked feature in the book aim at conforming, as far as may be, with the Galilaean dialect, which was doubtless that spoken by our Lord and His disciples.

Black accepts Burney's proof "that the sayings of Jesus are cast in the form of Semitic poetry, with such characteristic features as parallelism of lines and clauses, rhythmic structure, and possibly even rhyme" (p. 105); and concludes (p. 142):

Jesus did not commit anything to writing, but by His use of poetic form and language He ensured that His sayings would not be forgotten. The impression they make in [Black's reconstructed] Aramaic is of carefully premeditated style and studied deliverances; we have to do with prophetic utterances of the style and grandeur of Isaiah...

His phonetic observations would be more persuasive if the text were the Syriac, and not Galilaean Aramaic after his own reconstruction.

Schwarz⁷⁷ draws similar conclusions from even more heavily restored verse. Fitzmyer⁷⁸ notes the lack of Aramaic poetry to compare with the sayings; but adds "I am not calling into question the existence of the rhythmic sayings attributed to Jesus in the Greek gospels or even their poetic character."

All that suggests that Jesus' Aramaic was an exemplary Semitic language, comparable in resources and power to the Hebrew of Job or Isaiah, used by Jesus with equal skill. That is not wholly misleading, but it leaves out the prehistory of Aramaic. Hebrew was the language of a clannish people, whose poets relied heavily on their predecessors back to Ugaritic. Aramaic all along was the working language of empires, and everywhere it picked up elements of local vocabulary. In the centuries after Jesus it did generate admirable poets in its Syriac dialect: the unknown authors of the Odes of Solomon and of the Hymn of the Pearl; the odes of Ephrem of Nisibis. Their verses are full of Greek loanwords. Ephrem was a cloistered monk. Much more did Jesus, a man of the streets and fields, use words in the air to describe the village culture of Galilee from which he drew his lessons. A few generalizations ("Ask and it will be given you") do use only the Semitic verb structure (III.33); elsewhere he calls the objects around him by the names in popular usage.

77 Günther Schwarz, "Und Jesus sprach": Untersuchungen zur aramäischen Urgestalt der Worte Jesu; BWANT 6.18 (118); Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1985; p. 121.

78 "The Study of the Aramaic Background of the New Testament," p. 17 of the work cited in note 7 above.

23. 2 Akkadian in the Aramaic of the sayings

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23.2 Akkadian in the Aramaic of the sayings

Already in the 7th century BC Aramaic the pen-and-ink business language of Babylon was displacing Akkadian as the vernacular as well.

The Jewish community deported to Babylon in 597 BC heard Akka-dianized Aramaic all around it. (The Babel story nicely fits such a linguistic mixture.) It picked up that language and sent it back home.

In the 5th century the Jewish military at Elephantine was entirely Aramaic-speaking. Neh 8,8 may mean that Ezra read the Law in Hebrew and interpreted it in Aramaic. Kaufman⁷⁹ distinguishes between Akkadian loanwords in Aramaic, and agreements where both simply record original Semitic stock. These loanwords, which hardly made their way into Greek, are distinct from the earlier Akkadian words which went into Ugaritic or Phoenician and then to Greek (11.292). The Akkadian in Jesus' sayings reflects the Exile: (23.2.1) occupations and social groups; (23.2.2) urban design; (23.2.3) miscellaneous terms including business and trade.

In the sayings of Jesus, as in Rabbinic and in real life, Babylonian Judaism is miraculously re- stored from the dead.

23.2.1 Akkadian names of occupations and social groups Babylon of the exile

was an old city with a stratified society where each social group was distinct and named. Both that rigid structure and its names were exported back to Palestine, and recorded in the Talmud and in the Aramaic behind Jesus' sayings.

(1) "Student." is standard for Jesus' "disciples," Pesh. ^: I Chron 25,8 TQ^FTDÜ "teacher and student alike"; Hebrew oiAvoth. From Akkadian talmldu "apprentice, student"; only in Akkadian does the form in ta designate occupations (Kaufman 107). In a double proverb, Matt 10,24 (Luk 6,40; Joh 13,16) "A student is not above his teacher, nor a slave above his master,"

, where Pesh:

IO "QU 8*71 3 "lö "

Aramaic⁸⁰ "the student disagrees with his teacher" 3 r^ S ^.

^ 1?

79 Stephen A. Kaufman, *The Akkadian Influences on Aramaic*; Assyriological Studies 19; Chicago: University, 1974.

80 Cited by Sokoloff 583 as at Jer. Talm. Qidd. 64dl3, but the citation seems erroneous.

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Bab. Talm. Berakhoth 58b illogically conflates the two forms, "It is enough for a slave to be as his Rab":⁸¹ H31D 0 -?1? .

(2) "Carpenter." Galilaeans (Mark 6,3) call Jesus "the carpenter (, Pesh 33), the son of Mary," marking him an orphan. Cowley 26.9 "head of the carpenters" lOia] po. From Akkadian naggäru, itself from Sumerian NAGAR;⁸² hence Arabic surname najjar ^ul:·⁸³ Matt 13,55 "the son of the carpenter" (Pesh 13 n~Q) shows the hereditary trade; Bab. Talm. Aboda Zara 50b (Amos 7,14) "I

am not a carpenter nor the son of a carpenter," «3 3 "Q RIJ] 1? of a self-taught Rabbi. Akkadian "carpenters" are specifically woodworkers; Jesus perhaps commuted to rebuild Sepphoris, burned (

Josephus AJ 17.289) by P. Quinctilius Varus in 4 BC. (Varus died with the loss of three legions in Germany, AD 9.)

(3) "Physician." In proverbs: Mark 2,17 "Those who are well do not need a physician (, Pesh lOOK); Luk 4,23 "Physician, heal yourself," , , Pesh "[t533 ÍOOR. 8 4 From Akkadian asû, itself from Sumerian A.ZU;⁸⁵ old Israel records no physicians! They are presumed rapacious: Jer. Talm. Taan. 66d26 "Honor your physician (-p^OX1? "Pp^X) before you need him"; Bab.

Talm. BQ 85a "A physician who heals for nothing is worth nothing," pure Akkadian (III.229): pan pa i îOON.⁸⁶ The "proverb" (, 0) at Luk 4,23 is international, perhaps Akkadian: Gen. Rabbah 23.4 "Physician, physician, cure your lameness!" -[31 "OR .

At Aesop 69 (Chambry) the frog claims to be a physician, but the fox objects, "How will you save others when you can't cure your own lameness?"⁸⁷ It is

81 Rengstorff in TDNT iv.439 thinks that *talml* "came into Judaism from the educative process of the Greek and Hellenistic philosophical schools"; but the word and at least some of the context reflects Babylonian usage.

82 Kaufman 75, CAD xi.1.112.

83 Ugaritic *ngr* (KTU 1.16.IV.3 etc.) was translated "carpenter" by Gordon, but now Parker (UNP 36) makes it

"herald," I do not know on what basis. In the sense "carpenter" it would seem a plausible early loan from Akkadian. Luk 23,3 1 "For if they do this in the green wood, what will happen in the dry?" surely betrays a carpenter's language: note also its (Roman?) logic *a minori ad maius*; the Aramaic passive "they do"; the

hint of a final cosmic conflagration. 84 *ĠOOK* is attested in Palmyrene (PAT 0050 AD 213) and Nabataean (CIS 2.206

„

Hegra, AD 26).

85 Kaufman 37, CAD i.II.344.

86 In Homer healing like carpentry is hereditary: Iliad 11.512-518 , Machaon the physician () is "the son of Asclepius the faultless physician."

87 Similarly in verse, Babrius 120.7-8. More Greek versions in SJ Noorda, "'Cure yourself, doctor' (Luke 4,23); Classical parallels to an alleged saying of Jesus,"

(4) "A poor man. "

nu) address

common, Pesh. WDDO. Koh 9,1 5 "A poor 03 " |30Q t5-., K.89

23.2 Akkadian in the Aramaic of the sayings

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transformed at Mark 15:31, himself he "Others he saved (, Pesh), cannot save." 8 8

"

Frequent in Rabbinic. From Akkadian wise man, *muskenu*; 90 the poor (*mus-ke-*

Samas daily. In the Quran in lists of the needy, "kinsmen, orphans, travelers, the poor, eg 30.28 "

miskīnu 𐤌𐤓𐤕𐤌. Thence to Spanish mezquino, attested AD 950; 91 surely Moorish beggars pointed to themselves, misktn, miskīnl For in 1884 in Algeria is attested the phrase of lingua franca (III.265) moi meskine, toi donnar sous! where meskine was correctly perceived as shared between French and Arabic at Dante Inferno 27.115 one of the "black Cherubini" claims

,

Guido tra' miei meschini "among my servitors." Modern French mesquin "meager, beggarly" continues the old sense; curiously Old French has only the sense "youth."

(5) "Eunuch." Matt 19,12 92 (Pal. Syriac perno); but the of Ethiopia (Act 8,27) is a royal official. Pesh. KWNö "trust-worthy" with the old sense. Bib. Hebrew D'HO mostly of court officials; Potiphar the D'HO of Pharaoh (LXX) has a wife (Gen 39,1.7).

At Sefire (KAI 224.5) "one of my officers or brothers or eunuchs,"

"oho in « Tm in « -npa in

At Esther 2,14 of a castrate, "the king's eunuch (LXX) guarding the concubines," D,,0'a'?",an 0'>' ^ D'HO.93 In Rabbinic only "impotent": Mishna Yeb. VIII.4 distinguishes h~IK CIO "one

pp. 459-466 of J. Delobel (ed.), Logia... (Mémoires Joseph Coppens), Bib. Eph.

Theol. Lov. LIX; Leuven: University, 1982; New Documents 1979, 20-24.

88 Charles Williams, He Came Down from Heaven; London: Faber, 1950; 63: "The taunt flung at that Christ, at

the moment of his most spectacular impotence, was: 'He saved others; himself he cannot save.' It was a definition as precise as any in the works of the medieval schoolmen.... It was an exact definition of the kingdom of heaven in operation, and of the great discovery of substitution which was then made by earth."

89 Hence a denominative verb: Bab. Talm. Sotah 11a "Whoever makes building his business will get poor," poünü pDlim ^D "; at II Kor 8,9 "though rich he became poor ()," the Peshitto .

90 CAD X.II.275; Kaufman 74, who finds himself "unable to isolate or understand the linguistic forces which caused this specific value term to become the most widespread and long-lived of the Akkadian loanwords."

91 J. Corominas & JA Pascual, *Diccionario crítico etimológico castellano e hispánico*; Madrid: Gredos, vol. iv (1981) 62-63. 92 "keeping the bedchamber" Herodotus 3.130 (Persian);

Latin

; eunuchs.

93 So at Isa 56,3 a D'HO is one incapable of having children (reason unspecified), "I am a dry tree." At Ahiqar 61-68 the O"H0 is a slave and surely emasculated.

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emasculated by man " and 3 0 0 "one emasculated by the sun." 9 4 From Akkadian sa rési "head man " (Kaufman 100); later the harem-

keeper monopolized the name.

(6) "Merchant." Matt 13,45,

III.66. Same equivalence in the Hymn of the Pearl and Palmyrene. From Akkadian tamkaru (Kaufman 107), it from Sumerian DAM - GAR. Quran 24.3 7 tijäratun 'JL- "merchandise."

Pesh 2. Discussion at

(7) "Adversary." Matt 5,2 5 "Make friends quickly with your adversary, " Pesh "[3 Luk 18, 3 the widow: "Vindicate me against my adversary, " Pesh *7I?1.95 From Akkadian bel d'ini (Kaufman 43) "master of judgment". 9 6 Avoth is the judge, the adversary was rich," 9 7

Kin tu n --

-prn? 3 mnt»] - nin These legal systems (Babylonian?) have no prosecuting attorney, the aggrieved party goes to court. With God as adversary see

Assur and Samas in an Akkadian text. 9 8 At Luk 18, 3 the unjust judge is worn

94 These are precisely the first two categories of Matt 19,12. The third, "those who made themselves eunuchs for the sake of the kingdom," was understood by "enervate Origen" in "too literal and immature a sense," (Eusebius .E. 6.8.2).

95 Both places the Palestinian Syriac transcribes the Greek, OlpTODN with variations; at Gen. Rabbah 82.8 God is the of Israel's enemies. With the story of the widow see Pesiqta de Rav Kahana 15.9: There was a

woman who 'honored' (ie bribed, rn^DB) a judge with a silver lamp. Then

her adversary () went and 'honored' him with a golden foal. The next day she went and found

the previous judgment in her favor reversed. She said, "My lord, let the previous judgment in my favor shine before you like a lamp." He said, "What can I do? The foal has overturned the lamp."

But the Akkadian is a more likely antecedent. The Rabbinic tale seems a reversal of the Gospel parable (III.262)! —Jesus' little parable (Matt 5,25) can hardly be allegorized, for is the "adversary" God or Satan? At I Pet 5,8 the Devil is the (Pesh "pDHin^in!"), and so Rabbinically (Sperber Legal Terms 45 citing "AgBer 23.3, 47") "the good inclination which has no adversary":

-]« 1*7 T>NB 31Q IS"1

96 CAD iii.155.

97 And so in the Qumran Book of the Giants (JT Milik, The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumran Cave

4; Oxford: Clarendon 1976, 307-8, citing from 4QEn Giants0) one calls "my accusers," ,l7SJ3 , powerful.

98 CAD iii,155b.

99 CAD iii.l56a.

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(8) "Tax-collector." , Pesh KODQ. Both literal and ironical (1.248). Biblical Hebrew 030 "tax"; noun of agent from Akkadian mākisu. Full discussion at III.102.

(9) Less certain classes. "Partner": Matt 23,30, Pesh ". Rabbinic "business partner," Jer. Talm. Sanh. 19b

CQO^S ctao "the

partner of a bandit () is as a bandit." Akkadian sutappu (or sutäpu), Kaufman 105. Palmyrene

^nttf "take as partner" (PAT 1614.9).100 —"Enemy." enemy, Pesh (eg Matt 10,36) vina-ftm.

Rabbinic 221 ÌV2 (Cant. Rabbah VII.10); Kaufman 42 from Akkadian bēl dabābi, origin uncertain. But old Hebrew for "enemy" is still living, Mishna Sanh. III.5 "a friend and an enemy (311 31)" are disqualified as witness or judge. —"Colleague." Matt 18,29 "fellow-slave," Pesh. 33. So reversed Ezra 4,7 ini33 where the LXX . 33 frequent in Egyptian Aramaic. Akkadian kinattu both "colleague" and "menial" Kaufman 64. Jer. Talm. Git. 48a36101 "slaves who fled to their colleagues":

•pnniîs1 ? pnp y -Ql;

—"Neighbor." Luk 14,12 , Pesh. -pai» Bab. Talm. BB 29a "the neighbors know well day and night" what is going on in the next house:

-- »"PO "l22""V

Kaufman 101 from conjectural Akkadian *se bābi "neighbor" (idiom unexplained). — "Farmer." Matt 21,33,

Pesh. TÒS (Arabic fellaheen). But at James 5,7 for Pesh. has 3; Bib. Hebrew 3 Amos 5,16 (LXX); Mishna Arakh. VI.3 "DK. Kaufman 58 from Akkadian ikkaru "farmer."

23.2.2 Akkadian elements of urban design (1) "Temple." An

alleged saying Mark 14,58 "I shall destroy this temple () made with hands," Pesh fòDTL.102 Aramaic K^DM in

100 At I Kor 10,20 "partners with demons," , the Pesh NIK®1 ? Kamt» is pure Akkadian (III.229).

101 As cited or amended by Sokolòff 264 where the standard text has linmiQ1 ?.

102 At Matt 26,61 the Pal. Syr. for transliterates 01]. At 11.43,223 we suggested from Bernal that () was cognate with Bib. Heb. 13 "abode." vaôç also was borrowed

into Nabataean. In a text from Rawwafah of Arabia (JT Milik, "Inscriptions grecques et nabatéennes de Rawwafah," Bulletin of

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Megillath Taanith 11.1031 Reg 21,1 "the palace of Ahab," 3 ^"«; the Temple as the palace of Yahweh Isa 6,1. A very early loan from Akkadian (Kaufman 27) ekallu "palace", it from Sumerian É.GAL "big house." Ugaritic bhth and hklh run parallel "his house, his

pal-ace";¹⁰⁴ the house is Baal's. The West-Semitic development "palace —> temple" is already anticipated in Akkadian where É.GAL is used for the temple of Samas (CAD iv.55a). Ahiqar ^ 222 "in the gate of the palace" of Esarhaddon (PAT 1347) "who dedicated the temple of Bel," K^STI - piTH.

(2) "Rooftop." Greeks used for "rooftop": Matt 10,27 "pro-claim on the rooftops," , Pesh 3 13;105 Mark 13,15 "on the rooftop,"

Ruth ()". Kaufman 57 takes it from Akkadian igäru "wall"; Palestinian builders named their style from a different Akkadian original.

(3) "Bridechamber." Mark 2,19 "sons of the bridechamber," oi ui oi ,

Pesh 1 33; Bab. Talm. BB 14b Kill ">12 ("sons of the canopy" 3 1112 Sukkah 25b). Gen. Apocryphon 20.6107 "No virgins or brides who enter a bridal chamber are more beautiful than [Sarah]":

, Pesh Rabbah 3.2 ^ta^ a "the roof of the palace

^

that this Hellenism underlies "Temple" in the sayings.

¹⁰³ Fitzmyer-Harrington 186.

¹⁰⁴ KTU 1.4.V.36-37; translated ANET3 133b 98-99.

105 Bib. Aram. Kfi~13 Dan 3,4 'herald' would seem formed on (so LXX and Theod. here), so that the root 2

would be denominative, Dan 5,29 131 "proclaim," Theod. But there may be conflation with an Iranian word.

106 Matt 17,15 "Pity my son for he is moonstruck ("); Pesh «3 "O 70 1 "for he has a [demon] son of the roof." Both languages are convinced that sleeping out in the open under the moon causes epilepsy or 'lunacy.' Cf. Paulus Digest 21.1.43.6 "if a slave is mad or moon-struck." Pes. 111b demons dwell on roofs is 'sparks': •" « " ••TB

Locals in the Dominican Republic in the 1930's carried an umbrella if they had to walk out at night under a full

moon.

107 Ed JA Fitzmyer, The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave I; 2 ed.; Biblica et Orientalia 18a: Rome: Bib. Inst.

Press, 1971; 63. Reprinted in Fitzmyer-Harrington p. 113. Similarly in the Fragment Targum of Ex 12,2, cited by Sokoloff 133.

« paar 1 ? 1 ? i^ y TK^DI ^im

the Institute of Archeology [London] 10 (1971) 54-57) "this is the temple that the federation (?) of the Thamudeans built": pian nints may noi] nn But it is unlikely

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Kaufman 51 from Akkadian ganünu "living quarters, bedroom." Babylonian architecture adapted for Palestinian local custom.

(4) "Table." Domestic: "the rich man's table (") (Luk

16,21, cf 22,30), Peshmma. "Banker's table" Luke 19,23 - bank

Pesh tom a ^I?. 108 Rabbinic mina in both senses. 109 Hatra 3 "altar"

(KAI 253). Connected to Akkadian passuru "table" (Kaufman 81) in spite of abnormal phonetics. The banker's table a Babylonian novelty.

(5) "Furnace." 110 Matt 6,30 "into the furnace," , Pesh . Bib. Hebrew "3 "portable oven." Some connection (Kaufman 108) with Akkadian tinüru "oven." In both Akkadian and Aramaic of

the Tell Fekherye inscription 111 in a curse of scarcity; cf Lev 26,26 "Ten women shall bake your bread in one oven (" -133)": LXX évi. The Aramaic has 1? 133 • "J nRûi "And may a hundred

women bake bread in an oven..." where the Akkadian has tinüra.ni

(6) "Street" and "alley." Pesh. piE> for both "market" (Mark 7,4; Matt 11,6) and "broad street" (Luk 10,10, Matt 6,5). went into Semitic K^B. 1 1 3 Proverb at Matt 20,3 "standing idle in

the market," ttj âyopçt ápyoús, Pesh "potasi "popt.

Bab. Talm. Pes. 55a "Go and see how many idle there are in the market":

Spiî»3 ÎC K ^ HOD piS In late Bib. Hebrew p- ltf as Aramaism: Cant 3,2 (cf Prov 7,8; Koh 12,4-5) "in the streets and the squares," ' - D^piœ'îl, LX

X square. Easement in a deed, Cowley 5.14 "in the street

108 At Matt 25,27 "You should have given my money to the bankers," TOÎÇ trápezita Pesh has just "to the table," 13 For trápezita? in Latin and Rabbinic see 1.75; trápez as a loanword at Gen. Rabbah 64.10]3 plural.

109 Jerus. Targum Gen 23,16 as cited by Jastrow 1250b. 110

"furnace" (Matt 13,42), Pesh]1, may represent Akkadian atünu (Kaufman 110), cited by Sokoloff 79 from

Targum Neofiti on Ex 19,18 minto DÍTU "Gehenna which is compared to a furnace. "

111 E. Lipinski, Studies in Aramaic Inscriptions and Onomastics; Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 57; Leuven: Peeters, 1994 chapter 2. tannür Quran 11.40 has a different sense.

112 Arabic

113 entered Rabbinic through a Targum on Gen 19,2 (Krauss 457) which for LXX has K^S .

Bab. Talm. Shabb. 6a totals'? 13 iOSlön "one

who carries [an item] from shop to street." Palmyrene tOQ^D (PAT 0041.7) is "corridor inside a tomb." Thr. Rabbah on 1.1 "full of people" optimistically reckons that Jerusalem had 24 ^, each of 24 entries (), each of 24 roads (0^11®), each of 24 streets (CPpptf), each

of 24 courts (nran), each of 24 houses (DTD)—or 191,102,976 houses in all. became Latin platea, whence French and English place.

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between us" (·|3 NplED)." Palmyrene "market" in an elegant caique, = PAT 0278, "market-overseer"; so Num. Rabbah 20.18 pit»,! ^UH.114 Gen. Rabbah 91.6 131 ^tS pit»

"market of the harlots."

From Akkadian süqu (Kaufman 94). Hence Arabic süq: Quran 25.8 "What ails this messenger [the Prophet!] that he eats food and walks in the markets ('aswäq jl^l'vT <>)" Cf. Jesus as "glutton," Matt 11,19; Luk 13,26 "You'taught in our streets (, ypitID)"!

Hence in the picturesque settings celebrated by Orientalism: "[A Tu-nis] c'est

le souk des selliers qui commence" (Gide 1896).¹¹⁵ "There is a large 'Suk,' or market-place in the usual form, a long narrow lane darkened by a covering of palm leaves, with little shops let into the walls of the houses on both sides" (Burton 1855, of Medinah). ¹¹⁶

Contrasted to the broad süq is the narrow alley: Luk 14,21 "into the streets and alleys of the city," , Pesh Xm^ l NpitS1 ?. Same contrast (Kaufman 44) in a text of Sennacherib,¹¹⁷ ribâtisu usandilma bi-re-e-ti u süqäni usperdi "I widened its (Nineveh's) squares and let light into its alleys and streets."

Bab. Talm. BB 40b "in streets and alleys," twai n Kpm . Qumran on the New Jerusalem: pEI 3 "a portico of a street."¹¹⁸ The narrow 'alleys' of Mediterranean cities even today recall the centuries when only camels delivered goods (III.320). Broad streets and squares were an innovation, already at Elephantine, first from Babylon, then Hellenistic. Bab. Talm. Shabb. 33b credits Romans with building streets (D^pllt»)—but only to put harlots (131) in them, with bridges for collecting tax (ODO); see 1.248.

23.2.3 Other Akkadian loanwords

(1) "Gratis, freely." Matt 10,8 "Freely have you received, freely give," Pesh 12

]1303 pö .

Ugaritic mgn (KTU 1.4.1.21) with 130 Gen 14,20 "has delivered."

114 The Athenian was taken over into the Latin of Plautus as agoranomus.

A verb in

115 Cited in Trésor de la langue française sv

116 Cited from OED.

117 CAD ii.252a.

118 5Q New Jerusalem (5QJN ar [5Q15]) frag. 1 col. 1 line 1, Fitzmyer-Harrington 54.

119 "This foreign word...occurs in early Akkadian in the sense of 'gift,' but only as a Hurrianism, and in late Akkadian in the meaning 'gratis' as an Aramaism. The Western forms were probably also borrowed directly from Hurrian."

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Palmyrene (PAT 0282) "who brought up the caravan gratis, from his own purse": [] synodria

lö pDK Bab. Talm. BQ 85a (III.222) "a physician without pay" po i îOOK is a pure Akkadian phrase. Lev. Rabbah 34.16 "Does

anybody work for nothing?"

""U1?! 2>3 ~Q . Kaufman 67 notes Akkadian magannu "gift," then

adverbially "asa gift": 1 1 9 "my house is worth one talent of silver, u ana ma-gannu nasi but he has taken it for nothing." 1 2 0 The original may be Vedic magham "gift" with Indo-European cousins, eg Latin magnus.

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(2) "Cock." Mark 14,30 "before the cock crows," ... Pesh. N^JJm îOp n Dip. Jer. Talm. Sukkah 55cl 9 etc. "the cock crowed," ^ . Kaufman 108 from Akkadian

tarlugallu, it from Sumerian DAR.LUGAL. The earlier Greek form of the name is , Theognis 864 "the sound of awakened cocks"; Levin takes it from

the Akkadian by a "complicated metathesis." It is unclear whether the Homeric men (both in the genitive) 'Odyssey 4.10 and Iliad 17.602 are "Cock" or "Protector"; or whether the man's name Linear A-re-ku-tu-ru-wo (DMG2 58) is the same.

(3) "Demon." is beneficent in Plato, later malevolent (Josephus J 7.185); but Jesus' usage surely rests on some Aramaic word. The Old Syriac in the sayings of Jesus has Akkadian

throughout; the Peshitto sometimes Iranian KTH. At Matt 12,24 in a saying of Pharisees

the versions make a distinction: "This fellow () only casts out demons (, K~IKtS) by Beelzebul prince of the demons (, «VII NEH)." While the Akkadian has a better claim than the original, the Iranian deserves a note here. "divine," Latin deus, & Buddhist Pali devānam (Dhammapada 30) are honorific like Sanskrit deva-, but Iranian cognates like Syriac XT'! are all pejorative. So Zarathushtra {Yasna 32.1) of the daêvâ; Xerxes 1 2 1 at

Persepolis overthrew worship of the daivâ. The flying letter in the Hymn of the Pearl 50 is sealed to keep it from "savage demons," ~0 XT'!, Greek . KVT in the Peshitto then suggests Sasanid influence.

120 CAD x.1.32 which considers it a "loanword from Indo-European by way of Hurrian."

121 Kent 151, lines 35-41.

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Syriac K7R0 is Hebr. 12) "demons" Deut 32,17, where LXX .122 In a Pseudo- Daniel from Qumran¹²³ the Israelites "[sacrificed their children to the demons of error": «mira ·

,

, 2>(7 ^4 ? pn[ar um]

Bab Talm. Pes. 110a on "Asmodaios king of the sedim,"

"TEH (0*70 " makes him parallel to Beelzebul "prince of the de-mons".¹²⁴ Sed beside 1 in Syriac incantations.¹²⁵ Loan from Akkadian sedu (Kaufman 101), "a spirit representing the vital force" of a man or temple, propitious or malevolent.¹²⁶ The "unclean spirit" that leaves a man and then returns "to my house from which I came" (Matt 12,43-

45) is surely a daimonion; see "the evil (portended) by an evil s[edu] that flits about restlessly in the house of a man."127 (4) "Purple." Dives (Luk 16,19) wore "purple and byssus," - , Pesh reversed 3131 ICtll; so Esther 8,15 "l03«1 fQ , LXX .128 Hebr. once in Aramaic form with waw II Chron 2,6 "l3; Dan 5,7 «3131«; Palmyrene WUIK Tariff 137.

Ugaritic argmn is either "tribute" (so Akkadian argamannu at Boghaz-Köy)129 or "purple." Old loan from Akkadian (Kaufman 35). "purple poppy" (Dioscorides, 11.335) may reflect it. in turn to Latin purpura and Rabbinic: "beds () of byssus and beds of purple":130

Trans

to dogs, and cast not your pearls before swine." The Pesh by luck points to the intended "earring": cf. Prov 3 Df3, which Jesus 11,22 "a gold ring in the nose of a pig,"

122 •"1® also at Ps 106,37, describing the apostasy of Deut 32,17 as human sacrifice; conjectured at Amos 2,1 (less plausibly at Ps 91,6) "That they burned the bones of the king of Edom to a demon" where MT "Pis"? "to lime."

123 Fitzmyer-Harrington 6 = 4QpsDan ara c , c-2.

124 Tobit 3,8; he is Avestan Aestna Daëva "Demon of Wrath."

125 "I speak the secret () of this house against all that is in it; against sedu (NT1 »), against devas ()...against all messengers of idolatry (3 K~l]:rt<). " The last phrase is pure Iranian: see on "messenger" (III.89) and patikara (III.96). See J. Naveh & S. Shaked, Amulets and Magic Bowls: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity; Jerusalem: Magnes & C. Leiden: Brill, 1985; Bowl 1.4-5, p. 124.

126 CAD xv.256-8.

127 CAD xv.258b.

128 Similarly in Aramaic, Genesis Apocryphon 20.31 "many garments of byssus and purple (IRinKl P3)>" Fitzmyer-Harrington 116. 129 CAD i.11.253.

rmcrp pn ^ts niKta^p

(5) "(Gold) ring." A clear mistranslation is Matt 7,6 "Give not the holy (, Pesh)

130 Krauss 528a citing "Yelammedenu as quoted by Aruch completum."

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doubles. Akkadian *qudäsu* "earring"; 1 3 1 Gen 24,2 2 Onqelos has 3 for Hebrew 3 HJ DJ] "gold ring." The Qumran Job Targum ends with each of Job's friends giving him a gold ring, 3 "EHp.132 (6) "Pay. " frequent, Pesh t02K. Literal: Luk 10,7 "The laborer is worthy of his pay;" mostly symbolic, Matt 5,12 "Your pay is great in the heavens." Rabbinic: "a doctor's fee," *îOOK* "UK —a wholly Akkadian phrase; 133 "a hired man's pay," KTJSl toa«; 1 3 4 "the reward of the righteous," "l3.135 R. Simon b. Shetah would rather hear 'Blessed be the God of the Jews' "than all the profit of this world," NO^I? - pin 3 3 (Jer. Talm. BM 8c31). Kaufman 33 finds the Aram, root "UN simply cognate with Akkadian *agäru* "to hire." But the noun seems derived: Old Assyrian *ig-ri räbisi* "hire of the police- man"; *ig-ri siprë* "hire of the messengers."136 'ajr(un) ^ I is common in the Quran, always symbolic: Quran 12.57 "And the reward of the Hereafter is better," "I s'aVÎ \LV « 3.57 "He will pay them their wages, /iç»çJ?. I f^j^i.

(7) "Throne." , Pesh mostly LOO-ILD, but varies at Matt 19,28 "When the Son of Man shall sit on the throne of his glory (Pesh 013), you also will sit on

twelve thrones (, 110)." 1 3 7 Akkadian *kussû* seems a very early loan to Ugaritic *ksu.n*% The curse "overthrow the throne of one's kingship" (1.276-277) runs from Ugaritic through Byblos to the NT: Dan 5,2 0 "he was deposed from the throne of his kingship":

- ' 3 nmn For the Aramaic form in r, N0"D KAI 216. 7 (Bar-Rekab," 8th cent BC).

The divine claim "Heaven is my throne" runs from Isa 66,1 "RD3 (III.244) to Quran 2.25 5 "His throne (*kursiyyuhu*) includes heaven and earth": ' /t «•./ ^ Ú ^ » w »

"

KjjàJ V IJ dlj^o III I 1 A j1,111

(8) "To save." Forms of "be saved" mostly in the Pesh. from the root KYI "live"; but

Luk 13,23 oi in the Pal. Syr.

131 Kaufman 86; the CAD xiii.293 has "woman's ring" but not specifically "ear-ring"; this word has no demonstrable connection, either by original or folk etymology, with the root *tö'lp* "sanctify."

1 32 Fitzmyer-Harrington 4 6 = llQtgjob 38:11 .

133 Sokoloff 34-3 5 citing the Fragment Targum on Ex 21,19.

1 3 4 Targum Neofiti on Lev 19,13.

135 Targum Neofiti on Num 24,23.

1 3 6 CAD i.45.

1 3 7 went into Rabbinic also, 013.

138 Kaufman 2 8 leaves it open whether the West-Semitic word is a loan from Akkadian or cognate;

to understand this,

but its form is alien to West-Semitic root structure.

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comes out "pnnntöo from Jennings¹³⁹ quoting Burkitt thinks that Palestinian Aramaic had no special term for "safety" and asks:

May we not believe that this is the genuine Aramaic usage, and that the Greek Gospels have in this instance introduced a distinction [between "life" and "safety"] which was not made by Christ and His Aramaic-speaking disciples?

At Mark 5,23 "be saved" and "live" are synonyms, .

But the root is well attested in Sokoloff 546. Kaufman 105 derives it from Akkadian süzubu "to save," uncertain

whether a "shaphel" of a simpler root. At Neh 3,4 a father ^îOPTfô has an old name-type newly formed in Akkadian Aramaic. At Dan 3,28 in the LXX ("3,95") is ; so translating at Palmyra (PAT 0197, AD 132) "saving

from great danger," = 3 jö mnt». Ahiqar 46 "I am that Ahiqar who formerly

saved you from an undeserved death": •or ^tap lia -prt» imp np-rm in rus (9) Possible loans. —"Yoke." Matt 11,29-30 ... , Pesh ; XT'] Targumic. But Kaufman 77 thinks Akkadian riiru simply cognate with

Aramaic. —"Divorce." Mark 10,4 cites Deut 24,1 LXX where Heb. 3 "ISO, Onqelos purr a tû3 "a bill of divorce." tû3 means "the document"

par excellence, ie of divorce, in Mishna Gittin. From Murabba'at

we have an actual "writ of di-vorce," 1030 column) document." —"Silver coin", Luk 15,8-9 comes

out in the Pesh "pnr.141 If not an elegance of Luke, this reflects frequent since Elephantine; Kaufman 114 from Akkadian zûzu "half-shekel"— a weight, not a coin.142 In the Hellenistic-Roman period only in revolts did locals coin in silver, so the zûz named foreign silver Kl- 1^ rather than (with the Pesh.) Edessene KSpr from Akkadian zaqlpu.

(prob. AD 111).140 ÎD3 is Akkadian gittu "(one-

139 W. Jennings & U. Gantillon, *Lexicon to the Syriac New Testament*; Oxford: Clarendon, 1926; p. 6.

140 Fitzmyer-Harrington 158.

141 "Drachma" is conflated with "daric" in West Semitic (11.296,335). 142 CAD xxi.170.

23.3 Iranian in the Aramaic of the sayings

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23.3 Iranian in the Aramaic of the sayings

We discussed Iranian influence on Judaism at III.100-101. The best guide for Iranian loanwords in Aramaic is Telegdi.143 Early attestation of Iranian languages is limited; if I controlled the *Shahnameh* of Firdausi (AD 941-1020), the data would be improved. I cite: the Old Persian cuneiform texts of the Achaemenids, edited by Kent; parts of the Avesta and esp. its Yasnas, edited by Insler, some likely original verse of Zarathushtra; and the trilingual of Sapor at Naqs-i-Rustam in Greek, Parthian (the Arsacid dialect) and Pehlevi (Sasanid), ab. AD 265. 1 4 4 Some Iranian loanwords in both Greek and West-Semitic are noted at 1.342, 11.296; there are longer treatments in Chapter 20 of "satrap" (III.86), "legate" (III.89), "sword" (III.99), "magus" (III.91) and "image" (etc ., III.96). Here are a few more.

—"Danakë. " "coin put on the eyes of the dead"; Callimachus frag. 278; 1 4 5 Bab. Talm. B. M. 60b Kpn "small coin"; Persian däng.u6 —"Kapithë." "dry measure" Xenophon Anab.

1.5.6; or plural Polyaeus 4.3.32. Pehlevi kaptc.u7 Bab. Talm. Pes. 48b top KP3p. — "Parasang." "measure of distance" (time of march?) Herodotus 2.6.3. Middle Persian frasang.148 Bab.

Talm. BQ 82b 03 with folk-etymology to CHS "Persia." — "Dastikirt." "domain, property" Sapor Res Gestae 70 for Parthian dstkrt; Old Persian dastakarta "handiwork" (same word?). 1 4 9 Bab. Talm. Erub. 59a Rniponn "village." 15 0 —"Argapetes." In a Palmyrene bilingual (PAT 0286, AD 262), Septimius Worodes has three titles, respectively transliterated from Greek, Latin and Iranian:

KtûariNi Kup i oitaocnp

1 4 3 S. Telegdi, "Essai sur la phonetique des emprunts iraniens en araméen talmudique: Glossaire," Journal Asiatique 22 6 (1935) 224-256.

1 4 4 For editions of the Res Gestae see III.73. For the Greco-Parthian bilingual of Vologases III of Parthia (AD 151) on a votive statue of Heracles/Verethragna see III.70. Scattered Iranian Arsacid texts represent Parthian, in large part expressed in Aramaic ideograms. The Aramaic script of a Greek bilingual from Armazi of Georgia must represent Parthian (Gignoux 44); KAI 27 6 treats it as

aberrant Aramaic. 1 4 5 Ed. Pfeiffer i.262.

1 4 6 Telegdi 23 9 no. 51; Frisk iii.68. 1 4 7 Telegdi 25 4 no. 124.

1 4 8 Frisk iii.167.

1 4 9 Kent 190 .

1 5 0 Telegdi 23 9 no. 52.

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(Greek) "most eminent procurator of Augustus, ducenarius, argapetes."

Bab. Talm. Zeb. 96b NtûapiK; Parthian hrkpty "chef des impôts."151 —(Gold) necklace,"

.152 Plutarch Cimon 9.3: in the Persian wars Greeks took as booty "golden circlets

and necklaces and torques," - . Part of a bride's dowry is a golden .153 Certainly Persian,154 with other words of the same ending, (Aristoph. Vespa 1137) 1 5 5 and (Xenophon Anab. 1.2.27) "cloak...dagger" (suit- able for a spy-novel...).156 At Gen 41,42 Aquila and Symmachus157 have for 3; " "gold

chain" where Onqelos (from such a version) 3 {"}3 ; so Dan 5,7 (K) where LXX ; Deut. Rabbah 4.2 3

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23.3.1 Abstract Iranian loanwords in the sayings.

Greek supplied abstract words to concrete Semitic, but was anticipated by Iranian, - is a suffix in women's names: ' "Rose-Color"; 1 5 8 Hymn of the Pearl 97 "and my toga, brilliant with colors," «313 23 Ota^l; 1113 "color" Bab. Talm. Erub. 53b. Parthian gwnk Sapor Res Gestae 37 "sort, kind."159 (1) "Limb." : Matt 5,29 "It is better that one of your limbs (, Pesh. "[) be lost than that your whole body () be thrown

into Gehenna."160 Dan 2,5 "l'mimH " You shall be cut up into members"; a Rabbinic verb Din "dismember." Avestan han-dāman,161 "NW Pehlevi" handām,ui both "member." Paul's idea of

persons as "members" of a larger "body" is Hellenistic: I Kor 12,12 "As the body ()...has many members (, NOTI)". It appears in later Semitic, Odes of Solomon 3.2 "[The Lord's] members are with him,"]« 101.

151 Gignoux 52.

1 5 2 See my treatment in "LX X and Targum" 203-204.

153 P.Oxy. 1273. 7 (vol. x.207); the weight is given in "common gold on the standard of Oxyrhynchus." 1 5 4 Frisk iii.149.

155 Also Rabbinic, Targum Jonathan Jud 4,1 8 KD3133; Latin gaunaca (OLD).

156 Frisk at iii.149 cites Armenian maneak "Halsband" and at iii.24 Sogdian kyn'k "dagger."

1 5 7 Field i.59.

158 Ctesias FGH 68 8 frag. 13.24.

1 5 9 Gignoux 51; see Telegdi 23 6 no. 39. O. Szemerényi, "Iranica VI (Nos. 71-

75), "Studia Iranica 9 (1980) 23-68 has an ,

elaborate study of Iranian gauna-

etc.

160 Cf. Kol 3,5 "Put to death your earthly members (, 01)." 161 Bartholomae 1772 .

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(2) "Weapon." uncompounded at Joh 18,3, Pesh. K3T. Luk 11,22 "seizes his panoply (, Pesh.). " Cowley 31.8 DinOr "their weapons." Qumran Job Targum ntöp]1? "in the clash of arms." 163 Bab. Talm. Sank. 104a pr ^DIK pr "weapon eating up weapon."164

Sapor Res Gestae 58, Deran is "chief of the armory,"

Parthian zynpty, Pehlevi zynpt, . Avestan Hymn to Mithra 96,165 Mithra wields the "strongest of weapons," amavastemsm zaênqm.

(3) "Time, season." , Pesh.]3, marks not elapsed time () but a kind of time: favorable, II Kor 6,2 ; unfavorable, II Tim 3,1 .

Mark 1,15 is hopeful, "The Pesh 33 (ó est tempus)."i66 Mark , 1? D^ttf, Vg impletum time is fulfilled

13,33 demands watchfulness, "You do not know when the time is," o

,

Pesh.]3 in TIÚN, Vg quando tempus sit}67 33

with b is Syriac and

Palmyrene; elsewhere 30 with m. In the Palmyrene Tariff for both Greek words: at 1.4 = []

"in former times"; at 1.10 pi 3 = "from time to time." At Esther 9,27, Purim is to be observed "at the [original] times," DjarS; at Dan 2,16, Daniel asks the king "to set him a time," '•.

^ (LXX chronos). Bab. Talm. Hag. 4b, "Does anyone die before his time?" nw r 1?;! ^ KD1«. Koh 3,1 has two words for "time," "For everything there is a season, and a time

for every matter under the heavens"

nip^'n rinn parr^1 ? nyi ipr i'lb

The LXX reverses expectation, , indeed. This cyclic pessimism gives way in the NT Peshitto to time seen as a critical novelty, whether hopeful or dangerous.

Most take "l0[from Iranian, comparing Pehlevi zamān, Persian zāmān.¹⁶⁵ Perhaps in Parthian zmn;¹⁶⁹ I cannot determine if it names the Zoroastrian heresy of Zurvan "Time." Kaufman ⁹² thinks the

1 62 Telegdi 24 1 no. 59. 163

llQtgJob 33.6, Fitzmyer-Harrington 40.

1 6 4 This picks up the international theme "sword against sword," III.25.

1 6 5 Ed. Ilya Gershevitch, Cambridge: University, 1959 p. 121; see Telegdi 24 2 no. 66.

166 More hopeful than not are Luk 12,42 "to give their ration in due time (ev)"; Luk 18,30 "manyfold in this time."

1 6 7 More dangerous than not are Luk 21,8 where false prophets say, "The time is at hand"; Luk 12,5 6 "Why can you not interpret the present time?"

168 Telegdi 24 2 no. 68. 169 Gignoux 68.

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Aramaic is rather from Akkadian simānu "set time." But the initial consonants are problematic.

The double coloring of NT

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reflects Latin influence. In classical Greek time is by itself positive, only an adjective makes it

negative. But in Polybius often time is by itself "a dangerous time": 18.11.8

"to avoid the difficult current situation."¹⁷¹ Dubuisson saw that Latin tempus brought about the shift in Polybius, continuing to later Greek: Cicero (Cael. 13) says Catiline

"helped his friends in the time of their troubles," *seruire temporibus suorum*; again (Cat. 1.22) he urges Catiline "to yield in face of the dangers of the State," *ut temporibus reipublicae cedas*. As in the NT time is a critical time with possibilities for good or ill, compare Valerius Flaccus 1.306 *tempus adest*; age, *rumpe moras* "the time is at hand, put off delay." 172

(4) Other possible abstract terms. —"Ration." Luke 12,42 - might rest on Iranian 33 Dan 1,5 with Sanskrit *pratibhāga* "daily gift," concretely Athenaeus 11.503F "Persian bread"; rations were handed out in the Persian court (Xenophon *Anab.* 1.9.25-

26). —"Response." Matt 12,36 "They shall give account (, Pesh. 032) of it." Parthian

ptgm "message"; 173 Esther 1,20 ^ Dana "the king's edict"; Koh 8,11 & 033 "sentence against an evil deed": at Elephantine Dana "reprimand (?)" (Driver 4.3, 7.9). Also Targumic. But cf Avoth III. 1 "You are to give account and reckoning C|~Qt»m pi)." —"Kind, sort." Mark 9,29 "This kind (, Pesh. «033) comes out only by prayer"; Matt 13,47 "of every kind [of fish] (, KOH)." 174 At I Kor 12,10 "kinds of tongues,"

Pesh. has the Iranian cognate *Natici* 03; cf. Dan 3,5 "all kinds of music," \3[, LXX . Old Persian *vispazana*-

(Kent 208) "with men of all kinds," Driver 7.3 "craftsmen of all kinds"]raoi]3ÖN. It is doubtful whether either the Greek or Iranian cognate underlies in the Aramaic.

170 Conversely, time goes into Rabbinic, Qoh. Rabbah on 11,3 "when the student's time comes" to teach, Tü^ⁿ¹?!» OK. But this cannot under NT .

171 Dubuisson 177-178.

172 The OLD at *tempus* includes "a favorable or convenient time," but not specifically "a dangerous time,"

although it cites several passages with that coloration.

173 Gignoux 61; Telegdi 253 no. 119.

174 Same equivalence to the Greek loanword at Palm. Tariff 1.13 "of every kind" 033 NO^D = .

Aramaic sible.

Aramaic is barely pos-

23. 3 Iranian in the Aramaic of the sayings 237

23.3.2 Iranian cultural terms in the sayings Many are treated elsewhere in these volumes.

(1) "Demon." While probably rests on Akkadian sedu via (III.229), Iranian deva via

(2) "Legate." For "embassy" Luk 14,32; 19.12-14; Pesh. 3 "ambassadors." Discussion at III.89-91 of the Iranian original.

Conversely went into Rabbinic Diurna which however cannot underlie it. 175 Legates in the ancient world have a far-reaching symbolism.¹⁷⁶ (3) "Sword." Pesh sees as Iranian at Matt 26,52 "Put

your sword (, 030) back in its place"; 26,55 "Have you come as against a bandit (, Pal. Syr. {OtûO1?}) with swords (, 0302) and staves to take me?." At III.99-100 we note its source in Parthian spsyr, and its use in Aramaic and Greek (Josephus A] 20.32). 177 When Paul (Rom 13,4) writes "he bears not the sword (, Pesh ÎODO) in vain," he anticipates the later ius gladii,¹⁷⁸ in language which Syriac hears as Iranian.

(4) "Pearl." Matt 13,45 (cf. 7,6), the trader finds a pearl (, Pesh WMIO, Pal. Syr. ^). The "pearl" is Eastern, Middle Persian marvarit, Quran 55.58 ʕjil^lc marjān. Discussion at III.62-63.

(5) "Conscription." with denom. verb

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Matt 5,41 "Whoever conscripts you one mile...,"

Pal. Syr. :3 1*7 "IKS "exercises conscription on

you." 23 in Aramaic was a Greek term for a

175 Levy iv.106 citing Yelammedenu on Deut. praef. from the Aruch: "[Speakers of] seventy languages stood at the entrance to Pharaoh's palace (yta^S), so that, if there should come legates (pt33ma) of a king, they would speak with him in his language."

176 Margaret M. Mitchell, "New Testament Envoys in the Context of Greco-Roman Diplomatic and Epistolary Conventions: The Example of Timothy and Titus," JBL 111 (1992) 641-662; Anthony Bash, Ambassadors for Christ: An Exploration of Ambassadorial Language in the New Testament; WUNT 2 Reihe no. 92; Tübingen: Mohr, 1997. Elsewhere ("Inversion of Social Roles in Paul's Letters," NovT 33 [1991] 303-325, pp. 316-317) I treat the transfor-

mation of the role of ambassador in Paul.

177 went into early Latin: Ennius 519 Skutsch *succinoti corda machaeris* "girt with swords over their hearts." But hardly underlies Gen 49, 5 •י'1313 "their swords?," although Gen. Rabbah 99.7 says "This is Greek, in which swords are called y-|Oö."

178 An early attestation of *ius gladii* at Heliopolis/Baalbek in ILS 920 0 (=IGLS 279 4 with photo): the veteran of the Jewish War C. Velius Rufus has been *proc(uratori) prouvinciae Raetiae ius gladii* "procurator of the province of Rhaetia with *ius gladii*."

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Roman practice (11.52). Greek rests on "Persian messenger"; but the Roman meaning may rest on an unrecorded Persian or Akkadian original.

(6) "Paradise." Luk 23,43 "Today you will be with me in Paradise."

See Chapter 21 for Avestan and Old Persian originals; Quran 18.107 "the gardens of Paradise," ^{^j^ij l} Under the Achaemenids there were the perquisites of the Great King and satraps, so Jesus, while suffering the penalty inflicted on rebel satraps, claims their legitimacy (111.108,140) .

(7) "Mystery." Mark 4,11 "To you is given the mystery () of the kingdom of God," Pesh .

179 Dan 2,19 "the mystery was revealed," Theod. ; Ahiqar 175 "in a hiding place of N,

mysteries," 02. 180 Qumran "secrets of El" in the Rule (1QS 3.23), War Scroll (1QM 3.9 etc.) is one of the rare non-Semitic words in the Scrolls.181 A "Messianic" text182 of a newborn child "He will know the secrets of mankind; his wisdom will go forth to all

peoples, he will know the secrets of all living things": »-MI^N }OOOI; 'JID'? nnosim KT»3K M UT Odes of Solomon 8.10 "Keep my mystery, you who are kept by it": m THtaanan

IOTI

of the Torah": mm i1? •p'raoi .

npm n^tsiaiai rns^o ib riarmi The word is Iranian: Pehlevi *rāz*, and prob. Avestan *razah-* "Ein-

samkeit, Abgelegenheit".¹⁸³ Conversely went into Rabbinic, Gen. Rabbah 68.12 "who revealed the secret of

the Holy One": tanpn •-' i^ao

Cicero de orat. 1.206 ilia dicendi mysteria "those secrets of oratory."

1 7 9 Matt 13,11 and Luk 8,10 agree against the best MSS of Mark 4,1 1 in adding But most MSS of Mark add "to know." also. If this is taken

as assimilation to Matthew or Luke, the Synoptic relations are puzzling; but if Matthew and Luke knew an edited form of Mark which already contained

, everything is clear. See my "An Early Revision of the Gospel of Mark," JBL 78 (1959) 215-227, p. 221 .

1 8 0 At Hatra (KAI 252) the which has been built could be either a "cedar" structure or a "mystery" one.

181 Another Iranian word in the Scrolls is TIOTU "slaughter," 1QM 1.9 etc. See Gen 25,2 7 Onqelos "hunter"; Hatra 112.3 Vattioni tDEIt&m "huntmaster" just as Parthian nhsyrpty Sapor RG 59.

1 8 2 4QMess ar i.8, Fitzmyer-Harrington 98.

183 Telegdi 25 4 no. 125, Ellenbogen 153, Bartholomae 1514.

·] nia Avoth VI.2 Torah "gives [the student] sovereignty and dominion and the searching out of judgment; and [these reciprocally] reveal to him secrets

23. 3 Iranian in the Aramaic of the sayings 2 3 9

(8) "Lamp." , Pesh : Luk 15,8 a woman "lights a lamp"; 12,35 "let your lamps be lit"; 1 8 4 Matt 6,22 (= Luk 11,34) "the eye is the lamp of the body," followed by a discussion of the "evil eye". 1 8 5 Matt 5,15 with a Latin loanword modius (III.255) "They do not light (Aramaic passive) a lamp and put it

under a peck-measure," , where the Old Syriac recognizes the Latinismi

- rrnn 1? dno i euk

A lamp may be covered on the Sabbath (Mishna Shab. XVI.7), not to put it out, but "they may put a basin

on a lamp (3) so as not to set fire to a rafter." The same equivalence ~ ìO~ltS in the proverb "lamp at noon" (1.321): Diogenes (Diogenes Laertius 6.41) "lit a lamp at noon," searching for an honest man, ' ; Bab. Talm. Hull. 60b "What is the use of a lamp at noon?" torpta n

•'KÜ.

Bib. Heb. knows domestic lamps, Prov 31,18 "Her lamp (3, LXX) does not go out at night." is Persian circa y; 186 perhaps Persians brought an improved model. Symbolic uses: Odes of Solomon 25.7 "A lamp you set for me," ^ ML»

. At Rev 21,23 New Jeru-salem can dispense with sun and moon, seen as lamps, for "its lamp is the Lamb," , Hence of

a man, Joh 5,35 John Baptist was the "burning and shining lamPph,"ilox. ,...

, of these two passages is

echoed in Arabic. Quran 71.16 Allah has created the seven heavens (for the seven luminaries) "and made the moon a light in them, and the sun a lamp":

' "Z" f / . w .. / ' ' / » w

lyjM ^MO-MIIJ I JLoaj lj^it (j^fj A o:fl 11 (J P^J

The Prophet besides being a "bringer of good news" (Quran 33.45-46 \BLL cf Isa 52,7 "lfe?0) is a "lamp

that gives light":

184 An alternative to Matthew's parable of the ten virgins, where the enigmatic oil-fed "torches" (11.173) have become unambiguous lamps.

185 Here the Gospels come down squarely on the predominant Greek theory that vision was caused by rays proceeding from the eye (and therefore that darkness must be an actual impenetrable substance). Matt 6,22 = Luk 11,34 contrast the "evil eye" () with the "simple eye" () as Avoth II.9 VU—nnia . See Sirach

14,10 (Heb ^SJ) . The "evil eye" of these passages is envious or grudging, but not magically malignant as in Latin, Grattius 40 6 oculi...uenena maligni. See Thomas Rakoczy, Böser Blick, Macht des Auges

und Neid der Götter: Eine Untersuchung zur Kraft des Blickes in der griechischen Literatur: Classica Monacensia 13. Tübingen: Narr, 1996.

186 Telegdi 25 5 no. 129.

Pesh 301 *7...31£. The Aramaic ò ò

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Pesh «ra . Esther 3,9 "the treasures of the king," ' \33, LXX Ezra 5,17 "in the king's treasury," KS1?!?"·? Rjrīī 32.

Polybius 11.39(34).12 of a king of India; but it was naturalized early (Theophrastus Hist. Plant. 8.11.5). In form assimilated to Gaza the city, . Always exotic in Latin, Vergil Aen. 1.119 Troia gaza.

Attested as Persian ganj and Parthian gnz- 187 Ezra 1,18 "13 ran "treas-urer" (also Bib. Aram.); Hymn of the Pearl 79 3, . In the Parthian of Sapor Res Gestae 66 one Mihrkhwašt is treasurer , gnzbr, . It becomes the ultimate 'treasure' awaiting the blessed. Talm. 12b "the treasures of life, of blessing":

rom vaai di'?» tu t crv i va :

Hymn of the Pearl 4 "from the wealth of our treasury," "I3 « pi .

= Quran 28.76 "so much treasure yjfk II ħ>-0 (kunūzi pl.) that its stores would have been a burden for a troop of mighty men"; thus Jer. Talm. Ned. 41c40-43 all the camels of Arabia

"could not carry the keys to my treasure-houses (pTIISK, ie)", III.243. Quran 18.82 "under the wall was a treasure (j• '<•, kanzun)," in the context of the familiar Haggadic theme where seemingly unjust acts turn out for the best when all is known (III.331). corpus is the Ginza.

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(9) "Treasure. " ; Act 8,27 for the eunuch of Candace, Pesh (11.296). Bilingual compound Mark 12,43 "treasury,"

In the sayings "treasure" is

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Pesh ^ from DID "set";188 a

loanword in Rabbinic, Jer. Talm. Sanh. 27d70 p-QOn "the treasures of Pharaoh."189 It

entered Aramaic in the Targum of II Chron 12, 9 •'-QOn for LX X (Heb. ni"ltfN). It

translates «ra in the Hymn of the Pearl 4, so Esther 4,7 Vg thesaurus for \3 and Ezra 7,20 Vg de thesauro et de fisco regis for

Ns'pp \na 3 Perhaps then "treasure in heaven," (Matt 19,21),

187 Telegdi 237 no. 42; Gignoux 51.

188 It is confusing that Rabbinic has three words with identical spelling SCO for "sign" (,); "silver" (back-formation from "uncoined"?); and "treasure."

189 Like gaza, thesaurus is exotic in Latin. Plautus Triti. 100 thesaurum effodiebam "I was digging up a treasure." In Dido's dream her slain husband (Vergil Aen. 1.358-359) ueteres tellure recludit / thesauros "reveals old treasures in the earth," which she took to Carthage; Nero (Suetonius Nero 31.4)

believed her thesauros antiquissimae gazae could still be found, That would be Aramaic XpTllJ : *!!! From the Latin, French treasure and English treasure.

23.4 Greek loanwords in the Aramaic of the sayings

Pesh LOOBO «', rests on Iranian WH. Winston¹⁹⁰ traces the subsequent history of the gaza, which in later Zoroastrian texts seems to mean a "treasury" in the

hereafter; it is unclear whether any threads lead from them to the definition of the "treasury of merit" by Pope Clement VI, AD 1343.

23.4 Greek loanwords in the Aramaic of the sayings

Even before Alexander, the Near East was being Hellenized.¹⁹¹ Ab. 400 BC a Greek-Phoenician stele (KAI 53) at Athens records the names of Artemidoros son of Heliodoros, tūOETQI? 3"7 = '. Before Alexander a king of Sidon had the Greek name (Athenaeus 531 A). On May 12, 257 BC Toubias the wealthy Jew of Transjordan wrote Greek letters to Apollonios the minister of Ptolemy II.¹⁹² Under Antiochus IV Epiphanes (175-164 BC) the High Priest ' (Yesua) changed his name to (the hero Jason), and his brother 'Ovias to (Josephus AJ 12.239); the same Jason set up a gymnasium in Jerusalem (II Makk 4,9). Almost the first recorded Rabbi is Antigonos (OURtMR) of Socho (Avoth 1.3).

Between Alexander and Islam, thousands of Greek loanwords (some masking Latin ones, 23.5) entered Aramaic dialects; and above all Rabbinic, which often anticipates Israeli

Hebrew in sounding like a modern European language. But it is not always easy to tell whether under a Greek word in the sayings of Jesus lies the same word borrowed into Aramaic. The strongest criteria are:

(1) The loanword appears in a Syriac version of the passage. (2) It is well attested in Rabbinic (or elsewhere in Aramaic). 193

190 D. Winston, "The Iranian Component in the Bible, Apocrypha and Qumran: A Review of the Evidence," *History of Religions* 5 (1965/5) 183-216, p. 194.

191 The literature on the Hellenization of Judaea is endless. For Phoenicia, see Josette Elayi, *Pénétration grecque en Phénicie sous l'empire perse; Travaux et mémoires; études anciennes* 2; Nancy: Presses universitaires, 1988; Fergus Millar, "The Phoenician Cities: A Case-Study of Hellenisation," *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 29 (1983) 54-71; John D. Grainger, *Hellenistic Phoenicia*; Oxford: Clarendon, 1991.

192 CP] i.4-5. Toubias is sending Aeneas the eunuch with four slave boys 7-10 years old (two circumcised, two not) and a menagerie of wild animals for the King. He is surely a younger relative of that Tobiah the Ammonite who gave Nehemiah so much trouble (Neh 2,19 etc.).

193 See Samuel Krauss, *Griechische und lateinische Lehwörter im Talmud, Midrasch und Targum; mit Bemerkungen von Immanuel Low; Teil II*; Berlin 1899; Repr.

Hildesheim: Olms, 1964; Daniel Sperber, *A Dictionary of Greek and Latin Legal Terms in Rabbinic Literature*; Jerusalem: Bar-Ilan University, 1984.

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(3) The Targum uses it following the LXX.

(4) It names an element of Greek culture imported into Palestine. (5) There is no obvious Aramaic alternative.

(6) The word shows its mobility by also moving into Latin.

But there is a gray area; here we treat the clearest cases.

(1) "Crowd." Mark 8,2 "I have compassion on the crowd (

Pal. Syr. lOOl1«»). Act 21,34 Pesh. OI^DK for . "army": Bab. Talm. BM 108a a "corvée" for digging wells; Jer. Talm.

In Targumic

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Dem. 24a32 "I saw crowds around you," 1?!? poi'PDIK . Hellenized Palestine developed a new class of unemployed village for which a new name was needed.

(2) "Steward." Jesus praises both the "faithful steward" (Luk 12,42) - and the "steward of injustice" (16,8, Semitic idiom)

A semantic parallel in the Pesh. 3 (ie . Nrva 31) "master of the house." But the Greek went into Semitic: Jer.

Talm. BM lldl6 a cow may ,

be leased from "a well-keeper () or a guard (0)194 or a steward

(^^)." Latin oeconomia (Quintilian 1.8.9) "arrangement."

(3) "Stranger." Matt 25,44 "When did we see you hungry or thirsty or a stranger (, Pesh. KOCOK) or naked or sick (, III.247) or in prison (, III.243)?" entered Aramaic in the anomalous form Î030DK; see 111.15 for full discussion. Latin xenium "present given by host to guest." The confluence of loans points to an Aramaic original of Matt 25.

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(4) "Inn." Luk 10,34, the Samaritan takes the victim to an inn, Pesh. Kpma1?, Pal. Syr. better tOpiDia, Arabic NT195 j^li funduq—Syrian dialect for classical òLà> khan. Hence to

Italian fónfaco (Boccaccio), with the article in alfónfega (11th century). The "ban-dits" () are just right in this setting. Inns were felt alien, Mishna AZ II. 1 "inns of idolaters," 3117 itt .

196 Jesus' parable either varies a well-known theme, or generates a parody: Gen. Rabbah 92.6 an innkeeper OpTilD) gets

his guests out at night on a pretext; bandits (fOtûO1?) fall on them and share the spoil with him.

(5) "Gate." Matt 7,13 "the narrow gate ()"; 16,18 "the gates of Hades," ;197 Luk 16,20 "Lazarus lay at his gate

1 9 4 Back-formation from "to guard."

195 American Bible Society, 1899.

196 A man may sleep with two women in an inn ("pliaa, Mishna Qidd. IV.12) as long as his wife is

with him (as one of the two or a third?).

197 Matthew echoes Isa 38,10 LXX; which in turn simply continues Iliad 5.646

, a beautiful archaic parallel to the Hebrew (1.123-

124). Frequent in the later LXX: Sap Sol 16,13; III Mack 5,51; Psalm 16:2.

23.4 Greek loanwords in the Aramaic of the sayings

(). Pesh. Rinn which might seem to underly. But Aramaic "a is common (Sokoloff 431) and "p^a (for or) occasional.

It entered Rabbinic through a Targum at Gen 19,1, with DH01 "aa for "the gate of Sodom." Often symbolic: David asked the Holy One, "Master of the ages, tell me which gate is opened to the hereafter":198

íu1 ? -pnu1? »mata "p^a ^ ^ im

At Lev. Rabbah 18.1 (11.264) Greco-Roman ranks enter the city of the hereafter by "the one gate," " "p^BD. Latin Pylae "mountain-pass."

(6) "Storehouse" and "barn." Luk 12,14 "[crows] with neither storehouse nor barn ()"; Old Latin (Bezae) neque neque apotheca. Josephus AJ 9.274, Hezekiah built promptuarium wheat into his . in the saying of John Baptist "He will gather his barn," Matt 3,12. Latin apotheca common since Cicero. Levin takes the Romance for "shop" (Spanish bodega, Italian bottega) from via Arabic. Both nouns "Vt3t3 and " are frequent in Rabbinic, once together. Jer. Talm. Ned. 41c40-43:

prison,

A case involves a rich adversary (RTI^jn, III.224). Rab summons him. "With such a one as this [plaintiff], should I come to court? All the camels of Arabia could not carry the keys to my treasure houses OpTnaK)."199 Rab curses him. "Forthwith a decree (COTÓp =) came from the government that all he owned should fall to the treasury (JTota)." But Rab by prayer secures his life.

(7) "Prison." Matt 25,44 "When did we see you in prison (

Pal. Syr. "'p'T'aD)?" Plautus Capt. 751 abductus...in phylacam "carried to jail." Rabbinic

p^ a common.200 A bandit (III.260) belongs there. Joh 18,40 calls Barabbas a and Luk 23,19 has him in prison,.JosephusAJ20.215descri,bing an amnesty"The prison was cleansed of

captives, and the countryside was filled with bandits," Lev. Rabbah 30.6 "After some days that bandit was captured and put in prison": •'P^an toannKi stacr1? Kinn -pnsR pai·1 ir a

(8) "Chair." Matt 23,2 "the chair of Moses," , Pesh. 5510 }00~3, Vg cathedram Mosi, can be "academic chair": Nikagoras, a descendant of Plutarch, was the "sophist in the

198 Pesiqta de Rab Kahana 27.2.

199 Sokoloff 69 treats "'p^llEM here as from five "title deeds," and likely the two Greek

words were confused, but "treasure houses" makes better sense. 200 Sperber Legal Terms 143-144.

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